Effective Activist

An Evidence-Based Guide to
Progressive Social Change

We are living in a Dark Age. And we are not going to see the end of it, nor are our children, nor probably our children's children. And our job, every single one of us, is to cherish whatever in the human heritage we love and to feed it and keep it going and pass it on, because this Dark Age isn't going to go on forever, and when it stops those people are gonna need the pieces that we pass on.

If you wanted to volunteer for fascinating, dangerous, necessary work, this would be a great job to volunteer for—trying to be a wide-awake human during a Dark Age and keeping alive what you think is beautiful and important.

-James Hillman and Michael Ventura, in *We've Had a Hundred Years of Psychotherapy—And the World's Getting Worse*

Table of Contents

Introduction: Why Read the Effective Activist Guide?

Why do we engage in activism? For most of us, something that we love has been stolen.

Climate change is ravaging the natural world and our communities.[1] Jails are filled with Black and Brown men[2] whose only crime was being born of a different skin color. Our environment is filled with harmful chemicals that poison all living beings, with 95% of humans living in areas with unhealthy air.[3] One in five women have been the victim of attempted or completed rape,[4] and over 80% have been sexually harassed.[5] Billions of animals endure a torturous existence in factory farms every year.[6] Immigrant communities are torn apart by detentions and deportations.[7] Schools in low-income neighborhoods are funneling children of color into the criminal justice system for minor offenses.[8] The richest 1% of the world's population owns almost half of the wealth.[9]

We feel unsafe when we go outside. We are worried for the well-being of our families and our neighbors. We miss being able to see the stars at night, to take a deep breath of fresh air, to sip clean water from our local stream. We watch the news in fear, anxiously awaiting the day another decision will be made that will further strip us of our rights.

Today, 150 species of plants and animals will go extinct.[10] Today, 2,000 people will commit suicide.[11] Today, in the world's poorest countries, 15,000 children under the age of five will die from a preventable illness.[12] Today, 2,000 of those children will die from diarrhea, lacking access to the simple and enormously cheap treatment of water mixed with salt and sugar.[13]

---

[1] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2018
[2] U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics 2018
[3] Health Effects Institute 2018
[4] Smith, Chen, Basile, Gilbert, Merrick, Patel, Walling, and Jain 2017
[5] Kearl 2018
[6] Center for a Livable Future 2013
[7] Society for Community Research and Action 2018
[8] Education Law Center 2011
[9] Credit Suisse 2018
[10] Djoghlaf 2007
[11] World Health Organization 2018b
[12] World Health Organization 2018a
[13] Liu, Johnson, Cousens, Perin, Scott, Lawn, Rudan, Campbell, Cibulskis, Li, Mathers, and Black 2012

And today, the five highest earning CEOs will each earn almost $200,000[14]—more in one *day* than 99.9% of the world earns in one *year*.[15] Today, the 200,000 richest individuals in the world will spend $100 million just on jewelry, watches, sunglasses, and handbags[16]—an amount that could save tens of thousands of lives if it was donated to charity instead.[17]

We engage in activism because we are tired of this. We engage in activism because we want to live in a better world, because we want to restore our planet, our neighborhoods, our connection with nature, and our lives. We engage in activism because we want the world to be governed by community and care, not by wealth and violence.

This guide will tell you how to reclaim what you love.

Hundreds of scientific studies have explored which progressive activist strategies are the most effective in creating lasting social change. For many causes, scientists have established proven strategies for building a better world. Unfortunately, progressive movements are not using these effective methods because most activists have never heard of these studies.

Why is this the case? Because scientists are experts in their fields, studies on activism and social change are often highly technical and narrowly focused. This is great for ensuring scientific rigor, but it has prevented everyday activists from accessing, understanding, and implementing the most important findings on progressive activism. This is unfortunate because scientific research is an incredibly useful tool for activists to utilize. Using strategies that have been studied and proven to be effective allows activists to conserve their energy. Instead of wasting time guessing at what will work, we can follow the recommendations of scientists and researchers and select tactics that we know will produce results. Leveraging this knowledge has the potential to make our activism far more efficient and impactful.

In order to help activists harness scientific findings to create lasting progressive change, we created the Effective Activist guide. The guide condenses hundreds of articles and books on activism, social justice, social movements, revolutions, and politics in order to explain how to be a more impactful and effective activist, step-by-step.

---

[14] The New York Times 2018
[15] Calculated using Giving What We Can's "How Rich Am I?" calculator, available at: https://www.givingwhatwecan.org/get-involved/how-rich-am-i/
[16] Coldwell Banker Global Luxury 2017
[17] Sachs 2016

Which forms of activism have the most impact? Where should you focus your energies to create a better world? Based on the research, the most impactful change-makers take action in at least one of the following effective activist areas:

- Conduct activist campaigns in the service of social change
- Build strong and resilient progressive movements
- Integrate activism into your everyday life

The Effective Activist guide is organized around these three effective activist components.

Part 1 will teach you how to effectively employ activist campaign tactics, including crafting messaging strategies, hosting educational programs, conducting protests, targeting companies and institutions, targeting individuals to make behavioral changes, lobbying and influencing elected officials, and mobilizing voters. This section is most relevant for individuals currently planning or conducting campaigns, or for anyone who is interested in organizing in their community for change.

Part 2 will teach you how to build strong and resilient social movements that can encourage progressive action and create social change for decades to come. This section includes proven best practices for recruiting activists to your cause, preventing burnout, and challenging oppression and promoting social justice in organizations. This section is most useful for individuals currently working in progressive nonprofits or organizing in a group; individuals seeking to promote diversity and reduce violence in their schools, workplaces, cooperatives, or nonprofits; and anyone who is interested in support work for building up the progressive base.

Part 3 will teach you how to integrate activism into your everyday life to transform your routine activities into powerful acts of social change, including by choosing an impactful career, giving what you can to effective charities and progressive organizations, setting off ripple effects in your community, leveraging your power and influence, voting and contacting your elected officials, challenging oppression and promoting social justice, and communicating about progressive issues effectively. This section is applicable to anyone who wants to boost their impact as an individual.

Working on at least one of these effective activist areas will dramatically increase your ability to create change. For each area, the guide summarizes all of the relevant research to help you understand the most effective tactics and strategies for building a better world.

Throughout the guide, we ask you to realistically evaluate where you're at in order to understand how you can best create progressive change. If you have very little activism or political experience, you probably won't be very effective at single-handedly creating a new progressive organization or movement from scratch. On the other end of the spectrum, if you have years of organizing, advocacy, or professional skills, attending a protest a couple times a year while working an entry-level non-profit job is probably not leveraging your full potential.

It's up to you to determine which actions suit your current skills, experiences, and goals the best. We will provide you with the research on which actions are the most effective at creating change, and we'll help you plan how to implement the ones that best suit where you're at, but ultimately you will pick your path forward.

It's easy to become overwhelmed by too much information, and with summaries of hundreds of articles covering individual actions, building strong organizations, and planning activist campaigns, this Effective Activist guide is certainly an undertaking. We've tried to summarize and condense the findings as much as possible, and we've explicitly mentioned the most helpful links and recommended readings so that interested activists can take a deeper dive into certain actions and tactics without needing to sift through hundreds of references.

To help you apply this wealth of knowledge, the Effective Activist guide includes many worksheets and activities that will support your move from *information* to *action*. At the end of the guide, you will create your own effective activist plan to create real, impactful, lasting progressive change in the world. Please take the time to write down your answers and think the guide through—it does make a difference in your ability to internalize the information.

Ready to learn how to become an effective activist? Let's get started.

Worksheet 1: Why You Engage in Activism

Being an effective activist will look different for every person. Think about YOU—
who you are and what you care about—as you answer the questions below.

What issues do you care most about? As an activist, who or what are you fighting
for?

Have you taken any action to help address these issues? If so, what action have you
taken?

What are other people doing to address these issues? Do these approaches seem to
be working?

What are the obstacles that have gotten in the way of you taking action to address
the issues you care most about?

If you could wave a magic wand and solve all of these issues, what would your ideal
world look like?

An Effective Approach to Activism

Learning from Successful Movements

What do we need to do in order to ensure our activism is effective? Which progressive social movements have been successful in securing change, and which have failed? Numerous scientific studies have examined which factors make social movements the most successful. Researchers have pooled decades of data on dozens of movements in order to determine, overall, how to create the most progressive change.

Thankfully, the research has shown that progressive social movements have been enormously successful in shaping policies, norms, and institutions to secure rights and freedoms for people, animals, and the environment.[18] We can learn from the successes of prior movements to ensure our own activism is effective and increase our chances of successfully creating change.

The most effective strategies for social movements overall include:
- Organize in a friendly political climate
- Mobilize frequently
- Choose nonviolent tactics

Organize in a friendly political climate

Social movements don't secure wins out of thin air. Activists have been the most successful when they've organized in a favorable political climate. You will be the most likely to secure progressive gains when there is little to no opposition to your movement,[19] when the public supports your cause,[20] and when there are more Democrats and progressive allies in office.[21] All of these factors will tip the scales in your favor. Without allies or support, or in the face of extreme opposition, you will have a very difficult time getting your demands met, even if your demands aren't directly related to policy.

---

[18] Agone 2007; Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010; Amenta, Caren, and Olasky 2005; Andrews 2001; Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Biggs and Andrews 2015; Cress and Snow 2000; Gamson 1990; Ganz 2000; Johnson, Agone, and McCarthy 2010; Soule and Olzak 2004

[19] Biggs and Andrews 2015; Soule and Olzak 2004

[20] Agone 2007; Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010; Biggs and Andrews 2015; Giugni 2007; Soule and Olzak 2004

[21] Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010; Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Cress and Snow 2000; Giugni 2007; King, Bentele, and Soule 2007; Minkoff 1997; Soule and Olzak 2004

If you don't currently have support from the public or from elected officials, remember that you are an activist—your work is creating change! You can help create a more favorable climate for yourself. Almost all of the tactics listed in the Effective Activist guide can help shift public opinion in favor of progressive causes, but reading about how to recruit activists to your movement, how to develop effective messaging strategies, and how to effectively protest are good places to start. Our voter mobilization section is a good resource for ensuring more Democrats will be in office to vote in favor of your movement. You can also read up on how to influence elected officials to help you secure powerful allies.

California is an excellent case study for activists to examine. California is currently one of the most liberal states in the U.S. and is often at the forefront of progressive change. Many activists take California's progressive political climate and actions for granted, however. Dr. Veronica Terriquez, a leading expert on activism, has examined California's progressive history. In the 1990s, California's voters were largely Republican and passed a number of harmful propositions that hurt communities of color and immigrants. By 2016, however, California had transformed into a largely Democratic state, with 4 million more votes cast for Hillary Clinton than for Donald Trump.[22] The state is also currently resisting many of the oppressive policies of the Trump administration.

Transformation of California, 1994-2016
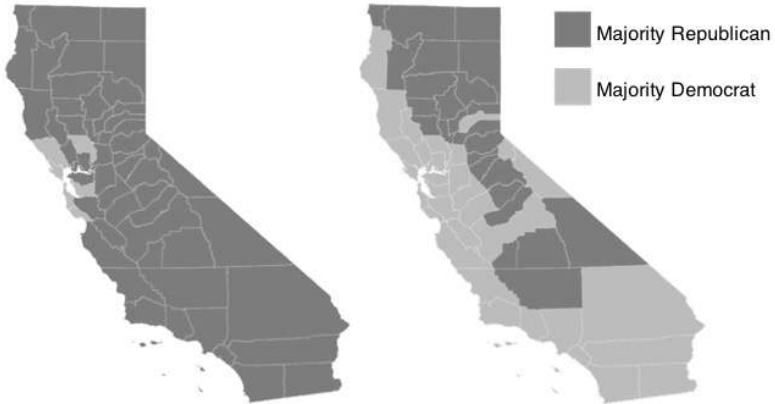
Source: Terriquez (2017a)

---

[22] The New York Times 2017

Terriquez notes that this change was largely due to grassroots organizing and voter mobilization, often carried out by youth and student leaders. Their work to mobilize marginalized communities, fight for community health and equality, and empower youth has not only led to a more progressive voter base and policy climate, it has also shifted the norms in California. Indeed, one study found that around half of the growth in acceptance of same-sex marriage in California is due to cohort effects,[23] meaning that young people are growing up in a more progressive climate and being socialized to norms of equality and social justice.

What does this mean for activists? Organizing work builds on itself, creating more favorable climates that make future activists more likely to succeed. If you live in a progressive area, maintaining activist infrastructure is key to continuing the forward march of social change. If you live in a highly conservative area, do not give up. Continue organizing so the next generation will be better equipped to help equality and justice flourish.

Mobilize frequently

Research has shown time and time again that frequent mobilization—protests, boycotts, sit-ins, petitioning, testifying, civil disobedience, and more—leads to social change.[24] Staying at the forefront of people's minds and on the front page is crucial for long-term sustainability and success. Do not doubt the power of mobilizing!

One study on sit-ins in the U.S. South in the 1960s, in which people of color sat at segregated lunch counters to protest racial segregation, showed that cities with a sit-in were five times more likely to adopt desegregation policies. Even cities that did not have sit-ins themselves, but were nearby a city with a sit-in demonstration, were more likely to desegregate.[25]

Research on the U.S. environmental movement found that every protest increased the likelihood of pro-environmental legislation being passed by 1.2%.[26] Another study found that congressional districts that had 50 minority protests over the course of two years were 5% more likely to have their Congress members vote in

---

[23] Lewis and Gossett 2008

[24] Agone 2007; Biggs and Andrews 2015; Cress and Snow 2000; Gamson 1990; Gillion 2012; Giugni 2007; Johnson, Agone, and McCarthy 2010; King, Bentele, and Soule 2007; King and Soule 2007; Minkoff 1997; Olzak and Soule 2009; Wasow 2017

[25] Biggs and Andrews 2015

[26] Agone 2007

support of minority issues.[27]   Another found that issues that had an above average number of protests experienced a 70% increase in congressional hearings on the issue.[28] Each of these examples clearly demonstrates the impact of mobilization. It's difficult for elected officials to ignore or dismiss large numbers of people in the streets.

It's important to note that policymakers are more influenced by protests that include follow-up events and activities than they are by one-time protests.[29] Put simply, short-term mobilization has short-term impact. Infrequent mobilization allows the public to forget about your cause—out of sight, out of mind. In order to hold officials accountable, activists must continually demonstrate the importance of their cause. High-visibility movements are able to sway norms and shift public opinion by showing that people care deeply about the issue, and can even motivate and inspire others to take up activism later on.[30] Be sure to follow the best practices for protesting and boycotting most effectively, and then get out and mobilize.

Choose nonviolent tactics

Some activists have turned to violent tactics out of frustration with the sometimes slow pace of change nonviolent campaigns achieve. While some activists mistakenly believe that extreme and violent tactics are more effective at achieving radical goals,[31] research has disproved this myth.

Chenoweth and Stephan's 2011 book, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,* is one of the largest studies to examine the effects of nonviolent and violent social movements. They investigated 323 resistance campaigns around the world between 1900 and 2006 and found that, overall, nonviolent campaigns are two times as effective as violent ones at achieving their stated goals. Around 80% of nonviolent campaigns have been partially or completely successful, as compared to around 40% of violent campaigns. Even when only comparing to successful violent campaigns, nonviolent campaigns are more likely to create more durable and internally peaceful democracies with lower probabilities for relapsing into civil war.

---

[27] Gillion 2012

[28] King, Bentele, and Soule 2007

[29] Wouters and Walgrave 2017

[30] Taylor, Kimport, Van Dyke, and Andersen 2009

[31] Feinberg, Willer, and Kovacheff 2017

Success Rates of Violent and Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns, 1900-2006
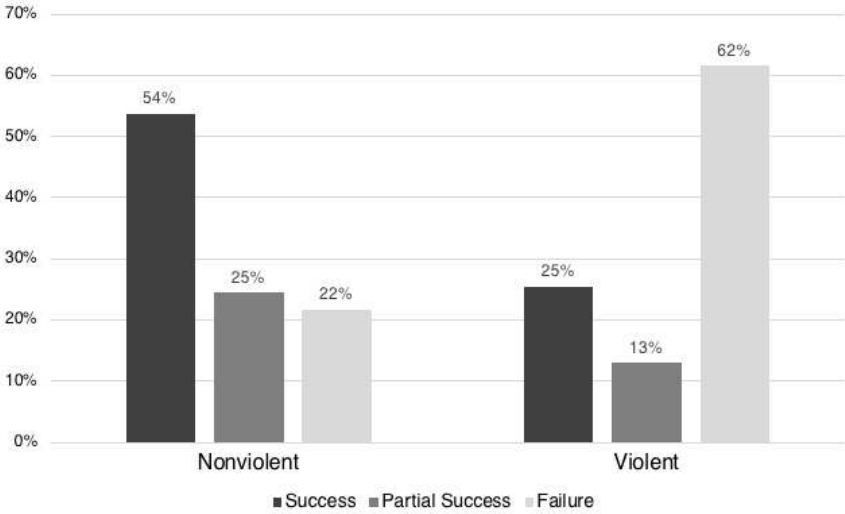
Source: Chenoweth and Stephan (2011)

Chenoweth and Stephan found that nonviolent campaigns have lower barriers to participation, which lead to much larger movements, enhanced resilience, higher tactical innovation, expanded disruption, and more individuals from the opposing side switching loyalties to come support the resistance. Violent campaigns have a much smaller pool of potential supporters, as most violent campaigns are unlikely to recruit women, people with families, the elderly, the sick, anyone who is unwilling to kill or use a weapon, those with low risk tolerance, and those not already highly committed to the movement, which summed together usually equals the vast majority of the population.

Chenoweth and Stephan found that these barriers substantially impact the size of movements. The average nonviolent campaign has 200,000 members, as compared to 50,000 members for the average violent campaign. Although obtaining more supporters slightly increases the success rate of violent campaigns, it does not outweigh the disadvantages of their tactics. When considering only the top 20 largest campaigns (all of which had over 300,000 members), 70% of nonviolent campaigns were successful, as compared to only 40% of violent campaigns. Overall, their research shows that nonviolent tactics are much more effective.

Other recent research has also shown that extreme and violent tactics—including property damage, harming living beings, illegal tactics, and inciting violence—may not only be ineffective, but can actually produce a backlash effect and hurt social movements, making them even less likely to achieve their goals than if they had not mobilized at all.[32] Violent campaigns can also sometimes reinforce loyalty and obedience to the regime being challenged.[33]

Although extreme and violent tactics may have been more effective in decades past,[34] when policymakers were less responsive to social movements, today it is largely accepted that groups can achieve human, animal, and environmental rights through nonviolent protest. Thus, violent and extreme tactics are overwhelmingly seen as unnecessary and can reduce public support and push away political allies.

One study exposed individuals to different versions of animal rights, Black Lives Matter, and anti-Trump protests. Some people read vignettes of fictitious protests that damaged property, incited violence, and broke the law, while others read about protests that were more moderate. Interestingly, activists predicted that the violent protests would be more effective at increasing public support. In reality, individuals who were exposed to the violent protests supported the progressive social movements *less* than they did before seeing the protests. In contrast, moderate and nonviolent protests increased support for these social movements.[35]

In another study, elected officials who were shown fictitious violent protests in which activists broke shop windows and were pushing and pulling each other were less likely to view the protest issue as salient, less likely to support the issue, and less likely to take action on the issue. Again, nonviolent protests had the opposite effect and led to an increase in support by elected officials.[36]

One study even found that areas in the 1960s that had violent protests were more likely to vote Republican (as compared to areas with nonviolent protests, which led to more Democratic voting). The author hypothesizes that this impact was so great that violent protests may have tipped the 1968 presidential election from Hubert Humphrey to Richard Nixon.[37]

---

[32] Cress and Snow 2000; Feinberg, Willer, and Kovacheff 2017; Wasow 2017; Wouters and Walgrave 2017
[33] Chenoweth and Stephan 2011
[34] Chenoweth and Stephan 2011; Gamson 1990
[35] Feinberg, Willer, and Kovacheff 2017
[36] Wouters and Walgrave 2017
[37] Wasow 2017

The combined findings of these studies may be surprising to those activists who have become disillusioned with nonviolent tactics. It is important to remember that nonviolence does not only work through "changing hearts and minds"—nonviolent campaigns are highly effective at imposing costly sanctions on opponents and are much more likely to result in strategic gains and regime change.[38] If you feel passionate and urgent about ramping up your impact, using violent tactics will actually make you *less* likely to succeed. You would do better to follow the numerous recommendations in this Effective Activist guide, which will help you boost the effectiveness of your campaigns and increase your likelihood of success as an activist.

Work will need to be done to bridge divides in activist communities and bring radicals currently pursuing violent tactics into the fold. Just because you, reading this guide, now know that nonviolent methods help achieve the most radical wins, does not mean that all other activists are aware of this. How can you engage in dialogue with activists who use different tactics in order to ensure your movement includes everyone in your community? Can you come to a compromise where you agree to fight for a more radical outcome—more social change that benefits the most marginalized—while using nonviolent tactics?

Now that you understand the factors that best set you up for success, you're ready to learn how to make change. Let's dive into the most effective tactics and strategies for activist campaigns.

---

[38] Chenoweth and Stephan 2011; Luders 2006; Morris 1999

Components of Effective Activism

The most successful social movements deploy a variety of actions strategically to ensure success.[39] Movements that use one tactic over and over again are like a broken clock that correctly tells time twice a day—they can sometimes work, but they're not very efficient, and they can easily lead to burnout.[40] This sort of idealization of particular tactics also creates rigidity and tension between activists who have different preferences for different tactics, preventing us from developing the creative and resilient movements that are necessary for coping with changing political environments.

It's important to realize that no available research has shown that any one action is a surefire bet for social movement success, but many studies *have* shown that a limited tactical repertoire, an inability to adapt, and infighting makes movements unsuccessful. Overall, remember that tactics are *tools*—nothing more, nothing less—whose effectiveness varies according to your goals, political environment, and issue area.

The most effective activists have a large number of actions in their tool belts. The false dichotomy between "working within the system" and "working outside of the system" is a myth that lacks substance and hinders our ability to enact change. The most effective movements use both mainstream tactics—such as voting, lobbying, and drafting legislation—and nonviolent mobilization tactics—such as protests, boycotts, civil disobedience, strikes, sit-ins, and rallies.[41]

Cress and Snow's 2000 study highlights the power of using a diversity of tactics. The authors compared 15 homeless organizations across 8 U.S. cities to examine the effectiveness of different tactics and strategies. They included four measures of success: gaining positions on local boards and task forces, gaining material and financial resources for organizations, securing additional rights for homeless people, and securing facilities and restorative programs for homeless people.

They compared each organization's success against five highly effective conditions: organizational viability (meaning that the organization had been established for more than a year, met regularly, and hosted regular protest events), sympathetic political allies, support for the organization from the city, clear messaging that identified the problem the organization was working to address, and clear

---

[39] Cress and Snow 2000; Dixon 2014; Johnson, Agnone, and McCarthy 2010

[40] Dixon 2014

[41] Johnson, Agnone, and McCarthy 2010

messaging that identified the solution to the problem. (Cress and Snow also tested the effect of disruptive and illegal tactics, but that turned out to be the most risky of the conditions and backfired in supportive cities and for movements without political allies.)

The authors found that the number of conditions organizations possessed correlated with the number of successful outcomes. Organizations that exhibited zero conditions—they had weak organizations, no allies, and vague messaging—achieved minimal results. None of the organizations that met only one or two conditions had more than one positive outcome. In contrast, of the organizations that met three or more conditions—their organizations were stronger, they hosted regular protests, they secured allies, and/or they had strong messages—all had at least one positive outcome, with half achieving all four measured positive outcomes.

Success of U.S. Homeless Organizations by Number of Conditions

	Number of successful outcomes				
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
0	2	0	0	0	0
1-2	1	4	0	0	0
3-4	0	1	1	0	0
5-6	0	0	2	1	3

(Row labels, left axis: **Number of conditions**)

Source: Cress and Snow (2000)

This study is one among many that shows that being well-rounded and using diverse tactics is key to success.

But how do you choose your actions? And how do you make sure the actions you do choose are being implemented successfully? We created the Points of Activist Intervention chart to help you understand the wide variety of tactics available to you.

Points of Activist Intervention
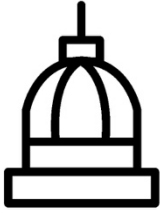
Government and Laws

- Protests, marches, civil disobedience, and other demonstrations
- Lobbying
- Ballot measures
- Voter mobilization
- Media campaigns

Companies and Institutions

- Protests, boycotts, strikes, and other demonstrations
- Lawsuits
- Creating alternative institutions
- Direct communication
- Regulatory bodies
- Shareholder voting
- Internal policies
- Media campaigns

Individuals and Communities

- Leafletting and other information distribution
- Direct communication
- Cooperatives and youth organizing groups
- Education
- Media campaigns

Organizational Factors

- Recruitment
- Burnout prevention
- Strategy
- Messaging
- Partnerships

Individual Actions

- Career
- Giving choices
- Lifestyle changes
- Small acts

We envision social change as occurring along a river—upstream structural factors, such as laws and policies, flow down the river, shaping other institutions and norms, which then flow down and influence individual behavior. Of course, these factors are all interconnected, and impacts can swim upstream as well—individual behavior can impact institutions, which then go on to impact the government.

We envision progressive activists on a boat, which is able to traverse the river. We can travel upstream to effect change at critical sites through a variety of tactics. Our boat, which is strengthened or weakened by our organizational and movement factors, greatly influences our chances of success. If we're traveling in a dinky little rowboat—if we have no allies, vague messaging, and no planned strategy—our organization is unlikely to be able to adapt to changing conditions and have much influence. We as individuals also impact our ability to create change. If we have high-impact careers, donate to progressive causes, vote, and adopt other impactful lifestyle changes and individual actions, we can greatly bolster our movements.

In general, successful activists prioritize a small number of the most impactful individual actions and organizational factors and use a variety of tactics aimed at several targets in order to create change. There is no perfect formula for which actions, factors, and tactics to choose; you must do the hard work of researching your local political climate and your issue area to determine how to best leverage your power. The things that work today in your area might fail in ten years or in another region. This is why accurately measuring success goes hand-in-hand with effective campaigns—you need to be able to evaluate when your efforts are falling flat, so you can switch up your methods if need be. The most successful movements don't necessarily get everything right on their first try; they adapt to changing environments and measure their impact to continue moving forward even when some tactics or strategies fail.

Researchers have examined how to most effectively implement a number of these actions. In Part 1 of this guide, we summarize the available research on how to use activist tactics successfully to target the government and laws, companies and institutions, and individuals and communities. In Part 2, we review how to bolster your movement through effective organizational factors. In Part 3, we cover the most effective individual actions for creating change. Many actions, tactics, and strategies overlap, so we recommend reading the whole guide to gain a robust understanding of how to be an effective activist.

Part 1: Activist Campaign Tactics

In this section, we will cover a number of activist tactics that you can use in your campaigns, including messaging strategies, educational programs, protests, targeting companies and institutions, targeting individuals to make behavioral changes, lobbying and influencing elected officials, and mobilizing voters. Some useful activist tactics we were unable to find research on—this does not mean you shouldn't use these tactics, but you will need to monitor your success closely to ensure that your efforts are making an impact.

Messaging Strategies

How you frame your movement, organization, and campaign has an enormous impact on your potential for success. Strong messaging strategies can boost the effectiveness of other tactics, while poor messaging can hinder your ability to make change. This is not optional—you are *always* sending a message about what you stand for when you talk to the public and policymakers, design your website, make protest signs, and interact with the media. Every organization should ensure they have effective messaging both on long-standing materials (such as mission statements and websites) and for all new campaigns.

The most effective messaging and framing strategies include:
- Use clear, specific language
- Apply diagnostic and prognostic frames
- Use master frames with wide appeal
- Consider your audience
- Secure media coverage

Use clear, specific language

Detailed and specific messages almost always lead to more participation, support, and funding than vague and unclear messages.[42] One study found that individuals who were given detailed descriptions of the specific work done by a charity (e.g., "provides bed nets that protect against mosquito-borne malaria to families in Africa") donated more money than individuals who were given very general descriptions (e.g., "provides a broad range of aid to people across the globe").[43]

---

[42] Cryder, Lowenstein, and Scheines 2013; Genevsky, Västfjäll, Slovic, and Knutson 2013; Grant, Campbell, Chen, Cottone, Lapedis, and Lee 2007

[43] Cryder, Lowenstein, and Scheines 2013, p. 18

Apply diagnostic and prognostic frames

Diagnostic and prognostic frames are both key to social movement success.[44] Diagnostic frames diagnose the problem—they tell people what is wrong. Prognostic frames offer a solution—they tell people what they need to do to help.

Diagnostic and prognostic frames are important because they force you to have a plan and a goal. Organizations that attempt to vaguely "raise awareness" without a specific diagnosis of the problem or a clear solution with defined targets often wind up burned out and frustrated. Social change will not magically fall in your lap from "raising awareness;" if you don't know exactly who needs to implement what action to solve which problem, and if you can't communicate that to others, you likely won't see progress.

Diagnostic and prognostic frames were also proven to be one of the most important conditions for securing positive outcomes for homeless organizations.[45] Try to always include these two frames in all of your messaging. You do not necessarily need to write essays on the topic; in fact, highly dense and technical messaging can sometimes push individuals away. Depending on your context, including a couple of simple sentences can be enough to boost your effectiveness.

Use master frames with wide appeal

Master frames—messaging strategies that emphasize broad, widely cherished values such as rights, democracy, and freedom—help increase activist recruitment[46] and boost social movement success.[47]

Master frames are successful because they help people contextualize your movement and campaigns. If you're fighting for rights for marginalized groups, talking about the master frame of civil rights can greatly help your cause, as people already have an established understanding of the importance of civil rights and can apply those values and understandings to your group. Research has shown that political elites were quick to include American Indians, Asian Americans, and Latinos in affirmative action legislation because they saw their needs as similar to African Americans, who had already secured civil rights legislation.[48]

---

[44] Benford and Snow 2000; Cress and Snow 2000
[45] Cress and Snow 2000
[46] Noonan 1995; Zuo and Benford 1995
[47] Benford and Snow 2000; Creed, Scully, and Austin 2002; Noonan 1995; Skrenty 2006; Zuo and Benford 1995
[48] Skrentny 2006

Consider your audience

One messaging strategy does not suit all contexts.[49] Indeed, research has shown that organizations that change their messaging to suit their targets are more likely to see success.[50] You may need different messaging strategies for when you're recruiting volunteers and activists (which we will discuss in Part 2) than for when you're conducting campaigns, and you will likely need to switch your messaging throughout the course of a campaign.

This does not mean that you need to be secretive or slimy, or that you should compromise your values in order to manipulate others. Instead, you need to recognize that different people in different contexts have different frameworks for understanding and responding to the world. Our goal is not to manipulate, but to help a wide range of people in various contexts understand our movements better.

If you're working in a legal context, such as fighting a lawsuit or working with policymakers, messages that talk about human and civil rights are effective.[51] You should also do your homework to incorporate legal terms and relevant policy and court cases into your arguments.[52]

If you're working within a market setting, such as with a company or business, messages that focus on competitive advantage and cost-benefit calculations are usually more successful. Companies and institutions care about making a profit, increasing their customer base, and having a positive reputation. Your messaging should directly address these goals. The most successful messaging makes corporations compete with each other to become the most progressive companies, sparking landslides of positive changes, rather than making corporations fight against your cause and your organization.

Your messaging also needs to change based on the experience and knowledge of your target. Individuals who are uninformed about issues respond better to non-assertive, friendly messages.[53] They often respond with backlash, anger, and resistance to pushy and strongly-worded messages that make demands.[54] One study found that environmental slogans tend to be more assertive, which may hinder

---

[49] Adams and Gynnild 2013; Heitlinger 1996

[50] Creed, Scully, and Austin 2002; Edelman, Leachman, and McAdam 2010

[51] Creed, Scully, and Austin 2002; Pedriana 2006

[52] Pedriana 2006

[53] Baek, Yoon, and Kim 2015; Buller, Borland, and Burgoon 1998; Kronrod, Grinstein, and Wathiew 2011

[54] Dillard and Shen 2005; Kronrod, Grinstein, and Wathieu 2011; Quick and Considine 2008

their ability to persuade and appeal to individuals who are uninformed about environmental issues.[55]

Secure media coverage

Having your campaign, organization, or issue area covered by mass media can be a helpful step in securing future wins. Research has indeed shown that mass media impacts public opinion on relevant activist issues[56] and the political agenda.[57] Activist media can also help coordinate and organize activists, increase political awareness, and support sustainable business practices.[58]

Many of the factors that lead to mass media coverage have also been proven to lead to campaign wins. Research, including a study on more than 1,200 U.S. social movement organizations, has identified characteristics of movements that are most likely to make the papers or the evening news. Specifically, media coverage typically follows large, well-known organizations with coalitions who routinely host demonstrative events (such as protests) that mobilize large numbers of people.[59]

One study also found that Black Lives Matter's Twitter account helped generate mass media attention around police killings of Black people, which then helped attract the attention of government officials.[60] Another study found that comments and posts on Congress members' and congressional offices' social media pages can influence elected officials, and it may only take around 10 comments from concerned citizens to create an impact.[61] However, activists need to be timely, as comments on old social media posts are unlikely to be seen. These studies show that social media is a good option for attracting media attention for smaller or more grassroots organizations.

---

[55] Kronrod, Grinstein, and Wathieu 2011

[56] Kellstedt 2000

[57] Freelon, McIlwain, and Clark 2016; Van Aelst and Walgrave 2016

[58] Pearson, Tindle, Ferguson, Ryan, and Litchfield 2016

[59] Amenta, Caren, Olasky, and Stobaugh 2009; Andrews and Neal 2010

[60] Freelon, McIlwain, and Clark 2016

[61] Fitch and Goldschmidt 2015

Educational Programs

Activists have long used education to proactively give people the skills and knowledge they need to overcome bias, unlearn harmful habits, and take up progressive activist work. Research has shown that this is a strong tactic, as educational programs are one of the most effective and impactful tactics for reducing prejudice, preventing oppressive behaviors, and encouraging social justice activism in individuals, organizations, and communities.

You may be interested in hosting an educational event for your nonprofit, cooperative, or activist group in order to reduce interpersonal oppression and ensure you have a safe and welcoming organizing space. You may also want to host educational programs for outside community members in order to reduce violence or oppression in your community. The goals of your educational program will help shape its form, but research has identified a number of successful best practices to help ensure your educational event is impactful.

The most effective strategies for hosting educational events include:
- Use interactive, ongoing formats
- Reproduce effective programs
    - Anti-rape and anti-violence programs
    - Intergroup dialogue

Use interactive, ongoing formats

Educational programs can focus on a variety of issues, depending on local needs and interests, including race, gender, sexual orientation, and other identity groups; anti-harassment, anti-violence, and anti-rape training; and the causes and consequences of inequality. Although many organizations use one-time informational lectures as their primary educational tool, research has shown that these events have limited effects on participants. They are, indeed, helpful, but there are many other educational programs that have substantially more impact.

The format of educational programs strongly impacts their effectiveness. One-time events and lectures on social justice have been shown to have small positive effects on participants, including increased knowledge about diversity,[62] reduced levels of prejudice,[63] heightened understanding of structural causes of inequality,[64] increased

---

[62] Monroe and Martinez-Marti 2008
[63] Monroe and Martinez-Marti 2008; Wells 1991
[64] Lopez, Gurin, and Nagda 1998

self-esteem,[65] and improved ability to identify harassment.[66] However, short educational programs may not produce lasting changes.[67]

Adding on repeated meetings dramatically improves the effectiveness of educational programs. Multi-day workshops, weekly or bi-weekly meetings, and semester-long college classes with a social justice focus are more effective at increasing knowledge than one-time events.[68] They also lead to more long-lasting behavior changes,[69] which can continue to impact participants years in the future.[70] Depending on their content, they can also lead to heightened privilege awareness[71] and reduced acceptance of rigid gender roles.[72]

In many cases, our time, funding, and participant constraints prevent us from hosting longer-term events, in which case one-time events can still be impactful. If you are able to, however, implementing repeated meetings can boost your participants' takeaways.

Educational programs become even more effective at promoting social justice when they include interactive learning activities, such as discussion groups, speaker panels, perspective-taking assignments, writing prompts, and games. Interactive learning components lead to reduced prejudice,[73] increased self-esteem,[74] reduced levels of bullying,[75] increased support for victims of inequality,[76] and heightened understandings of diversity and privilege.[77] Practicing skills is also important for encouraging behavior change.[78]

An enormous body of research has also proved that contact with marginalized groups helps to reduce prejudice.[79] One meta-analysis combined the findings from

---

[65] Daníelsdóttir, O'Brien, and Ciao 2010; Wells 1991

[66] Kearney, Rochlen, and King 2004

[67] Flood 2005

[68] Borges, Banyard, and Moynihan 2008

[69] Flood 2005

[70] O'Neil and Carroll 1988

[71] Case 2007

[72] Scwartz, Magee, Griffin, and Dupuis 2004; Stake and Rose 1994

[73] Monroe and Martinez-Marti 2008; Reinhardt 1994; Walch, Sinkkanen, Swain, Francisco, Breaux, and Sjoberg 2012; Wells 1991

[74] Wells 1991

[75] Mitchell, Gray, Green, and Beninger 2014

[76] Lopez, Gurin, and Nagda 1998

[77] Case 2012; Monroe and Martinez-Marti 2008

[78] Burn 2009

[79] Carter and Murphy 2017; Corrigan, Morris, Michaels, Rafacz, and Rüsch 2012; Couture and Penn 2003; Herek and Capitanio 1996; Herek and McLemore 2013; Lewis 2011; Livingston, Milne, Fang, and Amari 2011;

515 studies, covering a total of 250,000 participants in 38 countries, and found that contact with marginalized groups reduces prejudice, reduces anxiety about diversity, and increases empathy and perspective taking.[80] Having speaker panels, representative educators, and intergroup dialogue (discussed below) can greatly boost the effectiveness of educational programs attempting to challenge prejudice and oppression.

Overall, educational programs should focus on promoting good behavior, not condemning bad behavior. Approaches that focus on fearfully trying to avoid being oppressive and walking on eggshells lead to more effortful conversations, higher prejudice levels, and more anxiety around diversity.[81] One study even found that people who tried the hardest to avoid seeming prejudiced were viewed as even more biased.[82] In contrast, people have more relaxed and friendly conversations, lower prejudice levels, and feel more comfortable with people from diverse backgrounds when they are encouraged to focus on learning and growing.[83] Treat students as helpful allies, not potential enemies,[84] and focus on teaching people practical skills to promote social justice.[85]

Reproduce effective programs

Researchers and activists have already done the work of combining scientifically-proven best practices into effective, reproducible educational programs. Two of the most studied and most effective educational programs are anti-rape and anti-violence programs, and intergroup dialogue.

Anti-rape and anti-violence programs

Many studies have found rape and violence prevention programs to be effective at decreasing the acceptance of rape myths and abuse[86] and reducing the likelihood of

Mereish and Poteat 2015; Paluck and Green 2009; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008; Reinhardt 1994; Walch, Sinkkanen, Swain, Francisco, Breaux, and Sjoberg 2012

[80] Pettigrew and Tropp 2009

[81] Goff, Steele, and Davies 2008; Plant and Butz 2006; Shelton 2003; Trawalter, Adam, Chase-Lansdale, and Richeson 2012; Trawalter and Richeson 2006; West and Greenland 2016

[82] Plant and Butz 2006

[83] Goff, Steele, and Davies 2008; Murphy, Richeson, and Molden 2011; Stern and West 2014; Trawalter and Richeson 2006; West and Greenland 2016

[84] Foubert and Perry 2007

[85] Flood 2005

[86] Choate 2003; Flood 2005; Foshee, Reyes, Ennett, Cance, Bauman, and Bowling 2012; Foubert 2000; Foubert and Newberry 2006; Lonsway, Klaw, Berg, Waldo, Kothari, Mazurek, and Hegeman 1998

committing harassment, violence, or rape.[87] Components of successful rape and violence prevention programs include treating men as allies who can help women (as opposed to potential rapists),[88] having single-gender programming to create an open space to discuss violence (as opposed to having mixed-gender groups),[89] discussing male-on-male rape in men's programs to encourage empathy,[90] building communication and anger management skills,[91] and using peer training to display positive role models.[92]

The Men's Program is an extraordinarily successful anti-rape program that has been documented by over a dozen studies to reduce sexual violence and increase bystander intervention. While many other anti-oppression educational programs need multiple sessions to be effective, The Men's Program is a short, one-time session that can easily be planned and carried out. The creator of The Men's Program, Dr. John Foubert, has graciously uploaded his practical guide to running the program on his website for free, which includes verbatim scripts and detailed descriptions on how to conduct every portion of the program. This means that activists can host this extraordinarily effective program in their communities with little to no upfront cost.

The website to download the materials for The Men's Program is available at the following link: https://www.johnfoubert.com/free-stuff

Intergroup dialogue

Intergroup dialogue refers to structured discussion groups that aim to reduce prejudice and promote social justice. Intergroup dialogue brings together people from at least two different identity groups to meet weekly with two trained facilitators from different backgrounds. Participants use active and engaged learning, such as readings, experiential activities, writing assignments, and dialogue, to learn about inequality, identities, and current political events. Intergroup dialogue focuses on working with and through conflict, not trying to avoid it.

---

[87] Foshee, Bauman, Ennett, Linder, Benefield, and Suchindran 2004; Foshee, Reyes, Ennett, Cance, Bauman, and Bowling 2012; Foubert 2000; Foubert and Newberry 2006

[88] Foubert and Perry 2007

[89] Brecklin and Forde 2001; Flood 2005; Foubert and Newberry 2006

[90] Foubert and Newberry 2006; Foubert and Perry 2007

[91] Schwartz, Magee, Griffin, and Dupuis 2004

[92] Lonsway, Klaw, Berg, Waldo, Kothari, Mazurek, and Hegeman 1998

Many studies have proven intergroup dialogue to be enormously successful.[93] Intergroup dialogue increases awareness of inequality, increases understanding of and engagement with identity, promotes empathy, reduces prejudice, increases empowerment, and boosts confidence to create change. Intergroup dialogue differs from more traditional educational approaches to anti-oppression because intergroup dialogue actually leads individuals to become activists and advocates, as opposed to merely raising awareness.

The Public Conversations Project (2006) produced a comprehensive practical guide to intergroup dialogue, called *Fostering Dialogue Across Divides*. The guide includes information on how to plan and run a dialogue group; tips for facilitators; and many sample questions, handouts, and other materials. The guide is available for free at the following link: http://www.intergroupresources.com/rc/Fostering%20Dialogue%20Across%20Divides.pdf

Intergroup Resources, a website that compiles lists of quality resources related to intergroup dialogue, is another good website for interested activists to explore. You can browse their resources at the following link: http://www.intergroupresources.com/

---

[93] Dessel, Woodford, Routenberg, and Breijak 2013; Dessel, Woodford, and Warren 2011; DeTurk 2006; Miller and Donner 2000; Nagda, Gurin, Sorensen, and Zúñiga 2009; Sanders and Mahalingam 2012

Protest Strategies

One of the most effective tactics you can pursue is having regular protests, rallies, marches, and other demonstrations.

The most effective protest strategies include:
- Mobilize regularly
- Combine protests with other tactics
- Focus your message

Mobilize regularly

We previously covered the research that has shown that frequent mobilizations lead directly to social change.[94] Remember that cities in the U.S. South in the 1960s with a sit-in were five times more likely to adopt desegregation policies[95] and that another study found that every protest increased the likelihood of pro-environmental legislation being passed by 1.2%.[96] One study also found that policymakers were more influenced by protests for which follow-up events and activities were planned than by one-time protests.[97]

What does this mean for activists? Mobilize often to boost your impact. If you have limited time and resources for hosting events on your own, you can partner with other organizations to host protests and demonstrations together. This can increase the total number of events happening in your community, help increase the turnout to every protest (as each organization will bring out their members), and increase the reputation of your events (as coalitions often appear more powerful than single organizations). You can also commit to attending local protests, boycotts, and events when they happen in your community to support your local movements.

---

[94] Agone 2007; Biggs and Andrews 2015; Cress and Snow 2000; Gamson 1990; Gillion 2012; Giugni 2007; Johnson, Agone, and McCarthy 2010; King, Bentele, and Soule 2007; King and Soule 2007; Minkoff 1997; Olzak and Soule 2009; Wasow 2017

[95] Biggs and Andrews 2015

[96] Agone 2007

[97] Wouters and Walgrave 2017

Combine protests with other tactics

Protests are powerful tools for creating social change, but they are not sufficient on their own. Protests are most effective when organizations have political allies and favorable public opinion,[98] coalitions with other movements and organizations,[99] and use other mainstream tactics such as lobbying and voter mobilization.[100]

While protests are enormously impactful, they are not magic bullets that fix all of our problems. Many activists have become burned out and dropped out of movements and organizations that are one-trick ponies, using protests as their one and only tactic. If you live in a conservative area, fail to keep in touch with your elected officials, lack strong coalitions, or are not strategically working to accomplish concrete goals, the occasional protest to "raise awareness" probably won't do you much good. Add some other tactics to your toolbelt and develop the strength of your organizational practices to really harness the power of protesting.

Focus your message

We previously covered general messaging strategies for securing wins for social movements. It is worth noting again here that strong messaging is crucial for protest success. Studies have found that protests with clear and focused messaging are more likely to influence policymakers and secure social change.[101]

Remember, rather than vaguely trying to "raise awareness," your protest should be identifying a problem and advocating for a clear and realistic solution to that problem. Protest flyers should clearly state the reason for the protest and include messaging around collective identities and master frames to help recruit more attendees, such as "join us," "fight for your freedom," or "take a stand for democracy." Supplying signs to attendees that clearly articulate your diagnostic and/or prognostic frame can increase the coherence of your event and help the public and policymakers understand your movements' goals.

---

[98] Agone 2007; Cress and Snow 2000; Giugni 2007
[99] Minkoff 1997
[100] Johnson, Agone, and McCarthy 2010
[101] Fassiotto and Soule 2017; Wouters and Walgrave 2017

Targeting Companies and Institutions

Targeting companies and institutions, such as universities or businesses, is useful when institutions have harmful practices that need to be changed. Activists can also target companies and institutions as secondary targets when they don't have access to the government or the state.[102]

The most effective strategies to target companies include:
- Use messaging focused on competitive advantage
- Host boycotts
- Use tactics that leverage your resources

Use messaging focused on competitive advantage

As previously discussed, when targeting companies and institutions, you should be using messaging focused on competitive advantage.[103] The most successful messaging makes corporations compete with each other to become the most progressive companies, sparking landslides of positive changes.

Activists working to secure domestic partner benefits for same-sex couples in the 1990s and early 2000s were successful in getting many Fortune 500 companies to provide the benefits.[104] Their messaging focused on the positive impact of providing domestic partner benefits to companies. Activists talked of "responsible corporate citizens" going above and beyond to offer competitive advantages, employers who do not offer benefits losing out to "employers of choice," and domestic partner benefits as being good for business.[105] They also secured testimony from executives at leading companies to help foster the competitive spirit that drove Fortune 500 companies to race each other towards offering benefits.

Host boycotts

Boycotts are a favored activist tactic when targeting companies and institutions. The research has shown that boycotts can be effective tools for persuading companies and institutions to change, with one study finding that 28% of boycotts

---

[102] King and Pearce 2010; Walker, Martin, and McCarthy 2008; Weber, Rao, and Thomas 2008
[103] Creed, Scully, and Austin 2002
[104] Briscoe and Safford 2008
[105] Creed, Scully, and Austin 2002, p. 483

that received national media attention between 1990 and 2005 were successful in achieving their demands.[106]

Surprisingly, research has shown that boycotts have little no impact on sales or revenue for companies. Boycotts are effective because they threaten institutions' reputations, forcing staff and leaders to react to avoid a public relations crisis.[107] Therefore, activists pursuing a boycott should focus less on restricting sales and more on public relations.

When conducting a boycott, your goal should be generating as much media attention as possible. Boycotts that secure national media attention are much more likely to succeed,[108] as are boycotts with public demonstrations and celebrity endorsements.[109] Hosting frequent events, forming coalitions with other organizations and groups, and developing strong messaging strategies can all help increase the publicity of your boycott.

It is also important to choose your targets carefully. Individuals are much less likely to support boycotts when boycotts threaten large numbers of jobs and attack local businesses.[110] Your movement will need to carefully analyze your local context to determine your chances of success.

Use tactics that leverage your resources

If you do not have enough resources or followers to host a large boycott that generates media attention, you may want to direct your energy toward another target or use different tactics. Other tactics that can successfully target companies and institutions include shareholder voting,[111] lobbying policymakers and mobilizing voters to change the laws that impact institutions,[112] regulatory bodies and certification associations,[113] voluntary environmental programs,[114] public rating systems,[115] and direct communication with companies to encourage them to make changes.[116]

---

[106] King 2008

[107] King 2008; King 2011

[108] King 2008; King 2011

[109] King 2011

[110] Klein, Smith, and John 2004

[111] Yermack 2010

[112] Foulon, Lanoie, and Laplante 2002; O'Rourke 2005; Sine and Lee 2009

[113] Bartley 2003; O'Rourke 2005

[114] Borck and Coglianese 2009

[115] Foulon, Lanoie, and Laplante 2002; Chatterji and Toffel 2010

[116] Chrun, Dolšak, and Prakash 2016; O'Rourke 2005

Targeting Individuals to Make Behavioral Changes

Activists may target individuals to make behavioral changes for a variety of reasons. Those working on public health issues may want to encourage individuals to adopt healthier behaviors, such as applying sunscreen to their children or quitting smoking. Activists may also want to persuade individuals to make lifestyle and consumer choices that are less harmful, such as composting their food scraps or cutting back on or cutting out animal products from diets.

Although all activist tactics benefit from prior research and planning, behavior change campaigns often require extensive prep work in order to be effective.[117] Two excellent articles have been written that give detailed overviews of how to design effective behavior change campaigns that rely on scientifically-proven best practices. We summarize these articles in this section, but we recommend reading these articles in their entirety if you are planning on implementing a behavior change campaign.

Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox's 2018 article, "Social Mobilization," has been uploaded for free to Harvard's website and is available at the following link: https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/todd_rogers/files/rogers_goldstein_fox.2017.pdf

McKenzie-Mohr and Schultz's 2014 article, "Choosing Effective Behavior Change Tools," has been uploaded for free to Community-Based Social Marketing's website and is available at the following link: http://media.cbsm.com/uploads/1/BECC.pdf

The most effective strategies for targeting individuals to make behavioral changes include:
- Understand the impact of behavior change campaigns
- Balance individual and community-wide changes
- Make behavior change easy
- Focus on positive norms

---

[117] Abroms and Maibach 2008

Understand the impact of behavior change campaigns

Behavior change campaigns have been effective at impacting individual behaviors and attitudes,[118] especially when they are well-funded and well-coordinated. A review of 48 U.S. health campaigns found that mass media behavior change campaigns led to 9% more people performing the intended behavior.[119]

Many in the U.S. remember the national "truth" anti-smoking campaign, which used advertisements to discourage youth from smoking. A study of 50,000 students in the U.S. found that the "truth" campaign accounted for 22% of the decline in smoking among youth between 1999 and 2002[120] and lead to an increase in anti-tobacco attitudes and beliefs.[121]

Several small studies have tentatively found that leafleting and advocacy videos on veganism, vegetarianism, and reducetarianism (a diet that cuts back on animal products without completely eliminating them) can reduce reported animal product consumption.[122] The studies found that around 1-2% of individuals who receive a booklet on veganism will become vegetarian or vegan and anywhere between 7-40% of individuals will become reducetarians who cut back on their consumption of animal products.[123] Using the most conservative figures, one typical Vegan Outreach leafleting event, which hands out 1,000 booklets, can lead to around a 10,000 pound reduction in dairy and meat consumption over the course of one year—and that is accounting for the 84% of newly converted vegetarians and vegans who do not sustain the diet long term.[124] At a cost of 7 cents per booklet, this makes leafleting a very cost-effective approach. While more research is needed—animal rights advocates are trying their best to conduct their own studies but lack funding and support to carry out more robust experiments—the current research shows that volunteering with leafleting efforts can reduce the demand for factory-farmed animal products.

In addition, individual behavior changes have a broader impact than many activists may realize. Behavior changes can serve a dual role of directly addressing an issue *and* recruiting activists and volunteers. People are much more likely to participate in

---

[118] Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010; Farrelly, Davis, Haviland, Messeri, and Healton 2005; Farrelly, Healton, Davis, Messeri, Hersey, and Haviland 2002; Snyder and Hamilton 2002

[119] Snyder and Hamilton 2002

[120] Farrelly, Davis, Haviland, Messeri, and Healton 2005

[121] Farrelly, Healton, Davis, Messeri, Hersey, and Haviland 2002

[122] Anderson 2017; Cooney 2013; Norris 2014; Norris and Roberts 2016; Vegan Outreach n.d.

[123] Cooney 2013; Norris 2014; Vegan Outreach n.d.

[124] Calculations by Effective Activist using Vegan Outreach and Faunalytics data

activism when they are knowledgeable about the issues,[125] possess a collective identity (such as identifying as an activist, environmentalist, or vegan/vegetarian),[126] have prior experience as a volunteer or activist,[127] have friends and family who are involved in political action,[128] have a supportive activist community,[129] and are surrounded by political discussions.[130]

Individual behavior change campaigns can help generate large groups of people who are more knowledgeable about activist issues, who identify with activist movements and causes, and who have begun to build up their experience and comfort level with taking action for social change. Behavior change campaigns also help create more supportive contexts for more dedicated activists to emerge.

Behavior change campaigns are often insufficient to completely eradicate social issues,[131] but eradicating social issues is often difficult without large numbers of people making behavior changes. This tactic should be understood and used in the context of the larger constellation of social movement activities.

Balance individual and community-wide changes

The most successful behavior change campaigns conduct research to understand the balance between individual purity and widespread implementation. In other words, activists should consider whether they want a small number of people to make a big change or a large number of people to make a small change. For many behaviors, there is a tradeoff—the more strict or difficult the behavior is, the lower

---

[125] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Duhigg, Rostosky, Gray, and Wimsatt 2010; Roser-Renouf, Maibach, Leiserowitz, and Zhao 2014

[126] Berman and Wittig 2004; Bryan, Walton, Rogers, and Dweck 2011; Case and Zeglen 2018; Downton and Wehr 1998; Granzin and Olsen 1991; Klandermans 2003; McAdam and Paulson 1993; Morgan and Chan 2016; Nepstad 2004; Pfaff 1996; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018; Szymanski and Lewis 2015; Scott and Chan 2016; Simon, Loewy, Stürmer, Weber, Fretag, Habig, Kampmeier, and Spahlinger 1998;

[127] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Ayala 2000; Bloemraad and Terriquez 2016; Brym, Godbout, Hoffbauer, Menard, and Zhang 2014; Ginwright 2007; Janoski, Musick, and Wilson 1998; Klandermans 2003; Lee and Soonhee 2014; McAdam 1986; McFarland and Thomas 2006; Scott 1977; Terriquez 2015; Terriquez 2017; Terriquez and Kwon 2014; Viterna 2006; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991; Zeldin, Gaulet, Krauss, Kornbluh, and Collura 2017

[128] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Bond, Fariss, Jones, Kramer, Marlow, Settle, and Fowler 2012; Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010; Granzin and Olsen 1991; McAdam 1986; Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Paluck 2011; Paluck, Shepherd, and Aronow 2016; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018; Wellman, Czopp, and Geers 2009;

[129] Case and Zeglen 2018; Downton and Wehr 1998

[130] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010; Klofstad 2011; McClurg 2006; McLeod, Scheufele, and Moy 1999; Roser-Renouf, Maibach, Leiserowitz, and Zhao 2014; Zhang, Johnson, Seltzer, and Bichard 2009

[131] Abroms and Maibach 2008

the number of people who will implement the behavior. Although it is alluring to imagine a society in which everyone always buys local and organic goods, walks or bikes everywhere, or eats a vegan diet, these visions are often not realistic goals for large numbers of people. Carefully examine the goals of your campaign before you attempt to persuade people to make extreme, strict, or difficult changes.

Let's look at veganism as an example. Within the last decade, new research has helped the animal rights movement understand that an overly strict focus on diet purity is not effective or helpful. Although an *individual* vegan can reduce their personal consumption of animal products a great deal, as a *group*, former vegetarians and vegans actually reduce almost 10 times more pounds of animal products every year than vegans.[132] How could this be the case? Former vegetarians and vegans eat around half as much animal products every year as the U.S. average, so although they were unable to stick to the more pure form of the diet, they still reduce their consumption. Overall, large numbers of people making smaller personal changes can lead to a larger *collective* impact than small numbers of people making more extreme personal changes.

Veganism and vegetarianism can be hard for individuals to stick to, with 84% of vegans and vegetarians eventually abandoning the strict form of the diet (one-third of whom will abandon the diet within the first three months).[133] One study of 3,200 individuals found that nearly one-fourth of the U.S. population is willing to cut their meat consumption by half, while only 7% is willing to eliminate it entirely.[134] If every individual followed through on those intentions, the *collective* impact of the new reducetarians would be around 60% greater than the impact of the new vegetarians (10 billion pounds of meat reduced by reducetarians compared to 6 billion pounds reduced by vegetarians). Paradoxically, the potential for the most overall change can sometimes lie in making smaller personal changes.

While strict vegetarians and vegans are crucial for serving as animal activist role models, engaging in activism, and pushing for norms changes, advocates need to help individuals contribute in ways that are sustainable for them. Messaging that encourages people to cut out *or* cut back on animal products and developing better support for guiding new vegans, vegetarians, and reducetarians through their diet change are key areas for animal rights activists to focus on. These findings can be applied to many other realms of behavior change, as well.

---

[132] Calculations by Effective Activist using Faunalytics data
[133] Asher, Green, Gutbrod, Jewell, Hale, and Bastian 2014
[134] Humane Research Council 2007

Make behavior change easy

The most important component of effective behavior change campaigns is making the change easy for individuals to implement.

Campaigns should be specific and focus on single behaviors, not vague constellations of behaviors such as being "environmentally friendly."[135] Additionally, spreading your behavior change campaign with a large network of individuals is key to widespread implementation.[136]

Activists must research the barriers to and benefits of changing behavior[137] so they can offer useful strategies for individuals to overcome barriers and implement the change.[138] For example, research has shown that the top three reasons for giving up strict vegetarianism or veganism include being unsatisfied with food options, being concerned about health, and not having enough social support.[139] Activists wishing to increase diet change retention should thus focus on helping people plan their grocery trips to increase food diversity, educating about the positive health impacts of vegetarianism, and planning supportive events and activities for new vegetarians and vegans. You should do your own research on your issue area to learn what the barriers to implementation are, so that you can better ease the transition to change.

Many studies, including meta-analyses covering dozens of studies each, have shown that having individuals make commitments and set intentions to change helps them stick with behavior changes.[140] Furthermore, written commitments have been shown to be more effective than verbal commitments.[141] Don't simply distribute information; have people sign their name to express their commitment to change.

Making people aware of inconsistencies between their behaviors and values can also be particularly effective.[142] You do not need to convince or persuade people that the behavior is important; their own deep-rooted values system will help keep the behavior salient for them. You can implement this strategy by asking

---

[135] Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014

[136] Abroms and Maibach 2008; Snyder and Hamilton 2002

[137] Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014

[138] Allcott 2011; Allcott and Rogers 2014

[139] Asher, Green, deLespinasse, Gutbrod, Bastian, Jewell, and Hale 2015

[140] Baca-Motes, Brown, Gneezy, Keenan, and Nelson 2013; Gollwitzer 1999; Lokhorst, Werner, Staats, and van Dijk 2013; Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014; Díaz Meneses and Palacio 2007; Pardini and Katzev 1983; Webb and Sheeran 2006; Werner, Turner, Shipman, Twitchell, Dickson, Bruschke, and von Bismarck 1995

[141] Pardini and Katzev 1983; Werner, Turner, Shipman, Twitchell, Dickson, Bruschke, and von Bismarck 1995

[142] Altemeyer 1994; Dickerson, Thibodeau, Aronson, and Miller 1992; Kantola, Syme, and Campbell 1984

individuals to talk or write about positive values they hold related to the issue area *before* asking them to make behavior changes.

Additionally, helping people see the impact of their behavior is a successful strategy.[143] OPOWER Home Energy Reports provide households with information about their energy consumption as compared to their neighbors' consumption. These reports lead households to reduce energy consumption by 2% on average,[144] with effects lasting for years.[145] Another study found that providing households with information on the pounds of pollutants and risk levels of childhood asthma and cancer associated with their energy use led to an average of 8% energy savings.[146]

When you're evaluating how to make your behavior change easy, try to come up with several tactics, and try them out during a pilot run to test how effective they are. You may get lucky and discover a creative tactic that can save you money and boost your effectiveness. One study tested the impact of various methods to increase composting and found that painting compost bins bright yellow with sunflowers on them was as effective at boosting composting rates as hiring workers to stand by compost bins encouraging people to compost.[147] Brainstorming innovative ideas can pay off.

Focus on positive norms

Social norms—what we believe about how other people normally act—have an enormous influence on our behavior. People who believe that others engage in a certain action become more likely to engage in that action themselves, regardless of whether that behavior is helpful or harmful.[148]

Behavior change campaigns that unintentionally highlight negative norms can actually worsen unwanted behaviors. One study tested the effects of a variety of signs to help reduce the number of people who steal petrified wood from Arizona's Petrified Forest National Park. They set up different signs, placed pieces of wood along the trail, and counted how many pieces were stolen afterward. They found

---

[143] Allcott 2011; Allcott and Rogers 2014; Asensio and Delmas 2015; Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014; Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, and Griskevicius 2007

[144] Allcott 2011

[145] Allcott and Rogers 2014

[146] Asensio and Delmas 2015

[147] Lin, Wang, Li, Gordon, and Harder 2016

[148] Ball, Jeffery, Abbott, McNaughton, and Crawford 2010; Cialdini, Demaine, Sagarin, Barrett, Rhoads, and Winter 2006; Goldstein, Cialdini, and Griskevicius 2008; Martin 2012; Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014; Nolan, Schultz, Cialdini, Goldstein, and Griskevicius 2008; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018

that highlighting negative norms with a sign saying, "Many past visitors have removed the petrified wood from the park, changing the state of the Petrified Forest," actually *increased* the number of people who stole wood to 8%.[149]

Another study showed that voter mobilization messages that lamented low turnout rates actually reduced turnout by 1.2 percentage points.[150] Overall, you should avoid talking about negative norms in behavior change campaigns. This doesn't mean you cannot ask people to avoid or stop a behavior—it only means that you shouldn't highlight the fact that many other people are performing the unwanted behavior.

Talking about positive norms can be much more successful. One study tested the effects of different signs to encourage hotel guests to participate in an environmental conservation program and found that signs that highlighted positive social norms by saying, "join your fellow guests in helping to save the environment," led to more participation than generic signs that simply said, "help save the environment."[151]

If you are able to, testing out the effects of a number of different messaging strategies during a pilot run of your campaign can help you identify which messages are most effective for your issue area.

---

[149] Cialdini, Demaine, Sagarin, Barrett, Rhoads, and Winter 2006, p. 8

[150] Keane and Nickerson 2015

[151] Goldstein, Cialdini, and Griskevicius 2008, pp. 473-474

Lobbying and Influencing Elected Officials

Elected officials are crucial for passing policies that enact social change, securing resources for social movements, swaying public opinion, and legitimizing and supporting progressive organizations.[152]

Although the amount of money in politics has discouraged many activists from attempting to reach out to their policymakers, many studies have shown that community members have a large impact on officials.[153]

One study of 41 offices of the U.S. House of Representatives asked legislative staff to list their main constituent groups. The study found that most legislative staff can only remember a handful of constituent groups, and no staff members were able to correctly remember more than 75% of their constituent groups. Which constituent groups were consistently remembered? Those who contact the office regularly by mail, phone, or in-person visits.[154] Staff and officials do try to take their constituents' needs into account when making decisions, but if you are not in regular communication with them, they will likely forget about you. Staying in touch can keep you and your issues at the forefront of your officials' minds.

Another study randomly assigned all members of both houses of the Michigan legislature to either receive calls from constituents on an issue or to receive no calls. The study found that legislators who were contacted by constituents were 12% more likely to support the relevant legislation.[155] Lobbying works—so contact your officials and encourage other progressives to do the same!

The Congressional Management Foundation has been surveying congressional staff members for over a decade in order to help individuals learn how to best communicate with their elected officials. Their most recent report (2017), *Citizen-Centric Advocacy: The Untapped Power of Constituent Engagement*, provides detailed information and case studies on how individuals can have the most impact on their Congress members. While we summarize the report below, we recommend reading the entire report if you're interested in learning more about lobbying. The report can be found for free at the Congressional Management Foundation's website, available at: http://www.congressfoundation.org

---

[152] Broockman and Butler 2017; Campbell 2012; Cress and Snow 2000; Platt 2007; Soule and Olzak 2004

[153] Bergan 2014; Fitch, Goldschmidt, and Cooper 2017; Jones-Jamtgaard and Lee 2017; Miler 2009; O'Dougherty, Forster, and Widome 2010

[154] Miler 2009

[155] Bergan 2014

The most effective strategies for influencing elected officials include:
- Contact all your representatives
- Make personal connections
- Communicate using values-based messages
- Make specific requests based on local impacts

Contact all your representatives

Contacting the all of the elected officials, Republican and Democrat alike, in your district frequently is key to getting your organization's issues on the political agenda.

Research has shown that people tend to only contact policymakers who are of the same political party.[156] This is problematic because a survey of almost 2,000 U.S. legislators found that both Democrat and Republican policymakers tend to overestimate the number of conservatives in their districts by up to 20%,[157] likely due to a small number of outspoken conservatives contacting elected officials frequently.

Thankfully, the number of progressive individuals contacting their elected officials has skyrocketed in the past few years.[158] You can join this historic shift by reaching out to all of your local officials and making sure they know that their constituents stand for progressive issues and causes. Be sure to only contact those within your district—it is widely accepted that elected officials try to take only their constituents' needs into account when making decisions.

Make personal connections

One of the most common ways people contact their representatives today is through copy-and-paste emails or signing their name on an online petition. Unfortunately, these are some of the least effective ways of influencing elected officials. Studies have found that generic messages, such as mass copy-and-paste emails and pre-recorded phone messages, are not very useful in swaying elected officials.[159] Personally writing your own emails, letters, and social media posts and

---

[156] Broockman and Ryan 2016

[157] Broockman and Skovron 2013;

[158] Killough 2017

[159] Fitch, Goldschmidt, and Cooper 2017; O'Dougherty, Forster, and Widome 2010

making personal phone calls are much more effective at influencing policymakers.[160]

In a survey of congressional staff, the Congressional Management Foundation asked what constituents can do in order to influence elected officials' decisions. The most influential forms of contact include in-person visits, contact from constituent representatives (such as local associations, nonprofits, and companies), personalized emails and letters, local editorials, comments during town halls, personalized phone calls, letters to the editor, visits from lobbyists, and social media posts directed at the congressional office.

Most Influential Ways to Contact Policymakers

Way to contact	Percent
In-person visits	94%
Constituent representatives	94%
Individualized emails	92%
Individualized letters	88%
Local editorials	87%
Town halls	87%
Phone calls	84%
Letters to the editor	84%
Visit from lobbyist	83%
Social media posts	78%

■ "A lot" or "some" influence on undecided policymaker
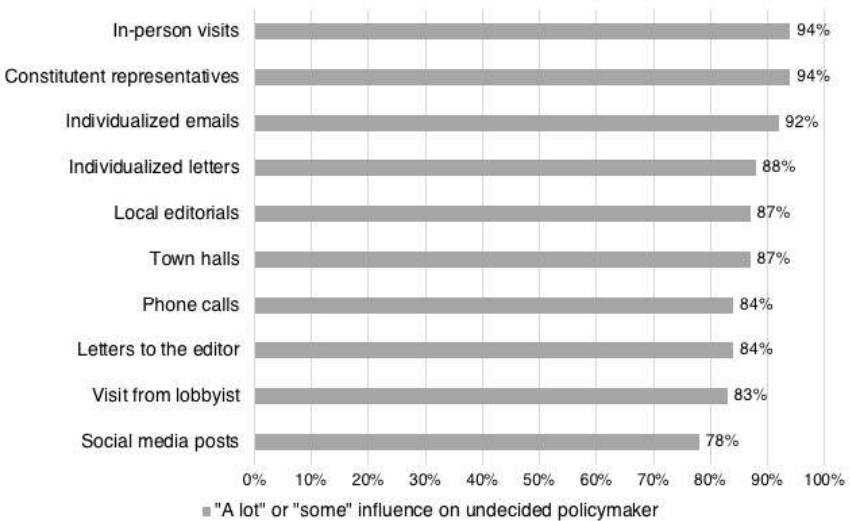
Source: Fitch, Goldschmidt, and Cooper (2017)

It's also important to remember that building a relationship with the office of your officials and its staff members can greatly increase your impact, as staff members help inform elected officials and carry out many of the important tasks related to decisions. Getting to know Legislative Assistants, District Directors, and State Directors can help you build a better relationship with your Congress members.[161]

Communicate using values-based messages

[160] Bergan 2014; Fitch, Goldschmidt, and Cooper 2017; O'Dougherty, Forster, and Widome 2010
[161] Fitch, Goldschmidt, and Cooper 2017

Although we often construct arguments that are the most persuasive to *us*,[162] it is much more effective to persuade by tapping into the values of the person you're trying to convince.[163]

A food bank in Fresno, CA had great success using values-based messaging tailored to their elected officials. They were working to secure more funding for produce at their food bank and to get the CalFood program to use California-produced food. The food bank successfully persuaded their primarily conservative state legislators to support their cause by framing the issue in Republican values. They emphasized the positive local economic impact of food banks and framed their cause as an economic stimulus that would support the local economy. As a result of their work, their officials approved the use of California-produced food in the CalFood program and designated $2 million of the state budget for food banks to purchase California-grown food.[164]

Make specific requests based on local impacts

Constituents often fail to persuade their elected officials when they are either underprepared or overprepared. Vague, partisan appeals to support progressive policies from clearly uninformed individuals often fall flat. On the other hand, individuals and groups that send along multiple-page reports with detailed background information and dense analyses of multiple issues often overwhelm policymakers.

In order to have the most impact, the Congressional Management Foundation (2017) recommends preparing a one-page brief that clearly explains the local impact of the issue at hand. Over 90% of congressional staff say that this information would be helpful to have, but only 9% report that they receive such information on local impacts frequently.[165] Include a couple of simple, clearly stated facts or statistics. One study found that showing Republicans a pie chart or a simple sentence with the statistic that 97% of climate scientists agree that climate change is happening led those Republicans to boost their estimates of the scientific consensus around climate change by 14-30%.[166] Doing your research can really pay off!

---

162 Feinberg and Willer 2015
163 Feinberg and Miller 2015; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018
164 Fitch, Goldschmidt, and Cooper 2017
165 Fitch, Goldschmidt, and Cooper 2017
166 van der Linden, Leiserowitz, Feinberg, and Maibach 2014

If you're meeting in person, send the brief along *before* your meeting so your policymaker or staff member has a chance to review it before they talk to you. Briefs should include the following information:

1. Clear and specific request for action
2. Brief description of the problem
3. Facts and statistics on the impact of the issue or bill on the district or state
   a. Number of constituents affected by the issue
   b. Local groups affected by the issue
   c. Estimated economic impact
4. Proposed solution or alternative
5. Restate your clear and specific request for action

After you've sent your brief over for review and you're ready for your meeting, or if you're reaching out via a phone call, letter, or email, you can use the following basic outline for communicating with your officials:

1. Tell them your name and profession
2. Identify where you live to affirm that you are a constituent
3. Clearly express what policy or issue you are in support or opposition of
4. State how supporting or opposing the policy or issue supports the platform the official ran on or the values of the party the official belongs to
   a. Do not insult the official's party or platform—this does not work—find a way to emphasize how your issue supports their values
5. Briefly and clearly summarize one or two statistics from non-partisan sources showing the impact of the policy or issue locally
6. If relevant, include a story of how the issue impacts you personally
7. Make a specific request of the official
8. Thank them for their time

By following these strategies, you can greatly increase your influence in politics.

Mobilizing Voters

Social movements are more likely to secure wins when there are more Democrats and progressive allies in office.[167] The vast majority of campaigns also rely both directly and indirectly on elected officials, policies, and ballot propositions in order to secure wins. Even organizations that claim to work "outside the system" see much more success in areas with liberal voters and policymakers. Establishing a large base of progressive voters who will approve progressive policies and elect progressive candidates is crucial to social movement success.

The most effective strategies for mobilizing progressive voters include:
- Work with established groups (if you can)
- Use evidence-based practices
- Prioritize personal interactions
- Avoid mobilizing the opposition

Work with established groups (if you can)

Voter mobilization in urban and suburban areas often requires high levels of expertise, funding, and coordination. If you are an individual with little voter mobilization experience, we recommend volunteering with an established voter mobilization group in order to have the most impact and build your knowledge and skills.

Many modern voter mobilization groups are run by and for low-income people, youth, people of color, and women in order to build grassroots power and fight for truly progressive and transformative policies and policymakers. Working with these groups can help you not only mobilize voters, but also build community resilience and empower marginalized groups.

Indivisible is an organization working to build progressive voting power to combat the Trump administration. The people who formed Indivisible were outraged to watch a small number of conservatives take control of the U.S. political system, and for Trump to win the presidency despite losing the popular vote. Indivisible has organizing groups and voter mobilization volunteer opportunities across the country working to benefit progressive causes. Learn how you can get involved by visiting the Indivisible website, available at: https://www.indivisible.org/

---

[167] Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010; Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Cress and Snow 2000; Giugni 2007; King, Bentele, and Soule 2007; Minkoff 1997; Soule and Olzak 2004

If you live in California, Power California (made up of the former organizations YVote and Mobilize the Immigrant Vote) is one of the most effective and progressive coalitions engaged in youth organizing and voter mobilization work. Power California is made up of youth organizations from all across California and has registered over 40,000 young people since 2016. You can contact them to see how you can get involved by visiting their website, available at: https://powercalifornia.org/

If these groups do not have opportunities where you live, HeadCount offers an excellent list of organizations across the U.S. that mobilize voters, protect voters' rights, conduct research, and produce civic technology. You can browse their list of organizations to see where you can get involved by visiting their website, available at: https://www.headcount.org/organizations/

Finally, if you live in an area with no voter mobilization groups at all, you can work on your own to help build progressive community voter power. In 2018, Dr. Veronica Terriquez helped create the Central Valley Freedom Summer project, which trained 25 college students who grew up in the Central Valley on how to mobilize low-income, youth, and voters of color in their largely rural hometowns. Because voter turnout is historically very low in these communities, it is expected that the small number of students mobilizing youth will have a large impact. The Central Valley Freedom Summer project will not have statistics on its effectiveness until after the 2018 elections, but you can follow the project on its Facebook page in order to receive upcoming articles on the most effective tactics and strategies for using grassroots voter mobilization strategies, available at: https://www.facebook.com/CVFS2018/

Use evidence-based practices

For those who are interested in running their own voter mobilization campaigns, it is important to follow the hundreds of scientific studies on effective mobilization strategies, *not* conventional methods or even the advice of professional "mobilization experts." Many of the most widely used voter mobilization strategies—pre-recorded phone calls, synergy methods that contact voters in a variety of ways, distributing non-partisan voting information, email campaigns, and online advertising—have been shown numerous times by rigorous experiments to have little to no effect on voters.[168]

---

[168] Green and Gerber 2015

Green and Gerber have been publishing books summarizing all of the available research on voter mobilization for years. Their most current book, *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*, was published in 2015. They summarize hundreds of experiments on voter mobilization to offer a comprehensive and accurate list of best practices. They also examine the cost-effectiveness of each strategy and offer detailed explanations for how to choose strategies based on your local political environment. We summarize their findings below, but we recommend reading the most current edition of their book if you are planning on conducting a voter mobilization campaign.

By pooling the findings from all experiments on voter mobilization, Green and Gerber (2015) were able to run meta-analyses to determine the average effect of each voter mobilization strategy. They found that door-to-door canvassing is the most effective, raising voter turnout by an average of 4.3%. Volunteer phone calls are the next most effective, raising turnout by 2.9%. Direct mail that prints the names of individuals who have not voted—called social pressure mailers—is slightly less effective than volunteer calls with an average effect of 2.3%.

As previously stated, nonpartisan mailers are not very effective (they only raise turnout by an average of .05%), nor are commercial phone banks (0.8%) or prerecorded phone calls (0.1%).

Effectiveness of Voter Mobilization Strategies

Source: Green and Gerber (2015)
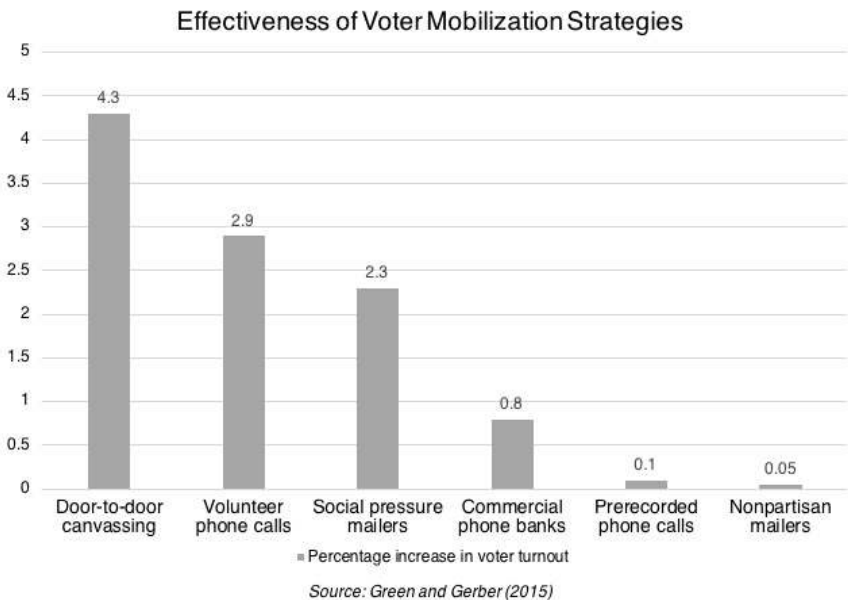
Some recent research has also shown promising results for text message reminders to vote.[169]

Your context will help determine the best strategy for you to use, but these findings are very promising for local activists—you can make a huge impact in progressive politics by simply talking with your neighbors through door-to-door canvassing and phone calls. Depending on the state of your local voter mobilization infrastructure, you may wish to volunteer with a local organization using best practices to mobilize progressive voters, or start your own door-to-door campaign.

Prioritize personal interactions

Overall, the more personal the interaction is between the voter mobilization campaign and the individual, the higher the chances are that the person will vote.[170] Green and Gerber (2015) contend that door-to-door canvassing is the "gold standard," boasting the highest turnout rates. Because research has shown that local canvassers with community ties can be much more successful at boosting voting rates than distant outsiders,[171] progressive individuals can make a big impact in local politics through door-to-door canvassing, even in areas without formal voter mobilization groups. Phone calls from volunteers can also be effective when they are personal and unhurried.[172]

Voter mobilization messages should highlight positive norms that show the large number of progressives, youth, and people of color expected to turn out to vote. Studies have shown that emphasizing high expected turnout rates boosts voter turnout,[173] while lamenting low turnout rates can actually reduce turnout by 1.2 percentage points.[174]

Additionally, focusing on collective identities by using messaging encouraging people to "be a voter" is more effective at boosting turnout than simply asking people to vote.[175]

Overall, making personal contact that makes people feel wanted and needed at the polls is what makes people turn out to vote.[176]

---

[169] Bhatti, Dahlgaard, Hansen, and Hansen 2017; Dale and Strauss 2009
[170] Green and Gerber 2015
[171] Sinclair, McConnell, and Michelson 2013
[172] Green and Gerber 2015
[173] Gerber and Rogers 2009
[174] Keane and Nickerson 2015
[175] Bryan, Walton, Rogers and Dweck 2011

Avoid mobilizing the opposition

In highly conservative cities, untargeted, non-partisan voter mobilization may simply increase the ranks of conservative voters without impacting progressive voter rolls much. Progressive change-makers can target their door-to-door canvassing efforts in local neighborhoods known to have progressive leanings and historically low voting rates.

Activists may also consider using persuasive campaigns, which seek to convince voters to vote for certain candidates or policies, instead of generally boosting turnout overall. Gerber and Green (2015) have also analyzed the effectiveness of these strategies. Appeals to urge ideologically aligned voters to vote in a certain way have been shown to successfully impact voting behavior. For example, activists can urge historically liberal voters to approve a certain progressive ballot proposition or vote for a certain progressive candidate.

Again, impersonal pre-recorded calls and online contact hasn't been shown to be very impactful for persuasive campaigns.[177] Heavy advertisements and mobilization efforts from special interest groups—groups attempting to shift public policy in favor of their particular issue—have been shown to be risky moves. While some Democratic voters may view liberal special interest groups in a positive light, many view special interest groups as biased and manipulative. The research shows that special interest groups can significantly raise opposition from conservatives, canceling out or even overcoming the effect on progressive voters.[178]

TV advertising for persuasive campaigns seems to have very strong effects, but these effects only last about a week, so their timing must be planned carefully.[179] Contrary to widespread belief, reviews and meta-analyses examining a total of tens of thousands of voters show that negative political ads that attack opponents are not particularly effective.[180] They do reduce support for the target, but they also reduce support for the attacker.[181] Progressives should not waste money on smear campaigns against conservatives, and should instead prioritize building the progressive voter base.

---

[176] Green and Gerber 2015
[177] Green and Gerber 2015
[178] Green and Gerber 2015
[179] Gerber and Green 2015
[180] Lau and Rovner 2009; Lau, Sigelman, and Rovner 2007
[181] Lau, Sigelman, and Rovner 2007

Worksheet 2: Assessing Your Tactical Repertoire

At the end of the guide, we will help you create a detailed activist plan for creating change. For now, think about which tactics you have experience with. You may have planned or conducted some tactics as a leader, or you may have participated in some tactics as a follower or member. Taking stock of your history with different tactics will help you understand your current skills and experience levels and help you identify new tactics you may be interested in pursuing.

The tactics I have the most experience with include:

Some new tactics I'm interested in learning more about or trying out include:

Some of the scientifically-proven best practices that I already use in my activism include:

Some of the scientifically-proven best practices that I just learned about that I want to start using include:

Part 2: Building Strong Progressive Movements

We do not engage in activism in isolation. Our organizations and movements have a strong influence on our activist work, our engagement and motivation as activists, and on our likelihood for success.

While up-and-coming, ragtag groups of friends can spark local change, research has found that large, long-standing, stable organizations are often necessary for significant and long-lasting influence.[182] Research on social movements from the present day and going back all the way to the 1500s has also consistently shown that the most successful social movements have had strong partnerships with other organizations, movements, and communities.[183] Partnerships and coalitions allow movements to pursue broader change and increase their likelihood of success, as they have more people power and leverage. Movements and communities that support each other are all more likely to win their desired changes.

Building a strong progressive movement will allow us to more easily secure social change, instead of fighting an uphill battle. Many mistakenly believe that the way to build a strong progressive movement is through ideology—"getting everyone on the same page" by convincing them to adopt our particular viewpoints, tactics, or political frameworks. It's important to realize that movements often institutionalize and radicalize at the same time.[184] Disagreements within movements are equally common.[185] You do not need to agree with other progressive organizations' or movements' values, tactics, or ideologies in order to support them. No successful social movement in history was made up of individuals who all shared exactly the same goals and opinions, but many social movements have failed due to infighting and burnout.

Research has shown that the way to build strong progressive movements is through intentional recruitment that supports and nourishes budding activists from all backgrounds, and through active organizational attention to burnout and oppression. This section will teach you proven best practices for recruiting activists to your cause, preventing burnout, and challenging oppression and promoting social justice in organizations.

---

[182] Andrews 2001; Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Cress and Snow 2000; Gamson 1990; Giugni 2007; Johnson, Agone, and McCarthy 2010; Minkoff 1997; Soule and Olzak 2004

[183] Barkey 1991; Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Goldstone 2011; Gould 1991; Kim and Pfaff 2012; Zhao 1998

[184] Klandermans 2003

[185] Benford 1993a

Recruiting Activists

As activists, we need other change-makers to work alongside us on our campaigns, attend our protests, and support our movements. Chris Dixon (2014) has noted that progressive movements need both activism—mobilizing around particular issues—*and* organizing—building the capacity of individuals to mobilize. Activism and organizing work reinforce each other; both are needed to ensure social change.

Numerous scholars have investigated the factors that compel individuals to become activists, support progressive social movements, and engage in their communities.

The most effective strategies for recruiting activists include:
- Consider individual factors and constraints
- Ask people to join
- Demonstrate effective activism
- Use powerful communication strategies
- Support community organizations

Consider individual factors and constraints

As you will see throughout this section, activists are not born, they are shaped by support from progressive individuals and organizations. Can you think of a time in your life when you were relatively uneducated about progressive politics and activism? How many people, resources, and situations did you encounter that helped you on your path to activism? Try to remember your own journey when you read this section.

Most activists believe that there is a certain type of person who engages in progressive activism. Indeed, research has shown that individuals who already share our political interests,[186] who are knowledgeable about the issues,[187] who have experienced oppression,[188] and who want to make a difference in the world[189] are more likely to become activists. Additionally, individuals who have more

---

[186] Downton and Wehr 1998; Schussman and Soule 2005

[187] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Duhigg, Rostosky, Gray, and Wimsatt 2010; Galston 2001; Roser-Renouf, Maibach, Leiserowitz, and Zhao 2014

[188] Szymaski and Lewis 2015

[189] Case and Zeglen 2018; Cherry 2015; Downton and Wehr 1998; Granzin and Olsen 1991; Klein, Smith, and John 2004; Kovan and Dirx 2003; Swim and Hyers 1999

biographical availability, meaning they don't work full-time and don't have families to take care of, usually have more energy and time to devote to activism.[190]

However, while these factors can serve as constraints on who becomes an activist, they are not set in stone. Social movements can educate individuals about politics and spark their passions through frequent public mobilizations, a strong media presence, and through engagement with youth. We can also create systems to help working folks and families devote more time to activism. One scholar found that the Plowshares movement—which has organized against nuclear weapons for decades—has been able to survive for almost 40 years in part by assisting members with their family responsibilities.[191]

It's important to understand that the number of *potential* sympathizers and supporters of our movements is very large. Even though some personal factors are set in stone for some people, personal factors are only one component of the choice to take up activism—we can have a significant impact on all the following factors to help encourage people to fight for progressive causes.

Ask people to join

We need not wait passively for supporters to join us; there are large numbers of potential activists who can benefit our movements. Research has shown that some progressive organizations have missed out on sympathetic allies simply because a large portion of their communities did not even know that their organization existed.[192] It is up to us to increase awareness and action by nurturing political and civic engagement in our communities and recruiting people to support our causes.

One of the biggest predictors of engaging in activism is simply being asked to join,[193] and being invited by friends or family may have a larger impact on social movement participation than being invited by a stranger.[194] Invite your friends to join you on your next protest and take an active role in recruitment.

---

[190] Brym, Godbout, Hoffbauer, Menard, and Zhang 2014; Downton and Wehr 1998; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991
[191] Nepstad 2004
[192] Klandermans 1993
[193] McAdam and Paulson 1993; Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Schussman and Soule 2005; Somma 2009
[194] Opp and Gern 1993; Somma 2009

Demonstrate effective activism

Many of the same factors that lead to movement success also help recruit new activists. One of the biggest determinants of whether someone will become an activist is whether or not they believe activism is effective.[195] This makes intuitive sense—why would you work to create social change if you didn't believe your efforts would actually change anything? It is imperative to use effective tactics to gradually build up our successes and work step-by-step towards our goals in order to further recruit activists not only for our movement, but for progressive politics more broadly.

Similarly, individuals who are more optimistic,[196] who work with successful organizations,[197] and who are able to see the direct impact of their activist work[198] are more likely to engage in activism. We must not only emphasize our political cause, but show individuals that they can and will make a positive impact on the world by working with us.

Social movement activities and successes also loop back into recruitment. Government attention on activist issues can spark more political participation,[199] as can protests,[200] movement coalitions,[201] and local activist subcultures.[202]

Use powerful communication strategies

How you word your messaging on your website, protest flyers, and advertisements impacts the likelihood of individuals joining your group, supporting your cause, and donating to your organization.

Remember that detailed and specific messages almost always lead to more participation, support, and funding than vague and unclear messages.[203] One study found that individuals who were given detailed descriptions of the specific work

---

[195] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Case and Zeglen 2018; Downton and Wehr 1998; Granzin and Olsen 1991; Morgan and Chan 2016; Roser-Renouf, Maibach, Leiserowitz, and Zhao 2014; Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, and Denny 2010; Zuo and Benford 1995

[196] Kaiser and Miller 2004; Wellman, Czopp, and Geers 2009

[197] Bunnage 2014; Mannarini and Talò 2011

[198] Grant, Campbell, Chen, Cottone, Lapedis, and Lee 2007

[199] Platt 2007

[200] Minkoff 1997

[201] Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Minkoff 1997

[202] Fernandez and McAdam 1988; Viterna 2006

[203] Cryder, Lowenstein, and Scheines 2013; Genevsky, Västfjäll, Slovic, and Knutson 2013; Grant, Campbell, Chen, Cottone, Lapedis, and Lee 2007

done by a charity donated more money than individuals who were given very general descriptions.[204]

We previously mentioned that research on master frames—messaging strategies that emphasize broad, widely cherished values such as rights, democracy, and freedom—shows that deploying master frames can increase recruitment and help make your movement meaningful to broad populations.[205] Many studies have also confirmed that collective identities—identifying with a social movement, organization, community, or more broadly as an activist—lead to collective action.[206] People who identify as activists are more likely to join movements and engage in action.

Phrasing that evokes collective identities can also help people feel encouraged to join in. One study looked at this concept in the context of voting. They found that messaging strategies that emphasized a personal identity by asking people to "be a voter" were more effective at increasing turnout than phrasing that evoked a behavior by asking people to vote.[207] Similarly, asking people if "we can count on you," or to "please help" can boost donations and participation.[208]

On the whole, messaging that preemptively makes the reader or listener feel included and impactful is more likely to be effective in recruiting. Remember that successful movements use a variety of tactics strategically to ensure success. Your organization will probably need to use different messaging strategies to recruit participants than when you're talking to policymakers, negotiating with corporations, or testifying at city council.

Support community organizations

One of the most powerful actions activists can take is nurturing civic and political education—especially for youth—by supporting community organizations.

Cooperatives are one type of community organization that provide opportunities to learn and practice skills like collaborative problem-solving, collective decision-

---

[204] Cryder, Lowenstein, and Scheines 2013, p. 18

[205] Noonan 1995; Zuo and Benford 1995

[206] Berman and Wittig 2004; Bryan, Walton, Rogers, and Dweck 2011; Case and Zeglen 2018; Downton and Wehr 1998; Granzin and Olsen 1991; Klandermans 2003; McAdam and Paulson 1993; Morgan and Chan 2016; Nepstad 2004; Pfaff 1996; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018; Szymanski and Lewis 2015; Scott and Chan 2016; Simon, Loewy, Stürmer, Weber, Fretag, Habig, Kampmeier, and Spahlinger 1998;

[207] Bryan, Walton, Rogers, and Dweck 2011

[208] Andreoni, Rao, and Trachtman 2017; Lipsitz, Kallmeye, Ferguson, and Abas 1989

making, and community-building. Cooperatives can take many diverse forms. There are worker co-ops, businesses that sidestep the more common hierarchical owner-employee model and instead position workers themselves as the business' collective owners, benefiting directly from their labor by sharing in profits. There are food co-ops which cater to community food needs and include the members who shop there in either dividend sharing or opportunities to participate in aspects of the business' decision-making. There are also agricultural co-ops, electrical co-ops, retail co-ops, credit unions, and many other types, all aimed at meeting some shared need of the people involved.

Finally, there are housing cooperatives, communities working together to meet their shared need for housing without involving profit-minded landlords. Housing co-ops offer powerfully transformative experiences sharing day-to-day life in community with others, with members deciding for themselves which rules, norms, and cultural practices best allow them to live out their values.

Forthcoming research on housing cooperatives for the North American Students of Cooperation (NASCO) shows that because co-ops are run democratically by their members, co-ops greatly enhance members' leadership skills, capacity for engaging in community action, and civic and political participation. Cooperatives also provide direct services to members in the form of affordable housing, access to healthy food, and rich social support. To learn more about cooperatives and receive the forthcoming report on the impact of co-ops on individuals and communities, visit NASCO's website at the following link: https://www.nasco.coop/

Youth organizing groups, which help youth develop leadership skills to take action in their communities, are another important tool for empowering communities to create positive social change. Youth organizations are critical for building future generations of progressive leaders and activists, as the young people currently being mentored by youth organizing groups will help lead the nation in the decades to come.

Research on youth organizing groups by Dr. Veronica Terriquez and the Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) shows that youth organizing groups enhance their members' well-being, teach critical civic skills, and bolster political participation.[209] Youth organizing groups can also help young people of color and low-income youth overcome the structural barriers that normally prevent them from engaging in politics, leading them to participate at similar or even higher

---

[209] Bloemraad and Terriquez 2016; Terriquez 2015; Terriquez 2017; Terriquez and Kwon 2014

rates than their more privileged peers. To see publicly available research on youth organizing groups, visit PERE's website at the following link: https://dornsife.usc.edu/pere/bhc-youth-leadership/

Co-ops and youth organizing groups are a couple of examples of community institutions worth supporting, but many studies have also shown that experience in various types of political organizations (such as activist groups), non-political organizations (such as debate teams), and volunteering leads to increased political, civic, and community participation.[210] These findings are especially pronounced for young people, as youth who join organizations, volunteer, take civic education classes, and even who grow up around adults who volunteer are more likely to be civically and politically involved—both when they are young and when they grow older.[211] Additionally, people who have prior experience with activism are more likely to participate in activism later in life.[212]

For those who mistakenly believe that activism only springs out of political ideology, it may be surprising that one of the biggest predictors of activism is involvement with community volunteer efforts, political organizations, and even non-political organizations. However, it is important to remember that people need knowledge, skills, and experience in order to be effective activists.[213] Group participation, volunteering, and cooperatives teach people how to speak in public, make group decisions, understand community issues, and influence decisionmakers.

Overall, we should not expect people to join our movements on their own—we need to actively encourage, support, and train individuals to become activists. Cooperatives, youth organizing groups, and other community organizations are excellent tools to build supportive and integrated communities that provide direct services to members while nurturing activism and civic engagement.

---

[210] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Ayala 2000; Bloemraad and Terriquez 2016; Brym, Godbout, Hoffbauer, Menard, and Zhang 2014; Ginwright 2007; Janoski, Musick, and Wilson 1998; Lee and Soonhee 2014; Lim 2008; McAdam 1986; McFarland and Thomas 2006; Terriquez 2015; Terriquez 2017; Terriquez and Kwon 2014; Viterna 2006; Zeldin, Gaulet, Krauss, Kornbluh, and Collura 2017

[211] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Bloemraad and Terriquez 2016; Ginwright 2007; Janoski, Musick, and Wilson 1998; McFarland and Thomas 2006; O'Donoghue and Strobel 2007; Terriquez 2015; Terriquez 2017; Terriquez and Kwon 2014; Zeldin, Gaulet, Krauss, Kornbluh, and Collura 2017

[212] Klandermans 2003; McAdam 1986; Scott 1977; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991

[213] Dixon 2014

Preventing Burnout

Once we recruit supporters, how do we ensure they will stay involved in our movements? Activist causes have wasted immeasurable amounts of community support by allowing dedicated and skilled activists to burn out and disappear from activism.

Burnout is a serious issue that deserves larger attention from all progressive social movements and organizations. Burnout is the deterioration of psychological, emotional, and physical well-being coupled with feelings of hopelessness.[214] Burnout is a severe condition that often leads activists to temporarily or even permanently withdraw from activism.[215] Unfortunately, burnout is quite common—one study found that 10-50% of union and peace activists have experienced burnout, and up to 87% of peace activists had quit activism within 6 years of getting involved.[216] Unfortunately, burnout is even more prevalent among marginalized activists, such as people of color, as they must cope not only with the stresses of activism but also with everyday acts of racism and oppression.[217]

Burnout is frequently caused by the culture of martyrdom often present in activist circles[218]—activists have a heightened sense of responsibility for the issues plaguing the world,[219] feel overwhelmed at the severity of these issues,[220] and then over-work themselves in attempt to help as much as they can.[221] The culture of martyrdom also affects activists when organizations place too much pressure and make too many demands of individuals,[222] attack fellow activists in bouts of infighting,[223] and withhold critical social support.[224]

In recent years, more attention has been paid to burnout within progressive movements. Much of attention has been focused on small self-care activities, many of which involve buying consumer products, such as taking bubble baths or eating chocolate. Have any studies documented the links between the number of bubble baths taken and lifelong activism? No. While immensely important, self-care is not

---

[214] Gorski and Chen 2015

[215] Gorski and Chen 2015; Klandermans 2003; Rodgers 2010; Mannarini and Talò 2011

[216] Klandermans 2003

[217] Gorski 2018a; Gorski 2018b; Vaccaro and Mena 2011

[218] Gorski and Chen 2015

[219] Benford 1993b; Gorski 2018a; Rodgers 2010; Vaccaro and Mena 2011

[220] Benford 1993b; Chen and Gorski 2015; Gorski 2018a

[221] Chen and Gorski 2015; Gorski and Chen 2015; Rodgers 2010

[222] Chen and Gorski 2015; Mannarini and Talò 2011

[223] Chen and Gorski 2015; Gomes 1992; Gorski 2018a

[224] Gorski 2018a; Gorski and Chen 2015; Vaccaro and Mena 2011

sufficient for building strong and resilient progressive movements. Self-care can help us cope with acute stress in our day-to-day lives, and may help buffer some of the symptoms of burnout, but expecting individual activists to manage a lifetime of underpaid work combatting the world's most horrific and pressing issues with baths and chocolate is ineffective and irresponsible. We must address burnout together.

The research has shown that two most successful ways to prevent and combat burnout are (1) for individuals to prioritize their long-term career and activist development and (2) for organizations and movements to actively address burnout amongst their members. Career and activist development is important because we need to know our actions are making a difference in order to feel effective and buffer the stresses that come with activism. We will discuss how to integrate activism into your life to become an effective activist later on. Organizational attention to burnout is important because many of the causes and remedies of burnout exist at the organizational level. Organizations that help foster and nourish activists are crucial to creating resilient and strong communities and movements.

The most effective strategies for preventing burnout and fostering long-term activism include:
- Consider different levels of involvement
- Foster supportive environments

Consider different levels of involvement

Short-term and low-risk activism is easy and relatively free of danger, such as attending a nonviolent protest one afternoon or mailing a postcard to your senator. Long-term and high-risk activism, in contrast, is more difficult or dangerous. The Mississippi Freedom Summer project of 1964 is an example of high-risk activism. Individuals, largely white college students from northern states, traveled south to help register Black voters, but faced immense backlash and violence from local whites, leading to the murders of several college students within the first few weeks of the project.[225]

Unsurprisingly, people are generally more likely to participate in short-term and low-risk activism.[226] But scholars have identified many factors that differentiate individuals who sign a petition one time from people who spend their lives fighting

---

[225] McAdam 1986

[226] Klein, Smith, and John 2004; Simon, Loewy, Stürmer, Weber, Fretag, Habig, Kampmeier, and Spahlinger 1998

for social justice, and that differentiate individuals who are willing to put themselves at risk to engage in dangerous activism from individuals who are not. Perhaps surprisingly, individuals who dedicate their lives to progressive change are not always more politically radical or more tough than one-time or fair-weather supporters.

Instead, the biggest predictors of both high-risk and long-term activism are having prior experience with activism and organizational involvement[227] and having a strong sense of efficacy—working with successful organizations and believing that activism will make a difference in the world.[228]

Other important factors for engaging in high-risk and long-term activism include having strong ties to other activists,[229] living in an area strongly influenced by conflict or activism subcultures,[230] having more time and energy to participate,[231] participating in supportive and empowering social movements and organizations,[232] having a strong activist or collective identity,[233] and having low rates of burnout.[234]

In short, for the most part, people who dedicate their lives to activism have been nurtured and supported by other activists and community leaders. Every successful attempt at low-risk activism and community engagement builds a sense of efficacy, creates stronger links to other activists, and generates more political knowledge and skills. Over time, this increases the chances that someone will continue to engage in activism and perhaps take on high-risk activist projects.

This is very important for radical activists tackling the most high-stakes issues to learn. The way to build strong communities that can resist oppression and violence is not through shaming inexperienced activists or developing ever more complicated political ideologies—it's through community support, empowerment, and education. Paradoxically, those who want to see more lifelong activists and individuals who are willing to engage in high-risk activism should be pursuing more low-risk activist events, which can help train and nurture future generations of activists who have the skills and confidence to take on larger tasks later in life.

---

[227] Klandermans 2003; McAdam 1986; Viterna 2006; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991

[228] Bunnage 2014; Mannarini and Talò 2011; Scott and Chan 2016

[229] McAdam 1986

[230] Fernandez and McAdam 1988; Viterna 2006

[231] McAdam 1986

[232] Bunnage 2014; Case and Zeglen 2018;Downton and Wehr 1998; Mannarini and Talò 2011; Nepstad 2004; Scherer, Allen, and Harp 2016

[233] Case and Zeglen 2018; Downton and Wehr 1998; Klandermans 2003; Nepstad 2004

[234] Downton and Wehr 1998; Klandermans 2003

Foster supportive environments

Preventing burnout and sustaining long-term activism happens on the organizational and movement level. Effective organizations do not blame activists who leave their organizations. Instead, they recognize that poor retention is a symptom of unsupportive and ineffective organizations and they actively work towards creating more positive, supportive, and efficacious cultures of activism work.

Effective organizations that nurture happy, dedicated, and effective activists are attuned to the individual needs and motivations of their members.[235] They know that activists often leave organizations due to a poor fit between members' skills and interests and the roles they are assigned, and so effective organizations work to offer activists meaningful tasks.

Effective organizations with longstanding members also offer a supportive and friendly community, where conflict and oppression are actively addressed.[236] The most successful strategies don't attempt to completely prevent conflict from arising—conflict is natural. Instead, effective organizations attempt to work *with* conflict to move forward together.[237]

Finally, effective organizations that successfully retain activists have concrete goals for social change that they are successfully working towards accomplishing.[238] One study found that fundraisers who got to meet for 10 minutes with a student who had earned a scholarship funded in part by the fundraising organization spent 142% more time on their calls and raised 171% more money.[239] Efficacy is crucial not only for achieving a better world, but also for retaining activists, who need to know that their work is worthwhile.

---

[235] Scherer, Allen, and Harp 2016
[236] Dixon 2014; Gomes 1992; Klandermans 2003; Pacheco, Moniz, and Calderia 2015
[237] Ely and Thomas 2001
[238] Gomes 1992; Pines 1994
[239] Grant, Campbell, Chen, Cottone, Lapedis, and Lee 2007

Challenging Oppression and Promoting Social Justice

Did you know that colorblind approaches to diversity—making statements such as "I don't see color" or "we shouldn't discuss racism or sexism because it will just further highlight our differences"—actually lead to *more* prejudice,[240] a lessened ability to identify discrimination,[241] and resentment and diminished trust from minority members?[242]

We need not take an anxious, avoidant approach to diversity where we pretend that we are all the same. It is helpful to acknowledge and appreciate our differences. Organizations that take a multicultural approach to diversity—recognizing and valuing differences between people and actively engaging with inequality and identity issues—have lower levels of prejudice and more member engagement, satisfaction, and learning.[243]

Many social psychologists and sociologists study bias, prejudice, and discrimination and have developed scientifically-proven best practices for promoting social justice in organizations.

The most effective strategies for challenging oppression and promoting social justice include:
- Adopt pro-diversity policies and practices
- Tackle the root causes of oppression

Adopt pro-diversity policies and practices

All schools, workplaces, co-ops, and social movement organizations should have multiple policies and practices that promote diversity and inclusion and discourage discrimination and harassment. The research is clear: there is no one magic bullet that prevents all forms of oppression, but adopting a range of efforts aimed at promoting social justice leads to very positive results.

Scientists have identified a number of policies and practices that help foster social justice and prevent inequality. They include: policies against harassment and

---

[240] Courtois and Herman 2015; Richeson and Nussbaum 2004

[241] Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, and Ambady 2010

[242] Ely and Thomas 2001; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, and Crosby 2008

[243] Awbrey 2007; Ely and Thomas 2001; Gorman-Murray and Waitt 2009; Jansen, Vos, Otten, Podsiadlowski, and van der Zee 2016

violence,[244] reporting and assessment mechanisms for discrimination and oppression,[245] multicultural and inclusion training for staff and members,[246] support groups for marginalized members,[247] and supporting or hosting multicultural events and art.[248]

Institutions and organizations that take an active approach to adopting some of the policies above have lower levels of discrimination,[249] lower levels of bullying,[250] lower levels of sexual harassment,[251] more positive work experiences,[252] more feelings of safety,[253] and lower rates of suicidality.[254]

The importance of leadership also needs to be emphasized, as those in leadership roles have the power to either help promote and encourage social justice or contribute to unhealthy and hurtful cultures. High-power leaders who endorse colorblind ideologies lead their workers to be more prejudiced.[255] In contrast, diverse leadership and staff help contribute to a trusting and safe environment for minorities, and also help minority groups speak up more in classrooms and meetings.[256] One study found that in classrooms with male instructors, male students talk 2.5 times longer than female students, while female instructors led to more balanced classroom discussions.[257]

Does your organization use group decision-making models in order to promote member engagement and reduce power imbalances? One study found that one-

[244] Buchanan, Settles, Hall, and O'Connor 2014; Downey, van der Werff, Thomas, and Plaut 2015; Kosciew, Gretak, Giga, Villenas, and Danischewski 2016; Mitchell, Gray, Green, and Beninger 2014; Ragins and Cornwell 2001; Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, and Thoroughgood 2017

[245] Bell, Özbilgin, Beauregard, and Sürgevil 2011; Buchanan, Settles, Hall, and O'Connor 2014

[246] Bell, Özbilgin, Beauregard, and Sürgevil 2011; Buchanan, Settles, Hall, and O'Connor 2014; Kosciew, Gretak, Giga, Villenas, and Danischewski 2016; Livingston, Milne, Fang, and Amari 2011; Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, and Thoroughgood 2017

[247] Bell, Özbilgin, Beauregard, and Sürgevil 2011; Kosciew, Gretak, Giga, Villenas, and Danischewski 2016; Szalacha and Westheimer 2006; Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, and Thoroughgood 2017

[248] Downey, van der Werff, Thomas, and Plaut 2015; Fuoss, Kistenberg, and Rosenfeld 1992; Gorman-Murray and Waitt 2009

[249] Kosciew, Gretak, Giga, Villenas, and Danischewski 2016; Ragins and Cornwell 2001; Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, and Thoroughgood 2017

[250] Kosciew, Gretak, Giga, Villenas, and Danischewski 2016; Mitchell, Gray, Green, and Beninger 2014; Paluck, Shephard, and Aronow 2016

[251] Buchanan, Settles, Hall, and O'Connor 2014

[252] Downey, van der Werff, Thomas, and Plaut 2015; Ragins and Cornwell 2001; Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, and Thoroughgood 2017

[253] Kosciew, Gretak, Giga, Villenas, and Danischewski 2016; Szalacha and Westheimer 2006

[254] Szalacha and Westheimer 2006

[255] Courtois and Herman 2015

[256] Downey, van der Werff, Thomas, and Plaut 2015; Krupnick 1985

[257] Krupnick 1985

fifth to one-third of the variation in group decision-making can be attributed to facilitators, even when groups are democratically-run, as members will censor themselves to appear in agreement with facilitators.[258] This does not bode well for organizations and groups that lump facilitation roles in with high-power, high-status roles, which are often filled by outspoken and opinionated white males. Rotating facilitation to different members at every meeting, choosing facilitators based on their ability to encourage every member to talk (instead of their *own* ability to talk), and training members on democratic facilitation can help prevent group dynamics from being hijacked and swayed towards the opinions of a small number of individuals.

Overall, protecting the safety, comfort, and rights of your members is extraordinarily important and powerful.

Tackle the root causes of oppression

While following all of the previously mentioned tactics can reduce prejudice and oppression levels and foster social justice *within* an organization, they are insufficient to combat oppression in the world at large.

Individual acts of oppression are largely due to social structures, norms, culture, institutions, and society at large.[259] When researchers manipulate these conditions as part of a study, individuals change their behavior. Even when people are randomly assigned to arbitrary groups by a coin toss, those who are assigned to a high-power group tend to exhibit discriminatory behavior towards the randomly-assigned low-power group.[260]

The conditions that scientists have found produce the most prejudice and individual acts of oppression include separating people into high- and low-power and high- and low-status groups[261] and invoking perceived or real competition for resources.[262]

---

[258] Humphreys, Masters, and Sandbu 2006

[259] Crandall, Eshleman, and O'Brien 2002; Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong 1998; Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo 1973; Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002; Poteat and Spanierman 2010; Sachdev and Bourhis 1985; Sachdev and Bourhis 1991; Watt and Larkin 2010

[260] Sachdev and Bourhis 1985; Sachdev and Bourhis 1991

[261] Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo 1973; Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002; Sachdev and Bourhis 1985; Sachdev and Bourhis 1991

[262] Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong 1998; Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002

Sound familiar? These conditions are actually baked into our society. Think about currently oppressed groups, such as women, people of color, or low-income individuals. These are all groups that have historically been given low power and status as compared to white, wealthy men. Our society and culture also breed anxiety about oppressed groups competing for resources—narratives about immigrants "stealing" our jobs and affirmative action giving "unfair" advantage to people of color and women are rampant. Thus, given the structure and culture of our society, scientists have proven that is *expected* that children raised in our society will be prejudiced and engage in oppressive acts.

The same could be said about the vast majority of issues activists are working to address. Our society is set up to reward those who find the cheapest way to exploit and profit off of the least advantaged, and so it is expected that companies will treat their workers poorly, harm the animals they are using for their products, and degrade the environment. By looking upstream at the root causes of issues, we're better able to understand how to prevent problems from occurring.

When we continue to live in a society set up to breed prejudice and inequality, individuals will always come into our lives and organizations with years of oppressive baggage to unlearn. We cannot only apply band-aid fixes; we must also tackle oppression at its root.[263] Planning campaigns for creating social change, as described previously in this guide, will help you address the root causes of oppression—harmful policies, institutional practices, and broad social norms.

[263] Durrheim and Dixon 2018

Worksheet 3: Organizational Checklist

As a member of an organizing or activism group or progressive nonprofit, you can help build a large and diverse movement to champion progressive causes; prevent burnout among committed activists; and help all of your members feel more valued, supported, and safe. Even if you are not working with a political group, you can help your workplace or school be more inclusive and reduce levels of bias, harassment, and violence.

Which of the following practices accurately describe your group, organization, workplace, or school? Not every practice will be realistic for every organization, but this checklist can help you identify room for improvement.

Building strong movements and preventing burnout
o   We take an active approach to recruiting activists and volunteers
o   We use effective tactics and are successful in our activism and organizing
o   We have an intentional messaging strategy for recruiting activists and volunteers
o   We support or fund volunteer and extracurricular opportunities for youth, youth organizing groups, and/or cooperatives
o   We take an active approach to addressing and preventing burnout among our membership
o   We match up volunteers and members with tasks that suit their interests and skills
o   We offer a supportive and friendly community
o   We celebrate our successes together

Promoting social justice and combating oppression
o   Our approach to diversity values people's different backgrounds and contributions, instead of trying to pretend we are all the same
o   We have policies against harassment, discrimination, and violence
o   Our anti-harassment, anti-discrimination, and anti-violence policies are easily accessible and regularly shared with our staff or members
o   We have clear mechanisms for how to report harassment, discrimination, and violence
o   We have multicultural and inclusion training for staff, leaders, and key members
o   We have support groups for marginalized members (e.g., women's circles, LGBTQ meet-ups, people of color luncheons, etc.)
o   We promote or host social justice-themed events

- o   We have social justice or diversity-themed art and posters in our space
- o   Our staff and leadership are diverse
- o   If we have group decision-making meetings, we choose empowering facilitators, rotate facilitation, and/or give facilitators training
- o   We support activists working to tackle the root causes of oppression by offering free meeting spaces, financial support, and/or endorsements

How do you feel about your organization's current amount of progressive and inclusive practices?

Are there any practices you want to start implementing within your organization?

Can you anticipate having any difficulties or challenges implementing new practices?

What will you do if you run into difficulties?

Because individuals enter our lives with years of indoctrination in an oppressive system, we often cannot completely prevent or eliminate acts of oppression in our organizations. What other work do you want to engage in to help reduce oppression and promote social justice in your community?

Part 3: Integrating Activism into Daily Life

Which actions are you currently taking in your day-to-day life that will contribute to a more safe and peaceful existence for the planet, animals, and people? Perhaps you try to buy local or organic goods, work for a nonprofit, vote, eat vegan or vegetarian, post your political views online, live in a cooperative, drive an electric or hybrid car, or even eschew a car altogether to walk or bike. Individual activism is incredibly diverse and takes many forms.

We've also known many activists—including ourselves—who have become frustrated and burned out about the lack of certainty around individual activism. Which actions actually have an impact? What can you do to really create change?

Our research uncovered the top two most impactful individual actions, both of which have been studied extensively and proven to be highly effective. These are choosing an impactful career and giving what you can to effective charities and progressive organizations. These two actions were chosen as the most impactful based on their extraordinarily large potential for improving the world throughout your lifetime and their highly studied and proven ability to create change.

By choosing an impactful career, donating 1-10% of your income to effective charities, and living in or shopping at a cooperative, you can transform all of your normal, everyday activities into progressive acts for social change. We consider these among the most impactful actions activists can take because most of us spend the vast majority of our time at our jobs and the vast majority of our money on food and housing. If you're able to take on other small acts of activism, help build progressive movements, and engage in progressive activist campaigns on top of your everyday activism activities, your life will be a powerful vehicle for creating change.

Many other individual actions are helpful—and we will shortly cover which lifestyle changes and individual acts of activism can create the most change—but none are nearly as impactful, long-term, as your career and giving choices. Lifestyle changes and small acts can increase your impact, help you live out your values, and connect you with other activists, but your potential is limited if you only take these actions.

Career and Giving Choices

Our research uncovered the most impactful way individuals can make a difference.

The top most effective individual actions include:
- Choose a high-impact career
- Give what you can to effective charities and progressive organizations

Choose a high-impact career

Many individuals want to make a difference with their career, but most of us feel lost about how to actually do so. Often, the only options seem to be taking a low-paying nonprofit job or taking a "normal" job just to pay the bills and treating activism as a hobby. You might consider becoming a doctor or lawyer, or even just starting a graduate degree with the hope that you'll figure out how to apply it later, but the prospect of years of expensive schooling can seem daunting.

In 2011, two undergraduates who wanted to make the world a better place decided to find another career path forward. They were tired of the traditional career advice to "follow their hearts"—they wanted to know how to ensure their efforts would actually help the problems they were most concerned about—global inequality, poverty, disease, climate change, and more. They researched every aspect of career development in order to find the careers that are proven to create lasting change.

They've since transformed their personal research into a nonprofit organization, 80,000 Hours, which offers a free, in-depth career planning guide for anyone who wants to use their career to make impactful change in the world. Their name is based on the fact that, on average, you will spend 80,000 hours at your job over your lifetime. In fact, you will probably spend more time at your job than you will spend engaging in any other activism acts over your lifetime. What if you could transform your largest time commitment into your biggest activist act? You can.

Through their research into the impact of different careers, 80,000 Hours found that the four most impactful career paths are:
- Research—both within and outside of academia
- Advocacy—encouraging others to create change and promoting solutions to the world's problems
- Direct work—providing services and help to those in need
- Earning to give—taking a higher paying job to donate your extra profits to charity

Choosing an impactful career could allow you to save hundreds of lives, dramatically transform the political landscape, or build critical activist or charitable infrastructure that can continue impacting the world for decades to come.

Thankfully, 80,000 Hours also found that in order to be successful and effective, you need to be passionate and excited about your job. You do not need to compromise your income, happiness, or free time to have an impact—indeed, the more you push yourself to sacrifice your own life for the greater good, the higher your risk of burnout.[264]

If your current job doesn't have the impact you want, if you're unhappy in your current position, or if you're just curious about what other activism jobs are out there, we highly recommend reading the 80,000 Hours career guide. Indeed, the guide has helped the primary author transform this research from a personal project exploring how to have the most impact as an individual into this effort to help you and other activists be more effective at creating change. We're grateful for the free resource and think you might find it impactful, as well. The guide is available at: https://80000hours.org

Another excellent resource is the book *The Lifelong Activist: How to Change the World Without Losing Your Way*, a 2006 book by Hillary Rettig. This book, which Rettig uploaded in its entirety online for free, helps activists manage their missions, time, fears, relationships with themselves, and relationships with others to prevent burnout and foster lifelong activism. This is an excellent resource for those feeling the symptoms of burnout, or for those wishing to strengthen their commitments to activism. You may wish to read the book as you conduct your career planning to help you deeply examine what you need in order to engage in activism long-term. *The Lifelong Activist* is available at: http://lifelongactivist.com/

Give what you can to effective charities and progressive organizations

Those of us with experience in nonprofits and progressive organizations know that our work is often limited by available funding. Donating to good causes can greatly increase the capacity for progressive change, and can allow you to help with issue areas that you're unable to do direct work in. For those with high salaries, donating can also be extremely efficient—for organizations with a backlog of willing volunteers, donating one hour's worth of your wages can sometimes help much more than one hour of your time.

---

[264] Chen and Gorski 2015; Gorski and Chen 2015; Rodgers 2010

Which charities and organizations should you give to? Interestingly, research has found that the best charities are over 10 times more cost-effective than the average charity, and 15,000 times more cost-effective than the lowest performing charity.[265] Choosing a highly effective organization to donate to can greatly increase your impact.

Let's consider health spending. How much money would you donate if you knew you could save someone's life? In the U.S., the average cost of saving a life is one million dollars.[266] This figure is so high because the U.S. already has a very high life expectancy due to advances in nutrition and sanitation. Using high-tech medical interventions and advanced medications to combat the most difficult-to-treat diseases and prolong already-long lives even further is extremely expensive. This isn't to say that saving lives in the U.S. is not worthwhile, just that you usually need to be a very high earner in order to have impactful donations in this field.

How does this compare to health-related charities in other parts of the globe? In the poorest countries, many children and adults die from easily preventable illnesses. In 2015, there were 429,000 deaths from malaria, 92% of which occurred in Sub-Saharan Africa.[267] It does not take expensive or complicated technology to save a life here—simply providing bed nets to protect against the mosquito bites that cause malaria can greatly reduce the death rate. It is estimated that the Against Malaria Foundation, which provides insecticidal nets to at-risk individuals at the cost of around $5 per net, can save one human life for every donation of $7,500.[268]

If you earn the average income of a college degree holder—around $70,000 per year[269]—and you donated just to 10% of your income every year to the Against Malaria Foundation, you would donate almost enough to save one life every year. If you donated every penny you earned, it would take you around six weeks of working to generate the income needed to save a life. Can you imagine undertaking an activist campaign for only six weeks and being guaranteed to save a life? Many of us toil for *years* with no guarantee of an impact. Even if you only donated 1% of your income every year—just a few hundred dollars every year—at the end of your 40-year career, you would have saved three human lives.

---

[265] Ord 2013
[266] Hall and Jones 2007
[267] World Health Organization 2016
[268] 80,000 Hours 2018
[269] Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018

The higher your salary, the more potential impact you have. At a starting salary of around $120,000, one entry-level Google engineer who donates just 10% of their annual income over the course of their career could donate enough to save 64 lives—and still have over $100,000 to live on themselves (which is more than 99.9% of the globe's population lives on).[270]

We do not know of any other activist actions that are so easy and that can be carried out by almost anyone, regardless of your background, skills, or experiences, that will be guaranteed to save a life.

Giving What We Can is an organization founded by the individuals who learned about how cheap and easy it is to save lives through donations to highly effective charities. They decided to pledge a portion of their income every year to the most impactful causes, ensuring their work will lead to longer, healthier, and happier lives around the globe. You can pledge to donate 1% of your income if you are student or unemployed and 10% of your income if you have a steady job. You can learn more about the world's most effective charities and take the Giving What We Can pledge at the following link: https://www.givingwhatwecan.org/

What if you could donate an even larger chunk of your salary to progressive causes without having to sacrifice *any* of your income? Let's think about where your income usually goes.

Most people's largest expense every month is housing, with over a third of U.S. household heads renting.[271] The traditional advice is that you should be spending around 30% of your income on rent, but one new study estimates that millennials are paying up to 45% of their income towards rent.[272] This means that, every month, tens of millions of people are signing off up to half of their income just to secure shelter.

The next largest expense is usually food, with 10-34% of our incomes towards eating.[273] Many of us in western countries buy our food at national or multinational grocery chains, whose CEOs usually earn millions of dollars every single year.[274]

---

[270] Calculated with Giving What We Can's "How Rich Am I?" calculator, available at: https://www.givingwhatwecan.org/get-involved/how-rich-am-i/
[271] Cilluffo, Geiger, and Fry 2017
[272] Sarac 2018
[273] U.S. Department of Agriculture n.d.
[274] Blair 2010

How can it be that we're apprehensive about donating 10% or even 1% of our income to effective charities working to save children's lives, but siphoning off 40-80% of our income every single month to people and companies who are much wealthier than us and whose entire jobs consist of profiting off people's needs for shelter and food is par for the course?

Creatively leveraging your normal bills can transform your largest monthly expenses into donations to local nonprofits that build community power, while often allowing you to reduce your normal bills.

Living in a member-owned housing cooperative, co-housing community, or other intentional community makes every monthly rent or mortgage payment a charitable donation. Buying your groceries and goods at a food co-op, retail co-op, buying club, or other not-for-profit business makes every grocery run an investment in community infrastructure.

Cooperatives are organizations run by their members, for their members. While the goal of a landlord or property management company is to make money off of their tenants' needs for housing, and the goal of a grocery store is to make money off of community members' needs for food, the goal of a cooperative is to help its members. Cooperatives—made up only of their own members, not by distant individuals extracting profit from the group—provide affordable, healthy, and sustainable services to their members, while also halting the imbalanced upward flow of wealth that strips low-income people of financial security.

Since cooperatives do not have a profit motive, they are often extraordinarily affordable. Joining a cooperative not only builds community infrastructure that nourishes community members and protects community wealth, it can also drastically reduce your monthly expenses (with no wealthy CEO sucking up the extra profits, costs are usually much lower), leaving you extra income to take care of your family or donate to charity.

Regardless of your income level, joining a cooperative can help you save money while contributing to a good cause. If you are lucky enough to have a high enough income that you can afford property, you can still donate to housing cooperatives and shop at food and retail cooperatives to keep your wealth local and support your community.

Lifestyle Changes and Small Acts

What other lifestyle changes and small, individual acts of activism should you take to boost your impact? Research has identified a number of factors that make individual activism effective. Individual acts can be impactful when large numbers of people all take small actions, creating a large overall impact. They can also inspire others to create change, creating ripple effects on communities.

Let's look at diet changes for animal rights as an example. Although no studies have been able to effectively track the direct impact of individuals changing their diet on the food production system, all current and former vegans and vegetarians (former vegans and vegetarians are included because they eat around half as much animal products as the average person who has never attempted a vegan or vegetarian diet[275]) in the U.S. collectively save nearly 14 billion pounds of dairy and 6 billions pounds of meat from being consumed every year in the U.S.[276] The most conservative measures estimate that if every current and former vegan and vegetarian in the U.S. suddenly began eating animal products at normal levels, the U.S. would need to slaughter an additional 695 million animals per year to meet the increased demand. One person turning vegan, vegetarian, or reducetarian does not necessarily save lives, but collectively they are having an impact.

Taking shorter showers, biking or walking to work, adopting a pet, spaying and neutering your pets, voting, composting your fruit and vegetable scraps, buying organic and locally-grown food—these are all actions that can add up the more we all participate. It's important to find a balance—it would likely be impractical to implement every single small individual action you could think of, but not engaging in any actions prevents us from exercising our collective power. Find some actions you believe in that feel sustainable and realistic for you, that can both help the world and give you the energy you need to engage in more direct work.

The most effective lifestyle changes and small acts include:
- Set off ripple effects
- Leverage your power and influence
- Vote in every election and contact your elected officials
- Challenge oppression and promote social justice
    - Set an example for your community
    - Confront oppression whenever you see it
- Communicate about progressive issues in an effective way

---

[275] Asher, Green, Peake, Jewell, Gutbrod, Hale, and Bastian 2016
[276] Calculations by Effective Activist using data from Faunalytics

Set off ripple effects

If we need large numbers of people for some individual acts to be impactful, why bother at all? What will our one individual choices matter in the grand scheme of things? Amazingly, the research has shown that simply by acting and participating in your community, you lead others to do the same.

It is rare for individuals to partake in activism completely alone for long periods of time. Emerging and continuing activists need people to support them on their journey, help pass down important political knowledge and skills, and work with them to fight for social change. The myth of the rugged individual who pulls himself up by the bootstraps to undertake action alone through sheer willpower has been debunked in many other fields, and it's time to retire it among activist communities, as well. We need to support each other and help each other grow.

Individuals who interact with other activists, voters, community organizers, and volunteers are much more likely to participate in civic and political action themselves, especially if they have friends or family who are involved.[277] Having a sense of community among activists also fosters action.[278] Strong leaders who can model progressive behavior and help train and support budding activists are also important.[279] One study found that individuals with political expertise lead others in their social network to participate more in politics and feel more confident in their political views.[280]

Even simply having conversations about politics with friends or family leads to greater civic and political participation.[281] Youth who grew up with regular political discussions in the home are much more likely to vote (38% always vote, as compared to 20% of youth who did not grow up around political discussions) and volunteer (35% are regular volunteers, as compared to 13%).[282] One study tracked the influence of college dorm roommates' political orientations and activities on students by surveying students on their political involvement when they first

---

[277] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Bond, Fariss, Jones, Kramer, Marlow, Settle, and Fowler 2012; Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010; Granzin and Olsen 1991; McAdam 1986; Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Paluck 2011; Paluck, Shepherd, and Aronow 2016; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018; Wellman, Czopp, and Geers 2009;

[278] Case and Zeglen 2018; Downton and Wehr 1998

[279] Duhigg, Rostosky, Gray, and Wimsatt 2010; McClurg 2006

[280] McClurg 2006

[281] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010; Klofstad 2011; McClurg 2006; McLeod, Scheufele, and Moy 1999; Roser-Renouf, Maibach, Leiserowitz, and Zhao 2014; Zhang, Johnson, Seltzer, and Bichard 2009

[282] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003

arrived at college, after their first year, and during their last year. The study found that students who were assigned a roommate who regularly discussed politics were more likely to be civically engaged later in their college careers.[283]

Additionally, having supportive friends and family is a strong predictor of activist involvement.[284] People who do not have a support system that encourages their activism usually don't get involved or drop out quickly.

By acting in the service of progressive change, you serve as a role model for those around you, leading others to participate in the actions necessary for widespread change.

Leverage your power and influence

If you have more power and influence than the average person, you can greatly increase your impact by effectively leveraging your position. See if you hold any of the following useful qualifications, resources, or positions to learn how you can best leverage your impact.

If you are a respected local or national leader, or a widely-read or followed author, blogger, or other influencer, you are a role model for many individuals. Within 24 hours of Taylor Swift making one Instagram post that encouraged her followers to register to vote, 65,000 individuals registered to vote on Vote.org—almost 10,000 more than had registered in the entire month of August.[285] You do not necessarily need to be a celebrity to have an impact—your public support and endorsement of progressive policies, candidates, and causes can help organizations succeed.

If you are a top staff member, decisionmaker, or leader in an organization, institution, or business, you are poised to greatly benefit marginalized groups by implementing anti-oppression and social justice practices in your organization. If you are working with a progressive organization, you can help prevent burnout among activists and volunteers by prioritizing supportive practices and maintaining efficacy. You can also steer your organization toward success by choosing the most effective tactics outlined in this guide.

If you are a professional expert (e.g., lawyer, scientist, doctor, or professor), you are a highly influential individual in your community. Lawmakers are much more likely

[283] Klofstad 2011

[284] Bunnage 2014; Cherry 2015; McAdam and Paulson 1993; Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Viterna 2006

[285] France 2018

to listen to you and take your advice, so contact your elected officials regularly to voice your support for progressive policies.

If you are an elected official, policymaker, or local gatekeeper, you are in an excellent position to help support and implement progressive policies, and to support the infrastructure that builds future progressive generations. Reach out to local progressive organizations and see how you can best support them. Sometimes the most impact comes not from obviously political or partisan decisions, but from the collective impact of small, local decisions. Zoning laws can allow hundreds or thousands of individuals to access affordable housing, small budget decisions can make or break nonprofits' abilities to provide community resources, and health-related bills can dramatically impact the livelihoods of community members.

Vote in every election and contact your elected officials

Voting is one of the most impactful actions you can take as a progressive, and it's also the easiest and quickest action on this list.

Voting matters. Remember that progressive social movements are more likely to secure wins when there are more Democrats and progressive allies in office.[286] Every election, you vote not just for the most visible candidates, but also for the officials and propositions that can make your journey to social change smooth and easy, or who can block your progress at every step.

In recent years, traditionally marginalized groups, including people of color, people from an immigrant background, and youth, have begun mobilizing voters from their communities to represent their neighborhoods' voices, select more progressive candidates who will fight for their rights, and enact policies that protect the health and safety of all.

Every time you vote, you are not just casting one ballot. Your voting behavior has ripple effects on others, meaning the power of your vote is amplified. If you live with others, your decision to vote will make your housemates more likely to vote,[287] making a housemate who originally would be 25% likely to vote become 85% likely to vote.[288] Posting that you voted on Facebook will lead to your friends being more likely to vote themselves.[289] You may even start a "turnout cascade," a measurable

---

[286] Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010; Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005; Cress and Snow 2000; Giugni 2007; King, Bentele, and Soule 2007; Minkoff 1997; Soule and Olzak 2004

[287] Bhatti, Dahlgaard, Hansen, and Hansen 2017; Nickerson 2008

[288] Nickerson 2008

[289] Bond, Fariss, Jones, Kramer, Marlow, Settle, and Fowler 2012

phenomenon where one person voting can lead to dozens of others voting, as well.[290]

You can join this historic movement for community power by turning out to vote at every election. To find out if you are registered to vote and learn how to register in your area, visit HeadCount's website at: https://www.headcount.org/

Contacting your elected officials is also extremely impactful and can help you advocate for progressive change in your district. We covered the best practices for contacting elected officials in the tactics section, but we recommend reviewing it, as individuals can be very impactful contacting their officials on their own. Many individuals find it helpful to use an app or website to help them in this process. To receive summaries of recent policy and to get the contact information for your representatives, visit Countable's website at: https://www.countable.us/

Challenge oppression and promote social justice

Living your own life in accordance with progressive values is an excellent step, but it's also essential to stand up and defend them on behalf of others. By committing to being a leader, focusing on growth and learning, and confronting oppression when you see it, you can help reduce oppression and discrimination in your community.

Set an example for your community

Individuals have enormous power to reduce oppression in their communities and create spaces where all people have the freedom to feel safe, welcomed, and valued. Fostering social justice leadership can create numerous ripple effects that will positively impact your community. This isn't just an aspirational hope—research has proven that you can shift the culture on social justice, which can lead to less discrimination and fewer acts of bias.

Social norms—what we believe about how other people normally act—have an enormous influence on oppression, as people who think others are prejudiced are more likely to express prejudice themselves.[291] Even though individuals like to

---

[290] Fowler 2005

[291] Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Vaughn 1994; Crandall, Eshleman, and O'Brien 2002; Daníelsdóttir, O'Brien, and Ciao 2010; Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, and Stark 2003; Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo 1973; Herek and McLemore 2013; Hillard 2011; Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014; Paluck 2011; Poteat and Spanierman 2010; Watt and Larkin 2010; Wellman, Czopp, and Geers 2009

think that they are not swayed by the crowd,[292] impressions of social norms actually predict our likelihood of engaging in oppressive behavior much more than our own prejudice levels.[293]

Unfortunately, both prejudiced and non-prejudiced individuals falsely believe that other people are more prejudiced and less committed to social justice than they really are.[294] When college men were asked to guess how important consent was to other men, they guessed that other men would rate the importance of consent an average of 8.4 out of 12, but in reality, the average self-rated score for college men was 11.4 out of 12.[295]

The reason our perceptions are off is that small groups of outspoken and highly prejudiced individuals can skew our understandings of communities as a whole.[296]

This gives us, as activists, enormous potential to help show people that our communities do not tolerate hatred and instead value diversity and equality. Since people who believe that others engage in a certain action become more likely to engage in that action themselves,[297] highlighting the positive norms in our communities can lead to more caring and compassionate behaviors.

One study proved the power of a small number of leaders by training an average of 26 students at each of 28 public middle schools in New Jersey to take a public stance against bullying.[298] The students were given the freedom to take a grassroots approach and crafted their own strategies to stand up to bullying at each school. Overall, school conflict was reduced by 30% and the culture was changed dramatically, with students going from believing only a few other individuals in their schools disapprove of discrimination to believing that three-fourths of other students disapprove of discrimination.

---

292 Nolan, Schultz, Cialdini, Goldstein, and Griskevicius 2008
293 Crandall, Eshleman, and O'Brien 2002; Poteat and Spanierman 2010
294 Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, and Stark 2003; Watt and Larkin 2010
295 Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, and Stark 2003
296 Watt and Larkin 2010
297 Cialdini, Demaine, Sagarin, Barrett, Rhoads, and Winter 2006; Goldstein, Cialdini, and Griskevicius 2008; Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014; Nolan, Schultz, Cialdini, Goldstein, and Griskevicius 2008; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018
298 Paluck, Shepherd, and Aronow 2016

Confront oppression whenever you see it

Although effective activists must challenge the root causes of oppression, we also need to confront oppression when it does occur in order to take care of all people in our communities and help shift the culture away from bias and toward equality.

Unfortunately, studies have shown that marginalized groups—such as women, people of color, and LGBTQ individuals—experience oppression frequently.[299] Discrimination and bias have large negative effects on marginalized individuals' mental and even physical health.[300] Even non-marginalized individuals who watch other people be discriminated against experience negative health outcomes.[301] Oppression, discrimination, prejudice, and bias are harmful to our communities.

How should we respond when we see someone being oppressed?

Doing nothing, laughing it off, withdrawing from others, and suppressing anger after being a victim of or a witness to an act of bias or discrimination are all associated with negative emotional and physical outcomes.[302] In contrast, stepping up to engage with the person who acted oppressively has positive, or at least neutral, outcomes for the confronter.[303]

What about for those being confronted? Does saying something really help? Overwhelming, the research has shown that it does.

Being confronted by someone about an act of prejudice leads to lower prejudice levels and less discriminatory actions in the future.[304] This effect doesn't just apply to those being confronted. Individuals who simply watch someone confront someone else about oppression have lower prejudice and discrimination levels themselves after watching the interaction.[305]

Some studies have found that it is more effective for privileged individuals to confront oppression—such as men confronting sexism or white people

---

[299] Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma 2003

[300] Brondolo, ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, and Contrada 2009; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma 2003; Szymanski and Lewis 2016

[301] Low, Radhakrishnan, Schneider, and Rounds 2007

[302] Brondolo, ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, and Contrada 2009; Hyers 2007; Szymanski and Lewis 2016

[303] Hyers 2007; Szymanski and Lewis 2016

[304] Czopp, Monteith, and Mark 2006; Focella, Bean, and Stone 2015; Mallett and Wagner 2011; Son Hing, Li, and Zanna 2002; Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, and Focella 2011

[305] Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Vaughn 1994; Hillard 2011

confronting racism.[306] This is because privileged individuals are usually taken more seriously when confronting acts of bias. If you hold any privileged identities, try to be the one to speak up when oppression is occurring, instead of letting that burden fall on the person being victimized.

It's important to note that "confrontation" does not mean screaming and yelling at people. In fact, hostile confrontations that involve name-calling, aggression, or an overly harsh approach can damage relationships, provoke negative emotions, increase stereotyping, and make people less interested in interacting with marginalized groups.[307]

It may feel contradictory, but less is more when confronting oppression. Be kind, gentle, and understanding. We are all socialized into a harmful culture that is a scientifically-proven breeding ground for prejudice and oppression. Although this doesn't excuse harmful behavior, lashing out at each other is misguided and downright ineffective. We must disrupt the false binary between ignoring oppression and aggressively shaming those who make mistakes. We can confront and address oppression in ways that effectively reduce prejudice *and* bring people together as activists to fight the root causes of oppression.

Communicate about progressive issues in an effective way

If you see an act of oppression, or even if you are just having a conversation with someone about diversity or social justice, how do you communicate in an effective way that persuades the other person to stop their harmful behaviors without provoking a backlash?

By and large, the most impactful communication strategy you can use is values-based, compassionate, and tailored to the listener.

Common liberal values include caring, protection from harm, fairness, and reciprocity. Conservatives more often value loyalty, respect for authority, and protection of purity. Most people tend to make arguments rooted in their own values—we construct arguments that are persuasive to *us*, not to the other person. When asked to persuade conservatives to support same-sex marriage, 74% of liberals wrote arguments rooted in liberal values and 34% directly contradicted

---

306 Drury and Kaiser 2014; Forcella, Bean, and Stone 2015; Gervais and Hillard 2014; Gulker, Mark, and Monteith 2013; Moore 1997
307 Becker and Barreto 2014; Czopp, Monteith, and Mark 2006; Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, and Focella 2011

conservative values.[308] These arguments are often ineffective and can quickly spiral into heated debates where both sides talk past each other.

When confronting prejudice or communicating about important progressive issues, frame your conversation in terms of the values of the person you're trying to persuade.[309] Conservatives who read arguments for universal health care that were framed in terms of purity ("uninsured people means more unclean, infected, and diseased Americans") went from being against ObamaCare to being neutral on the issue,[310] while conservatives who read arguments for same-sex marriage that were framed in terms of loyalty ("same-sex couples are proud and patriotic Americans") shifted to actually be in favor of same-sex marriage.[311]

Another study found that conservatives who read loyalty-based anti-Trump arguments that said, "Trump repeatedly behaved disloyally towards our country to serve his own interests," and "during the Vietnam War, he dodged the draft to follow his father into the development business," went from being 75% likely to vote for Trump to being 56% likely to vote for him.[312]

These findings are crucial for progressives to internalize. Research has shown that most YouTube videos opposing Trump during the 2016 election season made no mention of conservative values, while many videos opposing Hillary Clinton appealed to liberal values.[313] The right is using these persuasion tactics quite successfully; progressives would do well to get on board, too.

It is also highly effective to point out inconsistencies between people's values and their behaviors—to invoke what is called cognitive dissonance. Awareness of cognitive dissonance leads to reduced prejudice[314] and more behavior change.[315]

One study found that making one comment that provoked cognitive dissonance and used relevant values was able to cause a huge change.[316] In a classroom setting, right-wing authoritarians were asked to rank how much they valued freedom and

---

[308] Feinberg and Willer 2015

[309] Feinberg and Willer 2015; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018; Völkel and Feinberg 2016

[310] Feinberg and Willer 2015, p. 6

[311] Feinberg and Willer 2015, p. 9

[312] Völkel and Feinberg 2016, p. 3

[313] Völkel and Feinberg 2016

[314] Altemeyer 1994; Borgman 2009; Duhigg, Rostosky, Gray, and Wimsatt 2010; Herek and McLemore 2013; Hing, Li, and Zanna 2002

[315] Altemeyer 1994; Dickerson, Thibodeau, Aronson, and Miller 1992; Kantola, Syme, and Campbell 1984; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018

[316] Altemeyer 1994

equality and how much they supported native peoples; unsurprisingly, they ranked freedom high and equality low and were antagonistic toward native peoples. The instructor then said: "This raises the question as to whether those who don't sympathize with native peoples are really saying they care a great deal about their own freedom, but are indifferent to other people's freedom. For such people, equality ranked very low. Those who sympathize with the native movement are perhaps really saying they not only want freedom for themselves, but for other people too."[317]

This one comment led right-wing authoritarians to be just as likely as left-wing individuals to support scholarship funds for native students seven weeks later. Additionally, over seven months later, the right-wing authoritarians who heard the comment were much more likely than a control group to support native people's demands for self-government, settlement of land claims, and voting rights. This is a huge effect for one very simple and brief comment. This study truly shows the power of learning how to communicate with others on their level—we can spend hours debating and never get anywhere, but once you're able to tap into what others value and care about, it can be quite easy to help them realize how their actions are hurting others.

Many studies have also found that a compassionate approach to conversations is more effective at challenging oppression. Pushy persuasion strategies that are strongly worded and make demands are less effective and lead to anger and resistance.[318]

Additionally, people are more likely to be receptive to different viewpoints, reduce their prejudice, and engage in less oppressive behavior when they are told their actions will make a difference in the world,[319] they are encouraged to be empathetic towards others,[320] they are reminded of the positive values and traits they possess that can be tapped into to promote social justice,[321] and they are encouraged to take an objective and open-minded approach to the conversation (as opposed to a defensive approach which gets triggered by heated debates).[322]

---

[317] Altemeyer 1994, p. 141

[318] Dillard and Shen 2005; Plous 2003; Quick and Considine 2008

[319] Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, Phillips, and Denny 2012

[320] Broockman and Kalla 2016; Shen 2010

[321] Cohen, Aronson, and Steel 2000; Sherman, Nelson, and Steele 2000; Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, and Focella 2011

[322] Hart, Brechan, Merrill, Albarracín, Eagly, and Lindberg 2009; Lundgren and Prislin 1998

These compassionate approaches can help overcome confirmation bias—the largely unconscious bias towards taking in information that aligns with the views we already have and rejecting information that is challenging to us.[323]

The reason values-based, cognitive-dissonance-provoking, and compassionate messaging can be so effective is that it taps into individuals' deeply-rooted desires to be a good person and adhere to their values. Making even one comment can lead people to evaluate and change *their own* behavior to be more in line with *their own* values. Insults and harsh jabs based on *your* values set up a debate wherein the other person must defend themselves. They will construct arguments to prove you wrong, angrily defend themselves, and may walk away even more rooted in their beliefs than before as a way to protect themselves. It is much more pleasant (for both parties) and effective to help people better adhere to their own positive values.

You can better prepare yourself for effective social justice conversations by practicing a few phrases that you can use when addressing oppression or talking about politics. We'll give you a few examples to get you started.

- You strike me as someone who stands up for the freedom of all Americans, so I'm surprised to see you treating someone this way.
- I've always appreciated how you make me feel welcomed and appreciated. I'm a little taken aback when you don't treat others in the same way.
- I hear you saying that you want to ensure the freedom for your group, but I don't hear you defending the freedom of other groups.
- Can you think of a time someone treated you unfairly? How did that make you feel? Is there a way we can address this situation without making others feel like that, too?
- Can I ask you what's important to you in this conversation? What values are you trying to defend here? Can we think of a way to stand up for those values without hurting others or compromising their freedom?

If you are an educator, you may want some more in-depth resources for planning how to effectively communicate about social justice, inequality, and progressive issues with students. Nancy Davis' (1992) article, "Teaching About Inequality: Student Resistance, Paralysis, and Rage," details common student reactions to social justice-related course content and offers many classroom activities that can help students better internalize the material.

---

[323] Cohen, Aronson, and Steel 2000; Knobloch-Westerwick and Meng 2009

Worksheet 4: Individual Action-Item Checklist

You have the potential to create an enormous impact on the world through your individual actions. Which of the most effective individual actions can you commit to implementing in your own life? You do not need to select them all—pick the actions that line up with your values and goals and that you believe will help you on your journey towards becoming an effective activist the most. We've included some links and resources to help you get started.

Most impactful action areas

Choose a high-impact career

o I will read the 80,000 Hours career guide in order to learn how to choose a highly impactful career
   • The 80,000 Hours career guide is available for free at: http://www.80000hours.org
o I will read *The Lifelong Activist* in order to learn how to prevent burnout and empower myself to engage in activism long-term
   • The Lifelong Activist is available for free at: http://www.lifelongactivist.com

Give what you can to effective charities and progressive organizations

o I am a student, unemployed, or low-income—I pledge to donate 1% of my income to the most effective charities in order to save lives and improve the world
o I have a steady job—I pledge to donate 10% of my income to the most effective charities in order to save lives and improve the world
   • Take the Giving What We Can pledge at: http://www.givingwhatwecan.org
o I will investigate cooperatives near me to see if I can use my monthly rent, mortgage, and/or grocery expenses to build community power
   • Search for a housing cooperative, co-housing community, or intentional community near you by using the Fellowship for Intentional Community's directory at: http://www.ic.org/directory
   • Search for a food cooperative or buying club near you by using the Co-op Directory service at: http://www.coopdirectory.org/

Adopt lifestyle changes and take individual action

Create ripple effects in your community

o   I will make small lifestyle changes that will make a big impact if others join in
   o   List some of the lifestyle changes you want to make here:
      •
      •
      •
      •
      •
o   I will support other progressive activists and organizations, even when I disagree with some of their values, tactics, or politics, in order to more effectively build the progressive activist base and maintain activist infrastructure

Leverage your power and influence

o   I am a respected leader or influencer—I will publicly endorse progressive policies, candidates, and causes
o   I am a decisionmaker in an institution or organization—I will implement anti-oppression and social justice practices in my organization to protest marginalized groups
o   I am a decisionmaker in a progressive organization—I will support our members and volunteers to prevent them from burning out
o   I am a decisionmaker in a progressive organization—I will choose the most effective tactics to increase our chances of success
o   I am a professional expert—I will contact my elected officials regularly to encourage them to pass progressive bills
o   I am an elected official or local gatekeeper—I will support and implement progressive policies and infrastructures

Vote in every election and contact your elected officials

o   To build progressive power and encourage others to do the same, I will vote in every election
      •   To see if you're registered to vote and to learn how to register in your county, visit HeadCount's website at: https://www.headcount.org/

- o I will contact the elected officials in my district, regardless of their political affiliation, using personal communications, values-based messages, and incorporating specific requests based on local issues
  - To receive summaries of recent policy and to get the contact information for your representatives, visit Countable's website at: https://www.countable.us/
  - Write down the name and contact information for a few of the elected officials in your district that you would like to contact:
    -
    -
    -

Challenge oppression and promote social justice

- o I will set a positive example for my community by publicly endorsing social justice causes and standing up for my beliefs
- o I commit to confronting oppression whenever I see it and it is safe for me to do so

Communicate about progressive issues in an effective way

- o I will communicate about social justice and progressive causes with others by using values-based and compassionate messages

Which of the actions are you most excited about implementing?

Can you anticipate having any difficulties or challenges implementing any of the actions?

What will you do if you run into difficulties?

Effective Activist Planning

How to Plan Strategic Action

Organizing without a strategy is like watching pee-wee soccer, where you throw a ball out and a bunch of little four-year-olds come. They kick the ball, they put everything into it...and occasionally somebody gets the goal, but you can't figure out how it happened and you can't replicate it and you can't do it better in a more efficient manner.

-Chris Dixon, quoting a friend, in his 2014 book, *Another Politics: Talking Across Today's Transformative Movements* (p. 110).

Now that you know the most effective tactics for creating change, we need to review how effective activists strategically plan. While reactionary activism in the face of a crisis can sometimes get things done, activists need strategic plans in order to consistently achieve lasting and widespread change. Activists must know how far they've come and what work they still need to accomplish in order to keep moving forward. Effective activist strategies also can help you leverage your power efficiently to create more impact. Indeed, some movements have even been able to win large successes despite a severe lack of resources by developing an effective and creative strategy.[324]

How do you develop a good strategy? We will give you an overview of the main components of a strategic plan, help you avoid some common activist planning mistakes, and detail an example of an effective strategy that led to real-world changes. At the end of this section, we will help you create your own plan to move you forward in your efforts to change the world.

Effective activist strategic plans[325] include six primary components:
- Vision
- Goals
- Objectives
- Targets
- Tactics
- Measures of success

---

[324] Ganz 2000; Zuo and Benford 1995

[325] Adapted with permission from Alex Green's advocacy strategies framework, presented at NASCO Institute 2018

Vision

Your vision is your ideal future, the better tomorrow that you work towards every time you engage in activism. Our visions are often grand—a world without oppression, an equitable and sustainable economy, the end of climate change. Understanding your vision can help you maintain motivation and connect with other change-makers.

Goals

It's important to distinguish our activist vision from our goals. Our goals are the checkpoints along the way toward our vision, getting us closer and closer to the world we want to live in.

The most successful activist campaigns take time to plan and set a variety of goals that will all gradually help them work towards their vision. Successful campaigns do not necessarily accomplish all of their original goals, but they are able to adapt in the face of changing contexts and continue moving forward toward their vision. Setting a number of goals and being flexible and resilient can help you stay on course and allow you to celebrate your successes along the way.

Aim to develop goals that are specific, achievable, and realistic, and avoid amorphous or poorly defined goals. Your goals could include reducing bullying by a certain percentage at your school by the end of the year, or passing a progressive ballot proposition in the next election.

What is achievable and realistic differs based on an individual's or a group's experience and skills. If you are brand new to activism, goals to change national-level politics or target multinational corporations may not be realistic; choosing smaller, local goals may be smarter. Additionally, some activist goals have been incredibly difficult to achieve. Activist campaigns attempting to target policies closely tied to the national structure and with high levels of political or material resources at stake, such as trying to reduce military spending or stop wars, have largely been unsuccessful.[326] Campaigns trying to expel a specific person in power have also usually fallen flat.[327] Reading about social movement success in the next section will help you evaluate how realistic it is for you to tackle larger issues.

---

[326] Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010
[327] Gamson 1990

Objectives

Objectives are the even smaller building blocks that help you reach your goals. These are small steps that help you direct your action. If your vision is a world where the rights of all peoples are protected, and one of your goals is to make your city a sanctuary city for immigrants, your objectives may be to draft an ordinance, gain popular support for the change, and convince your city council to pass the ordinance. Objectives are also important because they help you keep track of your progress. If you only have a goal with no objectives, you could work for years without understanding how far you've come and where you need to go next. If you can see that you've accomplished many of your objectives, but still have a few to go, you can better plan future actions.

Targets

Targets are the people or institutions who you seek to influence. Our goals and objectives often rely on targets implementing some sort of change, such as a lawmaker passing a bill, a company changing a harmful practice, or a community adopting healthier behaviors.

There are two types of targets: primary targets and secondary, or "proxy," targets. Primary targets have the most direct influence on our issue, and are often the most visible or obvious target for our work. Secondary targets are individuals or institutions that are related to your issue area—they may not be the most direct cause of an issue, but they still have influence over it.[328]

Many activists throughout the years have found that they've had little influence or leverage when their primary target was the government or state. If you're a member of a marginalized group or if your government is inaccessible, or even hostile to you, know that activists have been successful at working with secondary targets when they don't have access to the government or the state.[329] One of the most famous examples of this is Cesar Chavez's farmworkers movement, which lacked access to the state to implement labor laws but was able to successfully coordinate a grape boycott to improve conditions and wages for farmworkers.[330]

Always consider both your primary targets and secondary targets when planning action, and choose the targets that utilize your leverage and power the best.

---

[328] Walker, Martin, and McCarthy 2008
[329] King and Pearce 2010; Walker, Martin, and McCarthy 2008; Weber, Rao, and Thomas 2008
[330] Ganz 2000

Tactics

Tactics are the specific actions we take in order to influence our targets so that we can meet our objectives, which will bring us closer to reaching our goals, which will help us in our journey towards achieving our vision. Tactics include protesting, boycotting, lobbying, media campaigns, and more. We've dedicated a whole section of the guide to reviewing what makes certain tactics more (or less) effective, so be sure to read up on scientifically-proven best practices for each tactic before you employ it.

Measures of success

It's important to measure your success in achieving your objectives and goals in order to know whether you're making an impact. If your tactics are not bringing about change, you'll need to switch them up. If your tactics are helping you achieve your objectives, but meeting your objectives is not helping you accomplish your goals, you'll need to define new objectives. If you don't know what's working and what isn't working, you will be fumbling in the dark with your activism.

Activists sometimes mistake frenzy, exhaustion, public opposition, imprisonment, and state repression for success.[331] While these measures are easy to see, and some radical communities have built a warped sense of pride and reputation around them, these measures actually hurt movements and make activists *less* likely to meet their goals.

It's also essential to collect accurate data. Self-reported data is a common metric, but studies have found that self-reports may not line up with actual behavior change.[332] For example, people may say that they feel more informed or that they're making a change when they're actually no more knowledgeable than before or haven't really adjusted their behavior. One study found that when researchers asked people which materials most influenced their decision-making, the materials that people consciously rated the least influential (materials containing information on social norms) actually changed their behavior the most.[333]

Be sure to pick measures of success that represent concrete, positive changes in the world, such as lower incidences of violence, larger progressive voter turnout, or the implementation of progressive policies, just to give a few examples. You can rely

---

[331] Dixon 2014
[332] Kantola, Syme, and Campbell 1984
[333] Nolan, Schultz, Cialdini, Goldstein, and Griskevicius 2008

on outside sources of information—such as government reports or scholarly literature—or conduct your own small studies to acquire information—such as measuring changes in individuals' behaviors. Be sure to take a baseline reading or collect statistics on the current state of the problem *before* you start acting so you can see how much your efforts have an impact.

Common planning mistakes

There are a few common mistakes activists make when planning their strategy. It is okay if you find yourself relating to some of these mistakes—if you already knew how to be a perfect activist, you wouldn't need to be reading this guide! Take these mistakes as a way to learn and grow, not as a condemnation of yourself or your abilities as an activist.

The first planning mistake is having no plan at all. Reacting swiftly to crises is sometimes necessary, but when all of your activism is frantic and rushed, we can quickly devolve into exhaustion and burnout. It's important to investigate what *causes* the crises that you react to so you can engage in preventative activism that moves you closer to your goals and vision. For example, if you find yourself repeatedly organizing last-minute protests after harmful laws are passed, you may do better to lobby your elected officials or mobilize progressive voters so that harmful laws are never passed in the first place. If you're spending a lot of energy calling out oppressive speech in your community, you may see more widespread impact by hosting educational events or enacting organizational practices that can reduce prejudice levels before they manifest into hateful speech.

The second planning mistake is rushing into a plan. We sometimes think of goals and objectives that *could* help us work toward our vision, and then hurry off to accomplish them without seriously considering other options. Years later, we may be still be fighting a battle that we only seriously considered for one afternoon! It can be helpful to set aside time to brainstorm all of the potential goals that could benefit your cause, and then choose the ones that seem the most realistic or that will put you in the best position to fight for your vision later on.

The third planning mistake is confusing your vision for your goals and objectives. This usually takes the form of only being able to articulate one very difficult mission—end capitalism, smash patriarchy, halt climate change—with no realistic goals or objectives as stepping stones along the way. Activists stuck in this mindset often employ tactics at random, hoping that they can do something, *anything*, to bring about their vision. Unfortunately, this approach often leads to exhaustion and

burnout. When your only goal is saving the whole world, you will always feel like a failure. It's also not very effective, as clear goals help us stay on track and increase our chances of creating change.

The fourth planning mistake is confusing your goals and objectives for your vision—being unable to see the forest for the trees. This usually takes the form of becoming hell-bent on accomplishing a specific goal or objective, even when it is unrealistic or hurting your ability to create change. We often fall into this rigid mindset when we do not want to compromise our values—we may be unwilling to give up on one of our goals or objectives because we think it means we will be sacrificing who we are or what we stand for. Although it is difficult, it's important to evaluate when you're so focused on winning the battle that you may lose the war. Giving up your long-term vision for the sake of one short-term goal or objective is often not worth it. These conversations are always difficult and highly contested, but they are worth having.

You can avoid these common activist mistakes by taking the time to thoroughly plan your strategy.

Tying it all together

Throughout the guide, we've provided many real-life examples of activist successes. Let's look at another campaign in detail to see how activists used a creative strategy to leverage their power and boost their impact. O'Rourke's 2005 article on the campaign to reduce old-growth forest logging provides an excellent case study for effective activist planning.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, environmental activists successfully reduced old-growth forest logging in the U.S. Their vision was a world with protected old-growth forests that could maintain biodiversity for decades to come. Their goal was to reduce old-growth logging over the course of several years. Their goal had a creative twist—reducing the demand for paper made from old-growth trees—because they felt that focusing on the logging itself would be ineffective.

Activists did not target the logging companies themselves, but instead targeted a secondary institution—the U.S.'s largest paper supplier, Staples. They understood that if they could get the largest U.S. paper supplier to stop supplying old-growth paper, logging companies would see a dramatic reduction in demand for old-growth trees and consumers would become accustomed to more sustainable paper, helping shift norms in a more environmentally-friendly direction.

Before they began taking action, a coalition of organizations teamed up and spent one year planning and conducting research in order to ensure their campaign would be successful. Then, they deployed a wide variety of tactics. Activists hosted more than 600 protests around the U.S. over a two-year period. They wrote letters, sent emails, and made phone calls to Staples executives highlighting the research they had done showing that a majority of U.S. consumers opposed logging old-growth forests would be less likely to buy from a company that sells old-growth products. They secured celebrity endorsements and coordinated celebrity public service announcements.

Activists took the campaign to the next level by reaching out to the secondary institutions of their original secondary institution: they secured agreements to avoid old-growth paper from Staples' buyers and suppliers, including IBM, Dell, Kinko's, Nike, Levi's, Microsoft, Intel, and AT&T. They also formed alliances with alternative paper supplier companies and solutions groups in order to advance recycled and alternative papers to replace the old-growth paper stock. These turned out to be incredibly creative and effective strategies for their campaign.

Staples eventually agreed to phase out old-growth paper products and increase recycled paper, a win for activists. Activists rewarded them with public celebrations, celebrity endorsers in tow, and then promptly put ads in major newspapers commending Staples—and asking OfficeMax and Office Depot to meet or beat Staple's new policy. This sparked a competitive spirit among corporations to be the most environmentally friendly as a way to boost business and PR.

These activists utilized many of the most effective strategies we've mentioned previously in the guide. They formed a coalition to boost their power and reach. They spent a significant amount of time planning their campaign in advance. They had clear objectives that helped them reach their goals, which were in service of their larger vision. They chose their targets carefully to leverage their power and have more of an impact. They utilized a wide variety of tactics, including frequent protests and direct communication with key decisionmakers. They had strong messaging that was tailored to their audience and that utilized influential celebrities. Their campaign did take a year to plan and a few years to implement, but they were eventually successful in reaching their goal.

This is just one example of activists being creative and strategic to create progressive change. Are you ready to create your own plan to change the world?

Worksheet 5: Create Your Effective Activist Plan

Now that you've learned about what makes social movements successful, the most effective tactics for campaigns, how to build strong progressive movements, and the most impactful acts of everyday activism, it's time for you to create your effective activist plan. You may wish to complete the plan on your own, or have your organizing or activism group complete it together.

This plan could influence your activism for months, years, and maybe even decades to come. This is where you will make the move from information to action. We do not want you to walk away from this guide with only a few interesting statistics or anecdotes—we want you to create change, build progressive power, and fight for the rights and freedoms of all. Set aside some time to really dig into your plan. You (and the world) will get out what you put in.

Step 1: Clarify your cause
Being able to clearly and concisely articulate the problem and the solution is critical to social movement success. You may need to revisit the messaging strategies section to help you plan your responses here.

The problem I want to address is:

The solution I want to advance is:

Here's how I can effectively frame the problem and solution to an outsider who knows little about my movement:

Here's how I can effectively frame the problem and solution to a policymaker:

Here's how I can effectively frame the problem and solution to a business:

Step 2: Develop a deep understanding of context
Nothing inhibits efficacy like neglecting the context of your actions. If you aren't familiar with the landscape of a particular issue, you won't be able to determine the best route forward. Developing a deep understanding of context is an ongoing process that will take time, but it's worth the effort. Consider the following contextual aspects and do whatever research is needed for you to grasp the big picture.

What are some other local organizations working on this issue area? If you're unsure, you should spend some time researching or asking around.

What progress has been made on this issue so far?

Which individuals or groups stand to benefit from your activism?

Who is in a position to make impactful decisions related to your cause? These may be policymakers, government officials, businesses, board members, etc.

What sources of funding do you have?

What skills do you have within your group or organization?

Step 3: Establish your strategy

Now it's time to establish your strategy. This is the most in-depth portion of your plan—you do not want to skimp here. Thoughtful planning will go a long way in making your activism more effective, so you may need to consult with others or revise your plan over the course of several days, weeks, or even months.

1. Identify your broad vision for an ideal world.

2. Brainstorm many different goals and objectives that *could* help you reach your vision. Be creative—there are no wrong ideas at this stage.

3. Which of these goals and objectives seem achievable and realistic, given the context of your issue, your local environment, and your current skills?

4. Narrow your list down into 1-3 specific, achievable, and realistic goals that are the most likely candidates for helping you reach your vision.
   - Goal #1:

   - Goal #2:

   - Goal #3:

5. Identify how you will use to measure your progress towards your goal.
   - Goal #1:

   - Goal #2:

   - Goal #3:

6. Break your goals down into 1-4 even smaller, manageable objectives. For each objective, identify your targets (who you will be influencing), your tactics (what methods you will use), and how you will measure your progress.
   - Objective #1:

     o Targets:

     o Tactics:

     o Measures of success:

- Objective #2:

  - Targets:

  - Tactics:

  - Measures of success:

- Objective #3:

  - Targets:

  - Tactics:

  - Measures of success:

- Objective #4:

  - Targets:

  - Tactics:

  - Measures of success:

7. Identify the most important organizational factors you will use to bolster your movement. You may wish to revisit your organizational checklist.

- Recruiting strategies:

- Strategies to prevent burnout and support activists:

- Strategies to combat oppression within our movement:

8. Identify the individual acts you will take to help boost your impact. You may wish to revisit your individual actions checklist.

- Career choices:

- Giving choices:

- Lifestyle changes and small individual actions:

Step 4: Act
Now that you have a clear understanding of your cause, context, vision, strategy, goals, and tactics, it's time to put the act in activism.

Actions will take many diverse forms, involve varying numbers of people, and garner different types of attention and response based on their unique contexts. Keep in mind how you plan to measure success and enjoy each victory, no matter how small.

My first small milestone of success will be:

Here's how I will celebrate:

Step 5: Check back in

Set a date to check back in on your progress. The date that I will come back to this plan to review my progress is:

Write it down in your calendar. On that date, answer the following questions:

Was your actual action different from your planned action? If so, why?

What measurable progress did you make? Did you achieve any of your goals?

Overall, what have you learned? Are there any changes you want to make to your strategy, goals, or tactics moving forward, or any skills you need to develop?

Conclusion: Your Impact as an Effective Activist

As an activist, you possess enormous potential and power to create a more equitable and sustainable world. Taking up effective activism makes you a leader in your community. You will now produce ripple effects around you just from being a dedicated activist.

Everyone you interact with, especially your friends and family, will now be more likely to participate in civic and political action themselves.[334] As a knowledgeable activist, you will support those in your social network to participate more in politics and feel more confident in their political views.[335]

The conversations you have with others about politics and activism—especially now that you know to use compassionate, values-based conversations to more effectively communicate with others—will make all of your friends, family, and housemates more likely to engage in civic and political participation.[336] A few studies have shown that the conversations people have about campaigns can be more impactful than the direct effects of the campaigns themselves, so you will serve as an amplifier for progressive social change efforts.[337]

If you interact with children, especially by working with a youth organizing group, your mentorship and support will be helping to raise the next generation of activists who will be more likely to take a stand and fight for community change.[338]

Simply asking people to join you when you go to protests will dramatically increase the chances that those around you will attend.[339] And every time you attend a protest, you are helping to increase the chances that a social movement will succeed in securing social change.[340]

---

[334] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Bond, Fariss, Jones, Kramer, Marlow, Settle, and Fowler 2012; Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010; Granzin and Olsen 1991; McAdam 1986; Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Paluck 2011; Paluck, Shepherd, and Aronow 2016; Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox 2018; Wellman, Czopp, and Geers 2009;

[335] McClurg 2006

[336] Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter 2003; Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010; Klofstad 2011; McClurg 2006; McLeod, Scheufele, and Moy 1999; Roser-Renouf, Maibach, Leiserowitz, and Zhao 2014; Zhang, Johnson, Seltzer, and Bichard 2009

[337] Boulay, Storey, and Sood 2010

[338] Bloemraad and Terriquez 2016; Terriquez 2015; Terriquez 2017; Terriquez and Kwon 2014

[339] McAdam and Paulson 1993; Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Schussman and Soule 2005; Somma 2009

[340] Agone 2007; Biggs and Andrews 2015; Cress and Snow 2000; Gamson 1990; Gillion 2012; Giugni 2007; Johnson, Agone, and McCarthy 2010; King, Bentele, and Soule 2007; Minkoff 1997; Olzak and Soule 2009; Wasow 2017

If you live with others, your housemates will become more likely to vote once you decide to vote.[341] Posting that you voted on Facebook will lead to your friends being more likely to vote themselves.[342] You may even start a "turnout cascade" and lead dozens of others to vote.[343]

By confronting oppression and harassment with effective and compassionate methods, you will reduce the prejudice levels of everyone in the room and make it more likely that other people will go on to confront oppression themselves.[344] If you make a commitment to standing up against bullying, harassment, and violence, you can markedly reduce oppression in your school or workplace.[345]

If you have a college degree, you are likely in the top 1% of global income.[346] Donating a small percentage of your income every year to the most effective charities can save many lives throughout your career.

You are following in the footsteps of the hundreds of thousands of activists before you who have reduced bullying, oppression, and violence in their schools and workplaces; secured rights and freedoms for marginalized groups; protected the forests and rivers of our planet; saved millions of innocent animals from a torturous and painful existence; empowered youth to stand up for social justice in their communities; and formed cooperatives to provide affordable housing, food, and services to those in need. Generations of activists are handing the torch down to you. Thanks to progressive activists, scientists, and researchers, you now possess the tools to effectively combat violence, oppression, and harm and fight for justice, equality, freedom, and sustainability.

---

[341] Bhatti, Dahlgaard, Hansen, and Hansen 2017; Nickerson 2008

[342] Bond, Fariss, Jones, Kramer, Marlow, Settle, and Fowler 2012

[343] Fowler 2005

[344] Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Vaughn 1994; Czopp, Monteith, and Mark 2006; Forcella, Bean, and Stone 2015; Hillard 2011; Mallett and Wagner 2011; Son Hing, Li, and Zanna 2002; Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, and Focella 2011

[345] Paluck, Shepherd, and Aronow 2016

[346] Calculated using Giving What We Can's "How Rich Am I?" calculator, available at: https://www.givingwhatwecan.org/get-involved/how-rich-am-i/

We'd like to end with a metaphor for social change we once heard from a fellow activist. He said that as that as activists, we're all in different boats, heading for the same horizon—a world where we can all live freely without violence or repression, a world where we can coexist with our earth, a world where life and love and care are what's valued and cherished. The goal isn't to get everyone into the same boat. We could never build a vessel big enough to contain us all, and we don't have any more time to waste at the harbor. But we also shouldn't use that an excuse to grab the nearest piece of driftwood and dive headfirst into the water, hoping for the best. We need to be practical and realistic, stocking our boats with supplies, moving swiftly through calm waters, and finding safety when rough waves hit. We need to guard our fellow horizon-seekers from harm, and while we may not agree with how they steer their ship, we certainly don't want to sink us all in an egotistical quest to prove whose boats are best. So onward we sail, with no guarantee of ever reaching that horizon, but ever hoping—knowing—that our children will sail farther than we could, and that someday our ancestors will land on the shores of a better future.

Hundreds of scientific studies from all over the world examining social movements dating back centuries have proven, without a doubt, that you can change the world. Now go out and do it.

Take the Effective Activist Pledge

Studies have shown that signing a pledge or other commitment increases the likelihood of following through on intended changes.[347] Think about the work you deeply feel needs to be done. Sign your name below to resolve your commitment to yourself and the world to being an effective activist.

I will create a better world for future generations to live in. Though the path forward may be difficult and not always clear, I will do the work necessary to build a brighter future. For the benefit of all, I commit to being an effective activist.

Name: _____   Date: _____

---

[347] Baca-Motes, Brown, Gneezy, Keenan, and Nelson 2013; Gollwitzer 1999; Lokhorst, Werner, Staats, and van Dijk 2013; Mckenzie-Mohr and Schultz 2014; Díaz Meneses and Palacio 2007; Pardini and Katzev 1983; Webb and Sheeran 2006; Werner, Turner, Shipman, Twitchell, Dickson, Bruschke, and von Bismarck 1995

References

80,000 Hours. 2018. "The World's Biggest Problems and Why They're Not What First Comes to Mind." (https://80000hours.org/career-guide/world-problems/)

Abroms, Lorien C. and Edward W. Maibach. 2008. "The Effectiveness of Mass Communication to Change Public Behavior." *Annual Review of Public Health* 29:219-234.

Adams, Paul C. and Astrid Gynnild. 2013. "Environmental Messages in Online Media: The Role of Place." *Environmental Communication* 7(1):113-130.

Agone, Jon. 2007. "Amplifying Public Opinion: The Policy Impact of the U.S. Environmental Movement." *Social Forces* 85(4):1593-1620.

Allcott, Hunt and Todd Rogers. 2014. "The Short-Run and Long-Run Effects of Behavioral Interventions: Experimental Evidence from Energy Conservation." *American Economic Review* 104(10):3003-3037.

Allcott, Hunt. 2011. "Social Norms and Energy Conservation." *Journal of Public Economics* 95(9-10):1082-1095.

Altemeyer, Bob. 1994. "Reducing Prejudice in Right-Wing Authoritarians." Pp. 131-148 in *The Psychology of Prejudice: The Ontario Symposium, Volume 7,* edited by M. P. Zanna and J. M. Olson. Hillsdale, NJ: L. Eribaum Associates.

Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, and Sheera Joy Olasky. 2005. "Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on U.S. Old-Age Policy." *American Sociological Review* 70:516-538.

Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello, and Yang Su. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:287–307.

Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Sheera Joy Olasky, and James E. Stobaugh. 2009. "All the Movements Fit to Print: Who, What, When, Where, and Why SMO Families Appeared in the New York Times in the Twentieth Century." *American Sociological Review* 74:636-656.

Anderson, Jo. 2017. *An Experimental Investigation of the Impact of Video Media on Pork Consumption.* Faunalytics. (https://faunalytics.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Animal-Equality-Report-Final.pdf)

Andolina, Molly W., Krista Jenkins, Cliff Zukin, and Scott Keeter. 2003. "Habits from Home, Lessons from School: Influences on Youth Civic Engagement." *Political Science and Politics* 36(2):275-280.

Andreoni, James, Justin M. Rao, and Hanna Trachtman. 2017. "Avoiding the Ask: A Field Experiment on Altruism, Empathy, and Charitable Giving." *Journal of Political Economy* 125(3):625-653.

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2001. "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965 to 1971." *American Sociological Review* 66(1):71-95.

Andrews, Kenneth T. and Caren, Neal. 2010. "Making the News: Movement Organizations, Media Attention, and the Public Agenda." *American Sociological Review* 75(6):841-866.

Apfelbaum, Evan P., Kristin Pauker, Samuel R. Sommers, and Nalini Ambady. 2010. "In Blind Pursuit of Racial Equality?" *Psychological Science* 21(11):1587-1592.

Asensio, Omar I. and Magali A. Delmas. 2015. "Nonprice Incentives and Energy Conservation." *PNAS* 112(6):E510-E515.

Asher, Kathryn, Che Green, Carolyn Peake, Mirna Jewell, Hans Gutbrod, Galina Hale, and Brock Bastian. 2016. *Study of Current and Former Vegetarians and Vegans: Secondary Findings.* Faunalytics. (https://faunalytics.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Faunalytics-Study-of-Current-and-Former-Vegetarians-and-Vegans-%E2%80%93-Secondary-Findings-.pdf)

Asher, Kathryn, Che Green, Cobie deLespinasse, Hans Gutbrod, Brock Bastian, Mirna Jewell, and Galina Hale. 2015. *Study of Current and Former Vegetarians and Vegans: Qualitative Findings.* Faunalytics. (https://faunalytics.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Faunalytics-Study-of-Current-and-Former-Vegetarians-and-Vegans-%E2%80%93-Qualitative-Findings1.pdf)

Asher, Kathryn, Che Green, Hans Gutbrod, Mima Jewell, Galina Hale, and Brock Bastian. 2014. *Study of Current and Former Vegetarians and Vegans: Initial Findings.* Humane Research Council. (https://faunalytics.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Faunalytics_Current-Former-Vegetarians_Full-Report.pdf)

Awbrey, Susan M. 2007. "The Dynamics of Vertical and Horizontal Diversity in Organization and Society." *Human Resource Development Review* 6(1):7-32.

Ayala, Louis J. 2000. "Trained for Democracy: The Differing Effects of Voluntary and Involuntary Organizations on Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 53(1):99-115.

Baca-Motes, Katie, Amber Brown, Ayelet Gneezy, Elizabeth A. Keenan, and Leif D. Nelson. 2013. "Commitment and Behavior Change: Evidence from the Field." *Journal of Consumer Research* 39(5):1070-1084.

Baek, Tae Hyun, Sukki Yoon, and Seeun Kim. 2015. "When Environmental Messages Should Be Assertive: Examining the Moderating Role of Effort Investment." *International Journal of Advertising* 34(1):135-157.

Ball, Kylie, Robert W. Jeffery, Gavin Abbott, Sarah A. McNaughton, and David Crawford. 2010. "Is Healthy Behavior Contagious: Associations of Social Norms with Physical Activity and Healthy Eating." *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity* 7:86.

Barkey, Karen. 1991. "Rebellious Alliances: The State and Peasant Unrest in Early Seventeenth-Century France and the Ottoman Empire." *American Sociological Review* 56(6):699-715.

Bartley, Tim. 2003. "Certifying Forests and Factories: States, Social Movements, and the Rise of Private Regulation in the Apparel and Forest Products Fields." *Politics and Society* 31(3):433-464.

Baumgartner, Frank R. and Christine Mahoney. 2005. "Social Movements, the Rise of New Issues, and the Public Agenda." Pp. 65-86 in *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy*, edited by D. S. Meyer, V. Jenness, and H. Ingram. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Becker, Julia C. and Manuela Barreto. 2014. "Way to Go: Men's and Women's Support for Aggressive and Nonaggressive Confrontation of Sexism as a Function of Gender Identification." *Journal of Social Issues* 70(4):668-686.

Bell, Myrtle P., Mustafa F. Özbilgin, T. Alexandra Beauregard, and Olca Sürgevil. 2011. "Voice, Silence, and Diversity in 21st Century Organizations: Strategies for Inclusion of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Employees." *Human Resource Management* 51(1):131-146.

Benford, Robert D. 1993a. "Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement." *Social Forces* 71(3):667-701.

Benford, Robert D. 1993b. "'You Could Be the Hundredth Monkey': Collective Action Frames and Vocabularies of Motive within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement." *The Sociological Quarterly* 34(2):195-216

Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:611-639.

Bergan, Daniel E. 2014. "Call Your Legislator: A Field Experimental Study of the Impact of Citizen Contacts on Legislative Voting." *Political Behavior* 37(1):27-42.

Berman, Schuyler and Michele A. Wittig. 2004. "An Intergroup Theories Approach to Direct Political Action Among African Americans." *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 7(1):19-34.

Bhatti, Yosef, Jens Olav Dahlgaard, Jonas Hedegaard Hansen, and Kasper M. Hansen. 2017. "How Voter Mobilization from Short Text Messages Travels Within Households and Families: Evidence from Two Nationwide Field Experiments." *Electoral Studies* 50:39-49.

Biggs, Michael and Kenneth T. Andrews. 2015. "Protest Campaigns and Movement Success: Desegregating the U.S. South in the Early 1960s." *American Sociological Review* 80(2):416-443.

Blair, Adam. 2010. "Top 10 Best-Paid Supermarket CEOs." *Retail Info Systems*. (https://risnews.com/top-10-best-paid-supermarket-ceos)

Blanchard, Fletcher A., Christian S. Crandall, John C. Brigham, and Leigh Ann Vaughn. 1994. "Condemning and Condoning Racism: A Social Context Approach to Interracial Settings." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 79(6):993-997.

Bloemraad, Irene and Veronica Terriquez. 2016. "Cultures of Engagement: The Organizational Foundations of Advancing Health in Immigrant and Low-Income Communities of Color." *Social Science and Medicine* 165:214-222.

Bond, Robert M., Christopher, J. Fariss, Jason J. Jones, Adam D. I. Kramer, Cameron Marlow, Jamie E. Settle, and James H. Fowler. 2012. "A 61-Million-Person Experiment in Social Influence and Political Mobilization." *Nature* 489:295-298.

Borck, Jonathan C. and Cary Coglianese. 2009. "Voluntary Environmental Programs: Assessing Their Effectiveness." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 34:305-24.

Borges, Angela M., Victoria L. Banyard, and Mary M. Moynihan. 2008. "Clarifying Consent: Primary Prevention of Sexual Assault on a College Campus." *Journal of Prevention and Intervention in the Community* 36(1-2):75-88.

Borgman, Amy L. 2009. "LGB Allies and Christian Identity: A Qualitative Exploration of Resolving Conflicts and Integrating Identities." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 56(4):508-520.

Boulay, Marc J., J. Douglas Storey, and Suruchi Sood. 2010. "Indirect Exposure to a Family Planning Mass Media Campaign in Nepal." *Journal of Health Communication* 7(5):379-399.

Brecklin, L. R. and David Robert Forde. 2001. "A Meta-Analysis of Rape Education Programs." *Violence and Victims* 16(3):303-321.

Briscoe, Forrest and Sean Safford. 2008. "The Nixon-in-China Effect: Activism, Imitation, and the Institutionalization of Contentious Practices." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 53:460-491.

Brondolo, Elizabeth, Nisha Brady ver Halen, Melissa Pencille, Danielle Beatty, and Richard J. Contrada. 2009. "Coping with Racism: A Selective Review of the Literature and a Theoretical and Methodological Critique." *Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 32:64-88.

Broockman, David E. and Christopher Skovron. 2013. "What Politicians Believe About Their Constituents: Asymmetric Misperceptions and Prospects for Constituency Control." Paper presented at Political Representation: Fifty Years After Miller and Stokes, March 1-2, Vanderbilt University.

Broockman, David E. and Daniel M. Butler. 2017. "The Casual Effects of Elite Position-Taking on Voter Attitudes: Field Experiments with Elite Communication." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(1):208-221.

Broockman, David E. and Joshua Kalla. 2016. "Durably Reducing Transphobia: A Field Experiment on Door-to-Door Canvassing." *Science* 352(6282):220-224.

Broockman, David E. and Timothy J. Ryan. 2016. "Preaching to the Choir: Americans Prefer Communicating to Copartisan Elected Officials." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4):1093-1107.

Bryan, Christopher J., Gregory M. Walton, Todd Rogers, and Carol S. Dweck. 2011. "Motivating Voter Turnout by Invoking the Self." *PNAS* 108(31):12653-12656.

Brym, Robert, Melissa Godbout, Andreas Hoffbauer, Gabe Menard, and Tony Huiquan Zhang. 2014. "Social Media in the 2011 Egyptian Uprising." *The British Journal of Sociology* 65(2):266-292.

Buchanan, NiCole T, Isis H. Settles, Angela T. Hall, and Rachel C. O'Connor. 2014. "A Review of Organizational Strategies for Reducing Sexual Harassment: Insights from the U.S. Military." *Journal of Social Issues* 70(4):687-702.

Buller, David B., Ron Borland, and Michael Burgoon. 1998. "Impact of Behavioral Intention on Effectiveness of Message Features: Evidence from the Family Sun Safety Project." *Human Communication Research* 24(3):433-453.

Bunnage, Leslie A. 2014. "Social Movement Engagement over the Long Haul: Understanding Activist Retention." *Sociology Compass* 8(4):433-445.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2018. *Usual Weekly Earnings of Wage and Salary Workers: Third Quarter 2018*. U.S. Department of Labor. (https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/wkyeng.pdf)

Burn, Shawn Meghan. 2009. "A Situational Model of Sexual Assault Prevention through Bystander Intervention." *Sex Roles* 60:779-792.

Campbell, Andrea Louise. 2012. "Policy Makes Mass Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15:333-51.

Carter, Evelyn R. and Mary C. Murphy. 2017. "Consensus and Consistency: Exposure to Multiple Discrimination Claims Shapes Whites' Intergroup Attitudes." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 73:24-33.

Case, Kim A. 2007. "Raising Male Privilege Awareness and Reducing Sexism: An Evaluation of Diversity Courses." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 31:426-435.

Case, Kim A. 2012. "Discovering the Privilege of Whiteness: White Women's Reflections on Anti-Racist Identity and Ally Behavior." *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):78-96.

Case, Robert A. and Laura Zeglen. 2018. "Exploring the Ebbs and Flows of Community Engagement: The Pyramid of Engagement and Water Activism in Two Canadian Communities." *Journal of Community Practice* 26(2):184-203.

Center for a Livable Future. 2013. *Industrial Food Animal Production in America: Examining the Impact of the Pew Commission's Priority Recommendations.* (https://www.jhsph.edu/research/centers-and-institutes/johns-hopkins-center-for-a-livable-future/_pdf/research/clf_reports/CLF-PEW-for%20Web.pdf)

Chatterji, Aaron K. and Michael W. Toffel. 2010. "How Firms Respond to Being Rated." *Strategic Management Journal* 31(9):917-945.

Chen, Cher Weixia and Paul C. Gorski. 2015. "Burnout in Social Justice and Human Rights Activists: Symptoms, Causes, and Implications." *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 7(3):366-390.

Chenoweth, Erica and Maria J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Cherry, Elizabeth. 2015. "I was a Teenage Vegan: Motivation and Maintenance of Lifestyle Movements." *Sociological Inquiry* 85(1):55-74.

Choate, Laura Hensley. 2003. "Sexual Assault Prevention Programs for College Men: An Exploratory Evaluation of the Men Against Violence Model." *Journal of College Counseling* 6:166-176.

Chrun, Elizabeth, Nives Dolšak, and Aseem Prakash. 2016. "Corporate Environmentalism: Motivations and Mechanisms." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 41:341-362.

Cialdini, Robert B. and Raymond R. Reno. 1990. "A Focus Theory of Normative Conduct: Recycling the Concept of Norms to Reduce Littering in Public Places." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 58(6):1015-1026.

Cialdini, Robert B., Linda J. Demaine, Brad J. Sagarin, Daniel W. Barrett, Kenton Rhoads, and Patricia L. Winter. 2006. "Managing Social Norms for Persuasive Impact." *Social Influence* 1(1):3-15.

Cilluffo, Anthony, Abigail Geiger, and Richard Fry. 2017. "More U.S. Households Are Renting Than at Any Point in 50 Years." *Pew Research Center.* (http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/07/19/more-u-s-households-are-renting-than-at-any-point-in-50-years/)

Cohen, Geoffery L., Joshua Aronson, and Claude M. Steele. 2000. "When Beliefs Yield to Evidence: Reducing Biased Evaluation by Affirming the Self." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26(9):1151-1164.

Coldwell Banker Global Luxury. 2017. *Luxury in Review 2017.* (http://blog.coldwellbankerluxury.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Coldwell-Banker-Global-Luxury-report_FEB18_final-2.pdf)

Cooney, Nick. 2013. "The Powerful Impact of College Leafleting." *Farm Sanctuary.* (https://ccc.farmsanctuary.org/the-powerful-impact-of-college-leafleting-part-1/)

Corrigan, Patrick W., Scott B. Morris, Patrick J. Michaels, Jennifer D. Rafacz, and Nicolas Rüsch. 2012. "Challenging the Public Stigma of Mental Illness: A Meta-Analysis of Outcome Studies." *Psychiatric Services* 63(10):963-973.

Courtois, Marie and Ginette Herman. 2015. "Managers are Potential Levers of Discrimination Within Organizations: The Role of Group Identification, Assimilation Endorsement, and Power." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 45:471-487.

Couture, Shannon M. and David L. Penn. 2003. "Interpersonal Contact and the Stigma of Mental Illness: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of Mental Health* 12(3):291-305.

Crandall, Christian S., Amy Eshleman, and Laurie O'Brien. 2002. "Social Norms and the Expression and Suppression of Prejudice: The Struggle for Internalization." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 82(3):359-378.

Credit Suisse. 2018. *Global Wealth Report 2018.* (http://publications.credit-suisse.com/index.cfm/publikationen-shop/research-institute/global-wealth-report-2018-en/)

Creed, W. E. Douglas, Maureen A. Scully, and John R. Austin. 2002. "Clothes Make the Person? The Tailoring of Legitimating Accounts and the Social Construction of Identity." *Organization Science* 13(5):475-496.

Cress, Daniel M. and David A. Snow. 2000. "The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing." *American Journal of Sociology* 105(4):1063-1104.

Cryder, Cynthia E., George Lowenstein, and Richard Scheines. 2013. "The Donor is in the Details." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 120:15-23.

Czopp, Alexander M., Margo J. Monteith, and Aimee Y. Mark. 2006. "Standing Up for a Change: Reducing Bias Through Interpersonal Confrontation." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90(5):784-803.

Dale, Allison and Aaron Strauss. 2009. "Don't Forget to Vote: Text Message Reminders as a Mobilization Tool." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4):787-804.

Daníelsdóttir, Sigrún, Kerry S. O'Brien, and Anna Ciao. 2010. "Anti-Fat Prejudice Reduction: A Review of Published Studies." *Obesity Facts* 3:47-58.

Davis, Nancy. 1992. "Teaching About Inequality: Student Resistance, Paralysis, and Rage." *Teaching Sociology* 20(3):232-238

Dessel, Adrienne B., Michael R. Woodford, and Naomi Warren. 2011. "Intergroup Dialogue Courses on Sexual Orientation: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Student Experiences and Outcomes." *Journal of Homosexuality* 58:1132-1150.

Dessel, Adrienne B., Michael R. Woodford, Robbie Routenberg, and Duane P. Breijak. 2013. "Heterosexual Students' Experiences in Sexual Orientation Intergroup Dialogue Courses." *Journal of Homosexuality* 60:1054-1080.

DeTurk, Sara. 2006. "The Power of Dialogue: Consequences of Intergroup Dialogue and their Implications for Agency and Alliance Building." *Communication Quarterly* 54(1):33-51.

Díaz Meneses, Gonzalo and Asunción Beerli Palacio. 2007. "The Response to Commitment with Block-Leader Recycling Promotion Technique: A Longitudinal Approach." *Journal of Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing* 17(1-2):83-102.

Dickerson, Chris Ann, Ruth Thibodeau, Elliot Aronson, and Dayna Miller. 1992. "Using Cognitive Dissonance to Encourage Water Conservation." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 22(11):841-854.

Dillard, James Price and Lijiang Shen. 2005. "On the Nature of Reactance and its Role in Persuasive Health Communication." *Communication Monographs* 72(2):144-168.

Djoghlaf, Ahmed. 2007. *Message for International Day for Biological Diversity.* United Nations Environment Programme.

Downey, Stephanie N., Lisa van der Werff, Kecia M. Thomas, and Victoria C. Plaut. 2015. "The Role of Diversity Practices and Inclusion in Promoting Trust and Employee Engagement."

Downton, James, Jr. and Paul Wehr. 1998. "Persistent Pacifism: How Activist Commitment is Developed and Sustained." *Journal of Peace Research* 35(5):531-550.

Drury, Benjamin J. and Cheryl R. Kaiser. 2014. "Allies against Sexism: The Role of Men in Confronting Sexism." *Journal of Social Issues* 70(4):637-652.

Duhigg, Julie M., Sharon S. Rostosky, Barry E. Gray, and Mary K. Wimsatt. 2010. "Development of Heterosexuals into Sexual-Minority Allies: A Qualitative Exploration." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 7(1):2-14.

Durrheim, Kevin and John Dixon. 2018. "Intergroup Contact and the Struggle for Social Justice." Pp. 367-378 in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Psychology and Social Justice*, edited by P. L. Hammack. New York: Oxford University Press.

Edelman, Lauren B., Gwendolyn Leachman, and Doug McAdam. 2010. "On Law, Organizations, and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 6:653-685.

Education Law Center. 2011. *Federal Policy, ESEA Reauthorization, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline.* (https://www.elc-pa.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/FederalPolicy_ESEA_and_SchoolToPrisonPipeline.03.09.11.pdf)

Ely, Robin J. and David A. Thomas. 2001. "Cultural Diversity at Work: The Effects of Diversity Perspectives on Work Group Processes and Outcomes." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 46:229-273.

Esses, Victoria M., Lynne M. Jackson, and Tamara L. Armstrong. 1998. "Intergroup Competition and Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration: An Instrumental Model of Group Conflict." *Journal of Social Issues* 54(4):699-724.

Fabiano, Patricia M., H. Wesley Perkins, Alan Berkowitz, Jeff Linkenbach, and Christopher Stark. 2003. "Engaging Men as Social Justice Allies in Ending Violence Against Women: Evidence for a Social Norms Approach." *Journal of American College Health* 52(3):105-112.

Farrelly, Matthew C., Cheryl G. Healton, Kevin C. Davis, Peter Messeri, James C. Hersey, and M. Lyndon Haviland. 2002. "Getting to the Truth: Evaluating National Tobacco Countermarketing Campaigns." *American Journal of Public Health* 92(6):901-907.

Farrelly, Matthew C., Keven C. Davis, M. Lyndon Haviland, Peter Messeri, and Cheryle G. Healton. 2005. "Evidence of a Dose: Response Relationship Between 'Truth' Antismoking Ads and Youth Smoking Prevalence." *American Journal of Public Health* 95(3):425-431.

Fassiotto, Magali and Sarah A. Soule. 2017. "Loud and Clear: The Effect of Protest Signals on Congressional Attention." *Mobilization* 22(1):17-38.

Feinberg, Matthew and Robb Willer. 2015. "From Gulf to Bridge: When Do Moral Arguments Facilitate Political Influence?" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 41(12):1-17

Feinberg, Matthew, Robb Willer, and Chloe Kovacheff. 2017. "Extreme Protest Tactics Reduce Popular Support for Social Movements." *SSRN Electronic Journal.*

Fernandez, Roberto M. and Doug McAdam. 1988. "Social Networks and Social Movements: Multiorganizational Fields and Recruitment to Mississippi Freedom Summer." *Sociological Forum* 3(3):357-382.

Fitch, Bradford and Kathy Goldschmidt. 2015. *Social Congress 2015.* Congressional Management Foundation. (http://www.congressfoundation.org/projects/communicating-with-congress/social-congress-2015)

Fitch, Bradford, Kathy Goldschmidt, and Nicole Folk Cooper. 2017. *Citizen-Centric Advocacy: The Untapped Power of Constituent Engagement.* Congressional Management Foundation. (http://www.congressfoundation.org/projects/communicating-with-congress/citizen-centric-advocacy-2017)

Flood, Michael. 2005. "Changing Men: Best Practice in Sexual Violence Education." *Women Against Violence* 18:26-36.

Focella, Elizabeth S., Meghan G. Bean, and Jeff Stone. 2015. "Confrontation and Beyond: Examining a Stigmatized Target's Use of a Prejudice Reduction Strategy." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 9(2):100-114.

Foshee, Vangie A., Heath Luz McNaughton Reyes, Susan T. Ennett, Jessica D. Cance, Karl E. Bauman, and J. Michael Bowling. 2012. "Assessing the Effects of Families for Safe Dates, a Family-Based Teen Dating Abuse Prevention Program." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 51(4):349-356.

Foshee, Vangie A., Karl E. Bauman, Susan T. Ennett, G. Fletcher Linder, Thad Benefield, and Chirayath Suchindran. 2004. "Assessing the Long-Term Effects of the Safe Dates Program and a Booster in Preventing and Reducing Adolescent Dating Violence Victimization and Perpetration." *American Journal of Public Health* 94(4):619-624.

Foubert, John D. 2000. "The Longitudinal Effects of a Rape-Prevention Program on Fraternity Men's Attitudes, Behavioral Intent, and Behavior." *Journal of American College Health* 48(4):158-163.

Foubert, John D. and Bradford C. Perry. 2007. "Creating Lasting Attitude and Behavior Change in Fraternity Members and Male Student Athletes: The Qualitative Impact of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program." *Violence Against Women* 13(1):1-17.

Foubert, John D. and Jonathan T. Newberry. 2006. "Effects of Two Versions of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program on Fraternity Men's Survivor Empathy, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intent to Commit Rape or Sexual Assault." *Journal of College Student Development* 47(2):133-148.

Foulon, Jérôme, Paul Lanoie, and Benoît Laplante. 2002. "Incentives for Pollution Control: Regulation or Information?" *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 44(1):169-187.

Fowler, James H. 2005. "Turnout in a Small World." Pp. 269-287 in *Social Logic of Politics*, edited by A. Zuckerman. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

France, Lisa Respers. 2018. "Voter Registration Reportedly Spikes After Taylor Swift Post." CNN. October 9. (https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/09/entertainment/taylor-swift-voter-registration/index.html)

Freelon, Deen, Charlton McIlwain, and Meredith Clark. 2016. "Quantifying the Power and Consequences of Social Media Protest." Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1177/1461444816676646

Fuoss, Kirk W., Cindy J. Kistenberg, and Lawrence B. Rosenfeld. 1992. "'OUT ART': Reducing Homophobia on College Campuses Through Artistic Intervention." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 12:349-361.

Galston, William A. 2001. "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4:217-234.

Gamson, William A. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Ganz, Marshall. 2000. "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966." *American Journal of Sociology* 105(4):1003-1062.

Genevsky, Alexander, Daniel Västfjäll, Paul Slovic, and Brian Knutson. 2013. "Neural Underpinnings of the Identifiable Victim Effect: Affect Shifts Preferences for Giving." *Journal of Neuroscience* 33(43):17188-17196.

Gerber, Alan S. and Todd Rogers. 2009. "Descriptive Social Norms and Motivation to Vote: Everybody's Voting and So Should You." *The Journal of Politics* 71(1):178-191.

Gervais, Sarah J. and Amy L. Hillard. 2014. "Confronting Sexism as Persuasion: Effects of a Confrontation's Recipient, Source, Message, and Context." *Journal of Social Issues* 70(4):653-667.

Gillion, Daniel Q. 2012. "Protest and Congressional Behavior: Assessing Racial and Ethnic Minority Protests in the District." *The Journal of Politics* 74(4):950-962.

Ginwright, Shawn A. 2007. "Black Youth Activism and the Role of Critical Social Capital in Black Community Organizations." *American Behavioral Scientist* 51(3):403-418.

Giugni, Marco. 2007. "Useless Protest? A Time-Series Analysis of the Policy Outcomes of Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace Movements in the United States, 1977-1995." *Mobilization* 12(1):53-77.

Goff, Phillip Atiba, Claude M. Steele, and Paul G. Davies. 2008. "The Space Between Us: Stereotype Threat and Distance in Interracial Contexts." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94(1):91-107.

Goldstein, Noah J., Robert B. Cialdini, and Vladas Griskevicius. 2008. "A Room with a Viewpoint: Using Social Norms to Motivate Environmental Conservation in Hotels." *Journal of Consumer Research* 35(3):472-482.

Goldstone, Jack A. 2011. "Cross-Class Coalitions and the Making of the Arab Revolts of 2011." *Swiss Political Science Review* 17(4):457-462.

Gollwitzer, Peter M. 1999. "Implementation Intentions: Strong Effects of Simple Plans." *American Psychologist* 54(7):493-503.

Gomes, Mary E. 1992. "The Rewards and Stresses of Social Change: A Qualitative Study of Peace Activists." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 32(4):138-146.

Gorman-Murray, Andrew and Gordon Waitt. 2009. "Queer-Friendly Neighbourhoods: Interrogating Social Cohesion Across Sexual Difference in Two Australian Neighborhoods." *Environment and Planning A* 41:2855-2873.

Gorski, Paul C. 2015. "Relieving Burnout and the 'Martyr Syndrome' Among Social Justice Education Activists: The Implications and Effects of Mindfulness." *The Urban Review* 47:696-716.

Gorski, Paul C. 2018a. "Fighting Racism, Battling Burnout: Causes of Activist Burnout in U.S. Racial Justice Activists." *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2018.1439981

Gorski, Paul C. 2018b. "Racial Battle Fatigue and Activist Burnout in Racial Justice Activists of Color at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities." *Race, Ethnicity, and Education.* Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2018.1497966

Gorski, Paul C. and Cher Chen. 2015. "'Frayed All Over:' The Causes and Consequences of Activist Burnout Among Social Justice Education Activists." *Educational Studies* 51(5):385-405.

Gould, Roger V. 1991. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871." *American Sociological Review* 56(6):716-729.

Grant, Adam M., Elizabeth M. Campbell, Grace Chen, Keenan Cottone, David Lapedis, and Karen Lee. 2007. "Impact and the Art of Motivation Maintenance: The Effects of Contact with Beneficiaries on Persistence Behavior." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 103:53-67.

Granzin, Kent L. and Janeen E. Olsen. 1991. "Characterizing Participants in Activities Protecting the Environment: A Focus on Donating, Recycling, and Conservation Behaviors." *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 10(2):1-27.

Green, Donald P. and Alan S. Gerber. 2015. *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout.* 3rd edition. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Gulker, Jill E., Aimee Y. Mark, and Margo J. Monteith. 2013. "Confronting Prejudice: The Who, What, and Why of Confrontation Effectiveness." *Social Influence* 8(4):280-293.

Hall, Robert E., and Charles I. Jones. 2007. "The value of life and the rise in health spending." The Quarterly Journal of Economics 122(1):39-72.

Haney, Craig, Curtis Banks, and Philip Zimbardo. 1973. "Interpersonal Dynamics in a Simulated Prison." *International Journal of Criminology and Penology* 1:69-97.

Hart, Will, Inge Brechan, Lisa Merrill, Dolores Albarracín, Alice H. Eagly, and Matthew J. Lindberg. 2009. "Feeling Validated Versus Being Correct: A Meta-Analysis of Selective Exposure to Information." *Psychology Bulletin* 135(4):555-588.

Health Effects Institute. 2018. *State of Global Air 2018.* Special Report. Boston, MA. (https://www.stateofglobalair.org/sites/default/files/soga-2018-report.pdf)

Heitlinger, Alena. 1996. "Framing Feminism in Post-Communist Czech Republic." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29(1):77-93.

Herek, Gregory M. and John P. Capitanio. 1996. "'Some of My Best Friends': Intergroup Contact, Concealable Stigma, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 22(4):412-424.

Herek, Gregory M. and Kevin A. McLemore. 2013. "Sexual Prejudice." *Annual Review of Psychology* 64:309-333.

Hewstone, Miles, Mark Rubin, and Hazel Willis. 2002. "Intergroup Bias." *Annual Review of Psychology* 53:575-604.

Hillard, Amy. 2011. "Why Confronting Sexism Works: Applying Persuasion Theories to Confronting Sexism." Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of Nebraska.

Humane Research Council. 2007. *Advocating Meat Reduction and Vegetarianism to Adults in the U.S.* (https://faunalytics.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/HRC-Veg-Study-2007-Full-Report-HRC-MASTER.pdf)

Humphreys, Macartan, William Masters, and Martin E. Sandbu. 2006. "The Role of Leaders in Democratic Deliberations: Results from a Field Experiment in São Tomé and Príncipe." *World Politics* 58(4):583-622.

Hyers, Lauri L. 2007. "Resisting Prejudice Every Day: Exploring Women's Assertive Responses to Anti-Black Racism, Anti-Semitism, Heterosexism, and Sexism." *Sex Roles* 56(1):1-12.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. 2018. *Global Warming of 1.5°C.* (http://www.ipcc.ch/report/sr15/)

Jacobson, Gary C. 2015. "How Do Campaigns Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18:31-47.

Janoski, Thomas, March Musick, and John Wilson. 1998. "Being Volunteered? The Impact of Social Participation and Pro-Social Attitudes on Volunteering." *Sociological Forum* 13(3):495-519.

Jansen, Wiebren S., Menno W. Vos, Sabine Otten, Astrid Podsiadlowski, and Karin I. van der Zee. 2016. "Colorblind or Colorful? How Diversity Approaches Affect Cultural Majority and Minority Employees." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 46:81-93.

Johnson, Erik W., Jon Agnone, and John D. McCarthy. 2010. "Movement Organizations, Synergistic Tactics, and Environmental Public Policy." *Social Forces* 88(5):2267-2292.

Jones-Jamtgaard, Kellyann N. and Connie M. Lee. 2017. "A Quick Guide to Effective Grassroots Advocacy for Scientists." *Molecular Biology of the Cell* 28(16):2155-2231.

Kaiser, Cheryl R. and Carol T. Miller. 2004. "A Stress and Coping Perspective on Confronting Sexism." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 28:168-178.

Kantola, S. J., Geoffrey J. Syme, and N. A. Campbell. 1984. "Cognitive Dissonance and Energy Conservation." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 69(3):416-421.

Keane, Lauren Deschamps and David W. Nickerson. 2015. "When Reports Depress Rather Than Inspire: A Field Experiment Using Age Cohorts as Reference Groups." *Journal of Political Marketing* 14(4):381-390.

Kearl, Holly. 2018. The Facts Behind the #MeToo Movement: A National Study on Sexual Harassment and Assault. Reston, VA: Stop Street Harassment.

Kearney, Lisa K., Aaron B. Rochlen, and Eden B. King. 2004. "Male Gender Role Conflict, Sexual Harassment Tolerance, and the Efficacy of a Psychoeducative Training Program." *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* 5(1):72-82.

Kellstedt, Paul M. 2000. "Media Framing and the Dynamics of Racial Policy Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(2):245-260.

Killough, Ashley. 2017. "Congress Deluged with Phone Calls." *CNN.* February 3. (https://www.cnn.com/2017/02/03/politics/congress-phone-calls/index.html)

Kim, Hyojoung and Steven Pfaff. 2012. "Structure and Dynamics of Religious Insurgency: Students and the Spread of Reformation." *American Sociological Review* 77(2):188-215.

King, Brayden G. 2008. "A Political Mediation Model of Corporate Response to Social Movement Activism." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 53(3):395-421.

King, Brayden G. 2011. "The Tactical Disruptiveness of Social Movement Sources of Market and Mediated Disruption in Corporate Boycotts." *Social Problems* 58(4):491-517.

King, Brayden G. and Nicholas A. Pearce. 2010. "The Contentiousness of Markets: Politics, Social Movements, and Institutional Change in Markets." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:249-267.

King, Brayden G. and Sarah A. Soule. 2007. "Social Movements as Extra-Institutional Entrepreneurs: The Effect of Protests on Stock Price Returns." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 52:413-442.

King, Brayden G., Keith G. Bentele, and Sarah A. Soule. 2007. "Protest and Policymaking: Explaining Fluctuation in Congressional Attention to Rights Issues, 1960-1986." *Social Forces* 86(1):137-163.

Klandermans, Bert. 1993. "A Theoretical Framework for Comparisons of Social Movement Participation." *Sociological Forum* 8(3):383-402.

Klandermans, Bert. 2003. "Disengaging from Movements." Pp. 116-127 in *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts,* edited by J. Goodwin and J. M. Jasper. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Klein, Jill Gabrielle, N. Craig Smith, and Andrew John. 2004. "Why We Boycott: Consumer Motivations for Boycott Participation." *Journal of Marketing* 68:92-109.

Klofstad, Casey A. 2011. *Civic Talk: Peers, Politics, and the Future of Democracy.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Knobloch-Westerwick, Silvia and Jingbo Meng. 2009. "Looking the Other Way: Selective Exposure to Attitude-Consistent and Counterattitudinal Political Information." 26(3):426-448.

Kosciew, Joseph G., Emily A. Gretak, Noreen M. Giga, Christian Villenas, and David J. Danischewski. 2016. The 2015 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth in Our Nation's Schools. New York: GLSEN.

Kovan, Jessica T. and John M. Dirkx. 2003. "'Being Called Awake': The Role of Transformative Learning in the Lives of Environmental Activists." *Adult Education Quarterly* 53(2):99-118.

Kronrod, Ann, Amir Grinstein, and Luc Wathieu. 2011. "Go Green! Should Environmental Messages Be So Assertive?" *Journal of Marketing* 76(1):95-102.

Krupnick, Catherine G. 1985. "Women and Men in the Classroom: Inequality and Its Remedies." Cambridge, MA: *Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning at Harvard University.*

Lau, Richard R. and Ivy Brown Rovner. 2009. "Negative Campaigning." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:285-306.

Lau, Richard R., Lee Sigelman, and Ivy Brown Rovner. 2007. "The Effects of Negative Political Campaigns: A Meta-Analytic Reassessment." *Journal of Politics* 69(4):1176-1209.

Lawlor, K. Blaine and Martin J. Hornyak. 2012. "SMART Goals: How the Application of Smart Goals can Contribute to the Achievement of Student Learning Outcomes." *Developments in Business Simulation and Experiential Learning* 39:259-267

Lewis, Gregory B. 2011. "The Friends and Family Plan: Contact with Gays and Support for Gay Rights." *The Policy Studies Journal* 39(2):217-238.

Lewis, Gregory B. and Charles W. Gossett. 2008. "Changing Public Opinion on Same-Sex Marriage: The Case of California." *Politics and Policy* 36(1):4-30.

Lim, Chaeyoon. 2008. "Social Networks and Political Participation: How Do Networks Matter?" *Social Forces* 87(2):961-982.

Lin, Zi Yin, Xiao Wang, Chang Jun Li, Micheil P. R. Gordon, and Marie K. Harder. 2016. "Visual Prompts or Volunteer Models: An Experiment in Recycling." *Sustainability* 8:458-473.

Lipsitz, Angela, Katherine Kallmeye, Martha Ferguson, and Andrew Abas. 1989. "Counting on Blood Donors: Increasing the Impact of Reminder Calls." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 19(13):1057-1067.

Liu, Li, Hope P. Johnson, Simon Cousens, Jamie Perin, Susana Scott, Joy E. Lawn, Igor Rudan, Harry Campbell, Richard Cibulskis, Mengying Li, Colin Mathers, and Robert E. Black. 2012. "Global, Regional, and National Causes of Child Mortality: An Updated Systemic Analysis for 2010 with Time Trends Since 2000." *The Lancet* 379(9832):2151-2161.

Livingston, James D., Teresa Milne, Mei Lan Fang, and Erica Amari. 2011. "The Effectiveness of Interventions for Reducing Stigma Related to Substance Use Disorders: A Systematic Review." *Addiction* 107:39-105.

Lokhorst, Anne Marike, Carol M. Werner, Henk Staats, and Eric van Dijk. 2013. "Commitment and Behavior Change: A Meta-Analysis and Critical Review of Commitment-Making Strategies in Environmental Research." *Environment and Behavior* 45(1):3-34.

Lonsway, Kimberly A., Elena L. Klaw, Dianne R. Berg, Craig R. Waldo, Chevron Kothari, Christopher J. Mazurek, and Kurt E. Hegeman. 1998. "Beyond 'No Means No': Outcomes of an Intensive Program to Train Peer Facilitators for Campus Acquaintance Rape Education." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 13(1):73-92.

Lopez, Gretchen E., Patricia Gurin, and Biren A. Nagda. 1998. "Education and Understanding Structural Causes for Group Inequalities." *Political Psychology* 19(2):305-329.

Low, K. S. Douglas, Phanikiran Radhakrishnan, Kimberly T. Schneider, and James Rounds. 2007. "The Experiences of Bystanders of Workplace Ethnic Harassment." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 37(10):2261-2297.

Luders, Joseph. 2006. "The Economics of Movement Success: Business Responses to Civil Rights Mobilization." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(4):963-998.

Lundgren, Sharon R. and Radmila Prislin. 1998. "Motivated Cognitive Processing and Attitude Change." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 24(7):715-726.

Mallett, Robyn K. and Dana E. Wagner. 2011. "The Unexpectedly Positive Consequences of Confronting Sexism." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 47:215-220.

Mannarini, Terri and Cosimo Talò. 2011. "When Commitment Is Not Enough: How Stress and Individual-Organization Interface Affect Activists' Persistence." *Psychology* 2(5):450-455.

Martin, Steve. 2012. "98% of HBR Readers Love This Article." *Harvard Business Review*. (https://hbr.org/2012/10/98-of-hbr-readers-love-this-article)

McAdam, Doug and Ronnelle Paulsen. 1993. "Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism." *American Journal of Sociology* 99(3):640-667.

McAdam, Doug, 1986. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology* 92(1):64-90.

McClurg, Scott D. 2006. "The Electoral Relevance of Political Talk: Examining Disagreement and Expertise Effects in Social Networks on Political Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3):737-754.

McFarland, Daniel A. and Reuben J. Thomas. 2006. "Bowling Young: How Youth Voluntary Associations Influence Adult Political Participation." *American Sociological Review* 71:401-425.

Mckenzie-Mohr, Doug and P. Wesley Schultz. 2014. "Choosing Effective Behavior Change Tools." *Social Marketing Quarterly* 20(1):35-46.

McLeod, Jack M., Dietram A. Scheufele, and Patricia Moy. 1999. "Community, Communication, and Participation: The Role of Mass Media and Interpersonal Discussion in Local Political Participation." *Political Communication* 16:315-336.

Mereish, Ethan and V. Paul Poteat. 2015. "Effects of Heterosexuals' Direct and Extended Friendships with Sexual Minorities on their Attitudes and Behaviors: Intergroup Anxiety and Attitude Strength as Mediators and Moderators." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 45:147-157.

Miler, Kristina C. 2009. "The Limitations of Heuristics for Political Elites." *Political Psychology* 30(6):863-894.

Miller, Joshua and Susan Donner. 2000. "More Than Just Talk: The Use of Racial Dialogues to Combat Racism." *Social Work with Groups* 23(1):31-53.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 62:779-799

Mitchell, Martin, Michelle Gray, Kate Green, and Kelsey Beninger. 2014. What Works in Tackling Homophobic, Biphobic, and Transphobic (HBT) Bullying Among School-Age Children and Young People? Evidence Review and Typology of Initiatives. London, UK: NatCen Social Research.

Monroe, Kristen Renwick and Maria Luisa Martinez-Marti. 2008. "Empathy, Prejudice, and Fostering Tolerance." *Political Science and Politics* 41(4):857-863.

Morgan, G. Scott and Wing Yi Chan. 2016. "Different Paths to Protest: Predictors of Collective Action in the Occupy Movement." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 46:565-582.

Morris, Aldon D. 1999. "A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:517-539.

Murphy, Mary C., Jennifer A. Richeson, and Daniel C. Molden. 2011. "Leveraging Motivational Mindsets to Foster Positive Interracial Interactions." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 5(2):118-131.

Nagda, Biren A., Patricia Gurin, Nicholas Sorensen, and Ximena Zúñiga. 2009. "Evaluating Intergroup Dialogue: Engaging Diversity for Personal and Social Responsibility." *Diversity and Democracy* 12(1):4-6.

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 2004. "Commitment and Community in the Plowshares Movement." *Social Problems* 51(1):43-60.

Nickerson, David W. 2008. "Is Voting Contagious? Evidence from Two Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 102(1):49-57.

Nolan, Jessica M., P. Wesley Schultz, Robert B. Cialdini, Noah J. Goldstein, and Vladas Griskevicius. 2008. "Normative Social Influence is Underdetected." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 34(7):913-923.

Noonan, Rita K. 1995. "Women against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy." *Sociological Forum* 10(1):81-111.

Norris, Jack and Eric Roberts. 2016. "Booklet Comparison Study—Pay Per Read #2 Dec 2016." *Vegan Outreach.* (http://veganoutreach.org/ppr-2016/)

Norris, Jack. 2014. "Booklet Comparison Study—Pay Per Read #1 Dec 2014." *Vegan Outreach.* (http://veganoutreach.org/pay-per-read-study-results/)

O'Donoghue, Jennifer L. and Karen R. Strobel. 2007. "Directivity and Freedom: Adult Support of Activism Among Urban Youth." *American Behavioral Scientist* 51(3):465-485.

O'Dougherty, Maureen, Jean Forster, and Rachel Widome. 2010. "Communicating with Local Elected Officials: Lessons Learned from Clean Indoor Air Campaigns." *Health Promotion Practice* 11(2):275-281.

O'Neil, James M. and Marianne Roberts Carroll. 1988. "A Gender Role Workshop Focused on Sexism, Gender Role Conflict, and the Gender Role Journey." *Journal of Counseling and Development* 67(3):193-197.

O'Rourke, Dara. 2005. "Market Movements: Nongovernmental Organization Strategies to Influence Global Production and Consumption." *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 9(1-2):115-128.

Oegema, Dirk and Bert Klandermans. 1994. "Why Social Movement Sympathizers Don't Participate: Erosion and Nonconversion of Support." *American Sociological Review* 59(5):703-722.

Olzak, Susan and Sarah A. Soule. 2009. "Cross-Cutting Influences of Environmental Protest and Legislation." Social Forces 88(1):201-226.

Opp, Karl-Dieter and Christiane Gern. 1993. "Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and Spontaneous Cooperation: The East German Revolution of 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58:659-680.

Ord, Toby. 2013. "The Moral Imperative toward Cost-Effectiveness in Global Health." *Center for Global Development.* (www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1427016)

Pacheco, Daniel Costa, Ana Isabel Damião de Serpa Arruda Moniz, and Suzana Nunes Calderia. 2015. "Silence in Organizations and Psychological Safety: A Literature Review." *European Scientific Journal* (August 2015):293-308.

Paluck, Elizabeth Levy and Donald P. Green. 2009. "Prejudice Reduction: What Works? A Review and Assessment of Research and Practice." *Annual Review of Psychology* 60:339-367.

Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Hana Shepherd, and Peter M. Aronow. 2016. "Changing Climates of Conflict: A Social Network Experiment in 56 Schools." *PNAS* 113(3):566-571.

Paluck, Elizabeth Levy. 2011. "Peer Pressure against Prejudice: A High School Field Experiment Examining Social Network Change." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 47:350-358.

Pardini, Anton U. and Richard D. Katzev. 1983. "The Effect of Strength of Commitment on Newspaper Recycling." *Journal of Environmental Systems* 13(3):245-254.

Pearson, Elissa, Hayley Tindle, Monika Ferguson, Jillian Ryan, and Carla Litchfield. 2016. "Can We Tweet, Post, and Share Our Way to a More Sustainable Society? A Review of the Current Contributions and Future Potential of #Socialmediaforsustainability." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 41:363-97.

Pedriana, Nicholas. 2006. "From Protective to Equal Treatment: Legal Framing Processes and the Transformation of the Women's Movement in the 1960s." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(6):1718-61.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. and Linda R. Tropp. 2008. "How Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice? Meta-Analytic Tests of Three Mediators." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 38:922-934.

Pfaff, Steven. 1996. "Collective Identity and Informal Groups in Revolutionary Mobilization: East Germany in 1989." *Social Forces* 75(1):91-117.

Pines, Ayala M. 1994. "Burnout in Political Activism: An Existential Perspective." *Journal of Health and Human Resources Administration* 16(4):381-394.

Plant, E. Ashby and David A. Butz. 2006. "The Causes and Consequences of an Avoidance-Focus for Interracial Interactions." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 32(6):833-846.

Platt, Matthew B. 2007. "Participation for What? A Policy-Motivated Approach to Political Activism." *Political Behavior* 30(3):391-413.

Plous, S. 2003. "Responding to Overt Displays of Prejudice: A Role-Playing Exercise." *Teaching of Psychology* 27(3):198-200.

Poteat, V. Paul and Lisa B. Spanierman. 2010. "Do the Ideological Beliefs of Peers Predict the Prejudiced Attitudes of Other Individuals in the Group?" *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 13(4):495-514.

Purdie-Vaughns, Valerie, Claude M. Steele, Paul G. Davies, Ruth Ditlmann, and Jennifer Randall Crosby. 2008. "Social Identity Contingencies: How Diversity Cues Signal Threat or Safety for African Americans in Mainstream Institutions." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94(4):615-630.

Quick, Brian L. and Jennifer R. Considine. 2008. "Examining the Use of Forceful language When Designing Exercise Persuasive Messages for Adults: A Test of Conceptualizing Reactance Arousal as a Two-Step Process." *Health Communication* 23(5):483-491.

Ragins, Belle Rose and John M. Cornwell. 2001. "Pink Triangles: Antecedents and Consequences of Perceived Workplace Discrimination Against Gay and Lesbian Employees." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 86(6):1244-1261.

Reinhardt, Brian. 1994. "Reducing Homophobia through Gay and Lesbian Speaker Panels." Paper presented at 48th Annual Meeting of the Texas Psychological Association, November 11, Houston, TX.

Richeson, Jennifer A. and Richard J. Nussbaum. 2004. "The Impact of Multiculturalism Versus Color-Blindness on Racial Bias." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 40:417-423.

Rodgers, Kathleen. 2010. "'Anger is Why We're All Here': Mobilizing and Managing Emotions in a Professional Activist Organization." *Social Movement Studies* 9(3):273-291.

Rogers, Todd, Noah J. Goldstein, and Craig R. Fox. 2018. "Social Mobilization." *Annual Review of Psychology* 69:16.1-16.25

Roser-Renouf, Connie, Edward W. Maibach, Anthony Leiserowitz, and Xioquan Zhao. 2014. "The Genesis of Climate Change Activism: From Key Beliefs to Political Action." *Climatic Change* 125:163-178.

Sachdev, Itesh and Richard Y. Bourhis. 1985. "Social Categorization and Power Differentials in Group Relations." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 15:415-434.

Sachdev, Itesh and Richard Y. Bourhis. 1991. "Power and Status Differentials in Minority and Majority Group Relations." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 21(1):1-24.

Sachs, Jeffery D. 2016. "Saving the Lives of 6 Million Children a Year Wouldn't Cost Much." May 31. *MarketWatch.*

Sanders, Melissa R. and Ramaswami Mahalingam. 2012. "Under the Radar: The Role of Invisible Discourse in Understanding Class-Based Privilege." *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):112-127.

Sarac, Florentina. 2018. "Millennials Spend About $93,000 on Rent by the Time They Hit 30." *RENTCafé.* March 27. (https://www.rentcafe.com/blog/apartment-search-2/money/millennials-spend-93000-on-rent-by-the-time-they-hit-30/)

Scherer, Lisa L., Joseph A. Allen, and Elizabeth R. Harp. 2016. "Grin and Bear It: An Examination of Volunteers' Fit with Their Organization, Burnout, and Spirituality." *Burnout Research* 3(1):1-10.

Schultz, P. Wesley, Jessica M. Nolan, Robert B. Cialdini, Noah J. Goldstein, and Vladas Griskevicius. 2007. "The Constructive, Destructive, and Reconstructive Power of Social Norms." *Psychological Science* 18(5):429-434.

Schussman, Alan and Sarah A. Soule. 2005. "Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation." *Social Forces* 84(2):1083-1108.

Schwartz, Jonathan P, Melani M. Magee, Linda D. Griffin, and Cynthia W. Dupuis. 2004. "Effects of a Group Preventive Intervention on Risk and Protective Factors Related to Dating Violence." *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice* 8(3):221-231.

Scott, Carol A. 1977. "Modifying Socially-Conscious Behavior: The Foot-in-the-Door Technique." *Journal of Consumer Research* 4(3):156-164.

Shelton, J. Nicole. 2003. "Interpersonal Concerns in Social Encounters Between Majority and Minority Group Members." *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 6(2):171-185.

Shen, Lijiang. 2010. "Mitigating Psychological Reactance: The Role of Message-Induced Empathy in Persuasion." *Human Communication Research* 36:397-422.

Sherman, David A. K., Leif D. Nelson, and Claude M. Steele. 2000. "Do Messages about Health Risks Threaten the Self? Increasing the Acceptance of Threatening Health Messages Via Self-Affirmation." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26(9):1046-1058.

Simon, Bernd, Michael Loewy, Stefan Stürmer, Ulrike Weber, Peter Fretag, Corinna Habig, Claudia Kampmeier, and Peter Spahlinger. 1998. "Collective Identification and Social Movement Participation." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74(3):646-658.

Sinclair, Betsy, Margaret McConnell, and Melissa R. Michelson. 2013. "Local Canvassing: The Efficacy of Grassroots Voter Mobilization." *Political Communication* 30(1):42-57.

Sine, Wesley D. and Brandon H. Lee. 2009. "Tilting at Windmills? The Environmental Movement and the Emergence of the U.S. Wind Energy Sector." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 54:123-155.

Skrentny, John D. 2006. "Policy-Elite Perceptions and Social Movement Success: Understanding Variations in Group Inclusion in Affirmative Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(6):1762-1815.

Smith, Sharon G., Jieru Chen, Kathleen C. Basile, Leah K. Gilbert, Melissa T. Merrick, Nimesh Patel, Margie Walling, and Anurag Jain 2017. *The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS): 2010-2012 State Report*. Atlanta, GA: National Center for Injury and Prevention Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Snyder, Leslie B. and Mark A. Hamilton. 2002. "A Meta-analysis of U.S. Health Campaign Effects on Behavior: Emphasize Enforcement, Exposure, and New Information, and Beware the Secular Trend." Pp. 357–84 in *Public Health Communication: Evidence for Behavior Change*, edited by R. C. Hornik. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Society for Community Research and Action. 2018. "Statement of the Effects of Deportation and Forced Separation on Immigrants, their Families, and Communities." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 62:3-12.

Somma, Nicolás M. 2009. "How Strong are Strong Ties? The Conditional Effectiveness of Strong Ties in Protest Recruitment Attempts." *Sociological Perspectives* 52(3):289-308.

Son Hing, Leanne S., Winnie Li, and Mark P. Zanna. 2002. "Inducing Hypocrisy to Reduce Prejudicial Responses among Aversive Racists." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 38:71-78.

Soule, Sarah A. and Susan Olzak. 2004. "When Do Movements Matter? The Politics of Contingency and the Equal Rights Amendment." *American Sociological Review* 69(4):473-497.

Stake, Jayne E. and Suzanna Rose. 1994. "The Long-Term Impact of Women's Studies on Students' Personal Lives and Political Activism." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 18:403-412.

Stern, Chadly and Tessa V. West. 2014. "Circumventing Anxiety During Interpersonal Encounters to Promote Interest in Contact: An Implementation Intention Approach." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 50:82-93.

Stewart, Traacie L., Ioana M. Latu, Nyla R. Branscombe, and H. Ted Denny. 2010. "Yes We Can! Prejudice Reduction Through Seeing (Inequality) and Believing (in Social Change)." *Psychological Science* 21(11):1557-1562.

Stewart, Tracie L., Ioana M. Latu, Nyla R. Branscombe, Nia L. Phillips, and H. Ted Denney. 2012. "White Privilege Awareness and Efficacy to Reduce Racial Inequality Improve White Americans' Attitudes Toward African Americans." *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):11-27.

Stone, Jeff, Jessica Whitehead, Toni Schmader, and Elizabeth Focella. 2011. "Thanks for Asking: Self-Affirming Questions Reduce Backlash when Stigmatized Targets Confront Prejudice." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 47:589-598.

Swim, Janet K. and Lauri L. Hyers. 1999. "Excuse Me—What Did You Just Say?!: Women's Public and Private Responses to Sexist Remarks." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 35:68-88.

Swim, Janet K., Lauri L. Hyers, Laurie L. Cohen, Davita C. Fitzgerald, and Wayne H. Bylsma. 2003. "African-American College Students' Experiences with Everyday Racism: Characteristics of and Responses to These Incidents." *Journal of Black Psychology* 29(1):38-67.

Szalacha, Laura and Kim Westheimer. 2006. "School Support Groups, Other School Factors, and the Safety of Sexual Minority Students." *Psychology in the Schools* 43(5):2006.

Szymanski, Dawn M. and Jioni A. Lewis. 2015. "Race-Related Stress and Racial Identity as Predictors of African American Activism." *Journal of Black Psychology* 41(2):170-191.

Szymanski, Dawn M. and Jioni A. Lewis. 2016. "Gendered Racism, Coping, Identity Centrality, and African-American College Women's Psychological Distress." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 40(2):229-243.

Taylor, Verta, Katrina Kimport, Nella Van Dyke, and Ellen Ann Andersen. 2009. "Culture and Mobilization: Tactical Repertoires, Same-Sex Weddings, and the Impact on Gay Activism." *American Sociological Review* 74:865-890.

Terriquez, Veronica and Hyeyoung Kwon. 2014. "Intergenerational Family Relations, Civic Organizations, and the Political Socialization of Second-Generation Immigrant Youth." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(3):425-447.

Terriquez, Veronica. 2015. "Training Young Activists: Grassroots Organizing and Youths' Civic and Political Trajectories." *Sociological Perspectives* 58(2):223-242.

Terriquez, Veronica. 2017a. "Building Power and Fighting for Social Transformation: Contemporary Youth Movements in California." Keynote Speaker. UC Merced Mesoamerican Studies Conference, November 2.

Terriquez, Veronica. 2017b. "Legal Status, Civic Organizations, and Political Participation among Latino Young Adults." *The Sociological Quarterly* 58(2):315-336.

The New York Times. 2017. "California Presidental Race Results: Hillary Clinton Wins." August 1. (https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/california-president-clinton-trump)

The New York Times. 2018. "The Highest-Paid CEOs in 2017." May 25. (https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/05/25/business/ceo-pay-2017.html)

Trawalter, Sophie and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2006. "Regulatory Focus and Executive Function After Interracial Interactions." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 42(3):406-412.

Trawalter, Sophie, Emma K. Adam, P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2012. "Concerns About Appearing Prejudiced Get Under the Skin: Stress Responses to Interracial Contact in the Moment and Across Time." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 48:682-693.

U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2018. *Prisoners in 2016.* (https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/p16_rv.pdf)

U.S. Department of Agriculture. n.d. *Food Prices and Spending.* (https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/ag-and-food-statistics-charting-the-essentials/food-prices-and-spending/)

Vaccaro, Annemarie and Jasmine A. Mena. 2011. "It's Not Burnout, It's More: Queer College Activists of Color and Mental Health." *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Mental Health* 15(4):339-367.

Van Aelst, Peter and Stefaan Walgrave. 2016. "Political Agenda Setting and the Mass Media." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics,* edited by W. R. Thompson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

van der Linden, Sander L., Anthony A. Leiserowitz, Geoffrey D. Feinberg, and Edward W. Maibach. 2014. "How to Communicate the Scientific Consensus on Climate Change: Plain Facts, Pie Charts, or Metaphors?" *Climatic Change* 126(1-2):255-262.

Vegan Outreach. N.d. "Is Vegan Outreach's College Leafleting Effective? Yes! Even More Than We Thought!" (https://veganoutreach.org/LeafletingStudy.pdf)

Viterna, Jocelyn. 2006. "Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army." *American Journal of Sociology* 112(1):1-45.

Völkel, Jan G. and Matthew Feinberg. 2016. "Morally Reframed Arguments Can Affect Support for Political Candidates." *SSRN.*

Walch, Susan E., Kimberly A. Sinkkanen, Elisabeth M. Swain, Jacquelyn Francisco, Cassi A. Breaux, and Marie D. Sjoberg. 2012. "Using Intergroup Contact Theory to Reduce Stigma Against Transgender Individuals: Impact of a Transgender Speaker Panel Presentation." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 42(10):2583-2605.

Walker, Edward T., Andrew W. Martin, and John D. McCarthy. 2008. "Confronting the State, the Corporation, and the Academy: The Influence of Institutional Targets on Social Movement Repertoires." *American Journal of Sociology* 114(1):35-76.

Wasow, Omar. 2017. "Do Protests Matter? Evidence from the 1960s Black Insurgency." Unpublished manuscript.

Watt, Susan E. and Chris Larkin. 2010. "Prejudiced People Perceive More Community Support for Their Views: The Role of Own, Media, and Peer Attitudes in Perceived Consensus." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 40(3):710-731.

Webb, Thomas L. and Paschal Sheeran. 2006. "Does Changing Behavioral Intentions Engender Behavior Change? A Meta-Analysis of the Experimental Evidence." *Psychological Bulletin* 132(2):249-268.

Weber, Klaus, Hayagreeva Rao, and L. G. Thomas. 2008. "From Streets to Suites: How the Anti-Biotech Movement Affected German Pharmaceutical Firms." *American Sociological Review* 74:106-127.

Webster, Jennica R., Gary A. Adams, Cheryl L. Maranto, Katina Sawyer, and Christian Thoroughgood. 2017. "Workplace Contextual Supports for LGBT Employees: A Review, Meta-Analysis, and Agenda for Future Research." *Human Resource Management* 57(1):193-210.

Wellman, Justin A., Alexander M. Czopp, and Andrew L. Geers. 2009. "The Egalitarian Optimist and the Confrontation of Prejudice." *The Journal of Positive Psychology* 4(5):389-395.

Wells, Joel W. 1991. "What Makes a Difference? Various Teaching Strategies to Reduce Homophobia in University Students." *Annals of Sex Research* 4:229-238.

Werner, Carol M., Jane Turner, Kristen Shipman, F. Shawn Twitchell, Becky R. Dickson, Gary V. Bruschke, and Wolfgang B. von Bismarck. 1995. "Commitment, Behavior, and Attitude Change: An Analysis of Voluntary Recycling." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 15:197-208.

West, Keon and Katy Greenland. 2016. "Beware of 'Reducing Prejudice': Imagined Contact May Backfire if Applied with a Prevention Focus." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 46:583-592.

Wiltfang, Gregory L. and Doug McAdam. 1991. "The Costs and Risks of Social Activism: A Study of Sanctuary Movement Activism." *Social Forces* 69(4):987-1010.

World Health Organization. 2016. "10 Facts on Malaria." (http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/malaria/en/)

World Health Organization. 2018a. "Children: Reducing Mortality." (http://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/children-reducing-mortality)

World Health Organization. 2018b. "Suicide Data." (http://www.who.int/mental_health/prevention/suicide/suicideprevent/en/)

Wouters, Ruud and Stefaan Walgrave. 2017. "Demonstrating Power: How Protest Persuades Political Representatives." *American Sociological Review* 82(2):361-383.

Yermack, David. 2010. "Shareholder Voting and Corporate Governance." *Annual Review of Financial Economics* 2:103-125.

Zeldin, Shepherd, Josset Gaulet, Steven Eric Krauss, Mariah Kornbluh, and Jessica Collura. 2017. "Youth-Adult Partnership and Youth Civic Development: Cross-National Analyses for Scholars and Field Professionals." *Youth and Society* 49(7):851-878.

Zhang, Weiwu, Thomas J. Johnson, Trent Seltzer, and Shannon L. Bichard. 2009. "The Revolution Will be Networked: The Influence of Social Networking Sites on Political Attitudes and Behavior." *Social Science Computer Review* 28(1):75-92.

Zhao, Dingxin. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(6):1493-1529.

Zuo, Jiping and Robert D. Benford. 1995. "Mobilization Processes and the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement." *The Sociological Quarterly* 36(1):131-156.

Thank you for your work in making the world a better place.

We'd love to hear how your efforts are going so we can know which strategies are working on-the-ground and how to better help activists in their journeys towards progressive change. Please contact us at effectiveactivist.com/contact to share what's worked, what didn't work, and how the guide has shaped your activism.

Effective Activist: An Evidence-Based Guide to Progressive Social Change summarizes over 300 scientific articles on activism, revolutions, and social movements in order to share the most effective strategies and tactics for creating progressive change. The guide is freely available to all progressive activists—we don't want to make money off of you, we want to live in a world with clean air and rivers, safe and healthy communities, and diverse ecosystems. The guide covers the top scientifically-proven actions you can take as part of an activist campaign, within your organization, and in your everyday life in order to more effectively build a better world for us all to live in. Learn how to transform your passion into real impact. Arm yourself with science.