Money in Politics Field Scan

Survey Results

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This report was revised on September 29, 2016, on pages 10, 14, and 20, to better reflect the work of Represent.Us in the field.

Table of Contents

Foreword

Dear Reader,

The money in politics field stands at a potentially transformative moment. Since *Citizens United* and with each successive election, there has been growing bipartisan public understanding of the corrosive role that money plays in our politics and increasing engagement of the New American Majority around the issue. The current presidential election has raised public awareness of campaign finance reform as a solution to curb the undue influence of corporate and special interests campaign contributions on our democracy. At the local, state, and national levels, a field of traditional and new—or new to money in politics issues—organizations are rising to this challenge, seeking to capture that public energy and channel it toward positive change. With that backdrop, in 2015 we embarked on this field scan as one way to answer some of the most common questions funders have as they consider investing in the money in politics field: Who are the actors? What are the principal strategies and possible solutions? Where are the gaps, and what might funders do to fill them?

Like all scans, this report captures a moment in time, and it is a moment of much change: new actors, new ways of thinking about the issue, new strategies and tactics to advance reform are emerging. We engaged Erik Peterson of Bending the Arc Strategies because of his deep experience in movement analysis and support for using a power-building approach to advancing structural reform. In addition, as someone not engaged in the day-to-day work on the issue, he offers a fresh perspective of the money in politics movement. That means, however, that he necessarily has relied on the data provided by the 60 organizations that chose to participate in understanding their activities and challenges. Moreover, not all of the groups we reached out to participated and, indeed, new work has emerged that was not underway when we began this process. Therefore, while this is a wide cross-section of groups, the report should not be read as an omniscient independent analysis so much as a survey of the field. Our hope is that the document will help readers to understand the basics about current approaches to solving the problem of money in politics, and begin to consider the ways that funders might prioritize solutions and address current gaps in the community.

In addition, this report includes a section on Erik's deeper analysis of the movement's capacity in order to spur additional conversation about this fundamental aspect of field strength. We hope it helps inform donors as they make decisions that facilitate a more strategic and successful money in politics movement that is, in turn, able to bring about a more inclusive, stronger democracy.

Funders' Committee for Civic Participation, Money in Politics Working Group
Mertz Gilmore Foundation
Piper Fund

Executive Summary

Introduction

Money has never played a bigger role in our elections and brazen attempts to politicize and influence the courts are also growing—from repeals of public financing to unprecedented amounts of money being spent on judicial races.[1] Our immediate future only promises more money, given the floodgate unleashed through the Supreme Court rulings of *Citizens United v. FEC* and *McCutcheon v. FEC*.

Despite its clear, corrosive impact on our political and judicial systems, money in politics rarely rises to the level of "most important issue" on voters' minds, and the advocacy field as a whole has often focused on seemingly esoteric policy debates over arcane details, byzantine processes, and abstract notions of good government.

The good news, and topline take away from this review, is that traditional approaches are shifting, at least at the level of organizational leaders. There is a growing awareness among a wide range of advocacy groups that until the system changes, they will not win on many of their issue priorities. And with this awareness there is increased interest in building new coalitions and devoting organizational energy and capacity to fighting money in politics.

The public also knows the current system is broken. When it comes to money in our elections people think the system is rigged and know their voices are absent in the halls of power. Recent polls show an extraordinary 84% believe that money has an undue influence in politics and drowns out voices like theirs.[2]

There is growing media attention as well. Mainstream press stories on who is contributing to what campaigns, who has a super PAC funded by whom, and who is relying on millions of clean small-dollar donations populate the news and animate this year's presidential race. Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump—from opposite ends of the political spectrum—both made the case their campaigns offered a way to fight back against the influence of special-interest money: Sanders through small donors and the power of the internet, and Trump through self-funding. Throughout the primaries, both publicly eschewed super PACs that their competitors actively embraced, although once Donald Trump became the Republican nominee his opposition appears to have dropped.

But public awareness and a growing consensus do not guarantee public action. There is little evidence that elections swing on campaign finance issues,[3] or that outrage translates into anything other than further cynicism or fantasies of some spontaneous citizen revolution overturning the system.

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[1] See for example the study done by the American Constitution Society for Law and Policy (ACS), "Skewed Justice" (October 2014), http://skewedjustice.org.

[2] *The New York Times*, May 2015, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/2091162/poll-may-28-31.pdf.

[3] For example, in 2014 Mayday PAC spent $8 million to elect members of Congress committed to getting money out of politics. Only two of their eight candidates won, Rep. Ruben Gallego (D-AZ) and Rep. Walter Jones (R-NC), both in relatively safe districts and both with relatively minimal support.

Bottom-line: there is no silver bullet. There are multiple paths and strategies that can move us forward to win. What is missing is alignment around a shared analysis of building power. To quote Frederick Douglass, "power concedes nothing without a demand." The challenge we face is not one of persuasion, achieved by amassing facts and arguments, but one of building the power and an organized constituency that will demand change and hold decision-makers accountable to making it happen.

Analytical framework

Any analysis relies on the underlying assumptions, values, and perspective of the reviewer. The analytical framework I bring to this review is based on what I believe it takes to build movement power and win transformational, structural change. My overall theory of change—defined as what is necessary to achieve a desired outcome—relies on Richard Healy's articulation of the three faces of power[4] and my 35 years of organizing work in and with progressive advocacy organizations.

Theory of change

All three of the following core elements are essential to build the power necessary to achieve lasting structural change.

We need **Structural Reform** that changes the current system and puts in place policies, practices, institutions, and elected leaders that will reduce the disproportionate influence of money in politics.

To win structural change and hold decision-makers accountable, we need to build a grassroots movement, an **Organized Base** powerful enough and at sufficient scale.

And we need to **Change the Narrative** by dismantling the current dominant narrative—which perpetuates existing power relationships and the equation of money as speech, corporations as people, and government and politics as corrupt—and elevate an alternative story of inclusive and participatory democracy for all.

Power-building movement capacities

Oftentimes advocacy organizations and funders focus their energy and resources on short-term campaigns to pass policies, win elections, or launch new programs to meet some urgent demand. Despite

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4 I call these "faces" the three arenas of power, since we must contest within all three if we are to win. See Richard Healey, "The 3 Faces of Power" (February 2007), http://www.strategicpractice.org/system/files/three_faces_of_power3.pdf.

important victories and successes, there is seldom enduring capacity built as an aligned movement, or movement muscle strengthened through ongoing connectivity and organizational collaboration. We find individual organizations competing for funding, still limited by the organizational capacity and relationships they need, to take the next necessary steps and press advantage within newly created political opportunities.

Winning systemic change requires seven core capacities.[5] Each overlaps, and we need all seven to win the structural change we envision. These core capacities offer a framework for analyzing the broader money in politics advocacy landscape. I use them to highlight existing capacity and identify potential gaps. In the practice of movement alignment, they also offer a way to visualize how multiple organizations and different streams of work can connect and magnify one another with clearer lanes, roles, and responsibilities.

1. **Outside pressure from an organized and mobilized base—**the outside game, the leadership and ability to organize and mobilize a diverse base of people at sufficient scale through organizations, networks, and coalitions to support and demand electoral, legislative, and legal change.

2. **Aligned inside pressure from lawyers, lobbyists, and elected leaders—**the inside game, the powerful combination of legal strategies, elected champions, and the traditional lobbying needed to change the rules and shape the interpretation and implementation of laws, policies, and regulations.

3. **Alignment around smart strategies—**the ability to develop and run aligned (sometimes coordinated) campaigns across multiple sectors with a clear understanding of the structural problems, analysis of power, and need for different roles and functions to win.

4. **Robust shared data—**the ability to access, learn from and use critical shared data (e.g., public opinion research, public transparency databases, voting and membership files) for organizing, mobilizing, communication, and strategy development.

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[5] Developed by Erik Peterson, Bending the Arc Strategies.

5. **Credible workable policy alternatives—**the intellectual work needed to develop new ideas, interpretations, arguments, and specific policy proposals that will work and achieve the desired ends.

6. **Coordinated tactical and strategic communications—**the ability to engage in mass-scale communication to educate, disseminate information, and effectively message winning tactical campaigns, as well as do the deep strategic narrative work needed to shift the current dominant values narrative and frames.

7. **Sustained and organized money—**the mobilization of sufficient financial resources to allow strategic long-term investments in intellectual work, organizational staff, coordinating infrastructure, and communications at the scale needed to win structural change and protect those victories once achieved.

I will use this movement capacity framework to organize my analysis below.

Data collection and project timeline

I secured data from the field through three mechanisms:

Surveys: Detailed surveys were sent out on November 1, 2015, to over 100 organizations that self-identified as being a part of the money in politics field. Groups self-identified primarily through partnership with the Collaborative Communications Initiative at ReThink Media.

- Sixty organizations in the money in politics field returned a survey by December 31:[6]
    - 31.38% National Groups; 58.3% State Groups; 3% Local Groups (N=60)
    - 58.3% were Membership Organizations (N=60)
    - 44.4% had just a c3; 8.8% just a c4; 46.7% both a c3/c4 (N=45)

Interviews: In-depth interviews with 17 organizational leaders to further probe and identify key approaches and innovative strategies were conducted from December 2015 through early March 2016.[7]

Review of documents: An extensive review of existing reports and studies of the field as well as organizational websites and online resources.

Data collection and analysis occurred from November 2015 to March 2016 with the initial report sent for comments in early April 2016.

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[6] See Appendix 1 for the list of all money in politics advocacy organizations returning the survey. See Appendix 3 for the survey. Note that the survey also contained questions relevant to fair courts advocacy groups, which will be addressed in a different venue.
[7] See Appendix 2 for a list of organizations interviewed.

- November 1, 2015: Surveys sent to organizations doing work in money in politics.
- November-December 2015: Individual outreach to organizations to return surveys.
- November 2015-early March 2016: Interviews with iconic organizations and key leaders.
- January-March 2016: Review of field documents and online resources.
- March 2016: Analysis of data.
- March 2016: Draft initial report.
- April-June 2016: Redrafting and revisions.
- July 2016: Final report.

Key findings

Overall, there has been increasing alignment in the money in politics field across multiple sectors over the past few years. In significant part, this is due to previous efforts to identify and address gaps in existing capacity and alignment.

Below are eleven additional key findings; several of them reinforce or expand findings from previous analyses:

1. **Cynicism and a sense of public powerlessness are still key barriers to addressing money in politics.** Most respondents listed some form of voter cynicism and sense of powerlessness as one of the key barriers to moving their work forward. The problem isn't that people don't get the problem; they have given up on being able to solve it. The reasons behind this are varied. There were expressions of resignation. For example, the water analogy, where it doesn't matter if we manage to block money flowing in one place it will always find a way to flow in another. Or politicians and wealthy special interests will never give away their power, cozy relationships and control, so they will always find a way around any limit. There were also various expressions of cynicism—the public sees politicians and government as corrupt—or hopelessness—there is no credible solution. Even insiders and elected officials who want to do something about the issue often pick up this resignation, cynicism, and hopelessness (e.g., voters will not approve giving public money to politicians for campaigns).[8]

2. **While there is significant agreement around key issues and approaches, there is no alignment yet around a shared analysis of power or how different strategies might connect.** There is growing issue focus across money in politics groups, in part because of efforts launched a number of years ago and supported by Piper and other funders (see Key Finding 3 below). The

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[8] On these last two points—i.e., the lack of credible solutions and voters unwilling to use tax money to support campaigns—the Maine and Seattle ballot initiatives in November 2015 offer glimmers of hope; in each, voters approved public financing systems by wide margins.

top approaches pursued by the money in politics field include: small-donor public financing for state, municipal, and judicial races; transparency and disclosure; building a larger, more diverse base; passing a Constitutional amendment overturning *Citizens United*; changing jurisprudence; and developing a compelling and connecting narrative.

Top Issues for Money in Politics	Responding Organizations (n=41)
Small-donor public financing for state, municipal, and judicial races	82.9%
Transparency and disclosure of money in politics	48.8%
Building a larger, more diverse base	22.0%
Constitutional amendment	17.1%
Changing jurisprudence	9.8%
Developing a compelling and connecting narrative	7.3%
Other	12.2%

It is not difficult to see in these various streams of work the foundation of an overall strategy, and how a multi-pronged approach could build and layer them together productively. Some of this work is already happening, for example, when trying to identify key state and municipal opportunities to pass small-donor public finance systems, connecting data on campaign contributions to decision makers around specific issue campaigns, or building a more diverse field. It is less clear how or whether these different strategies and streams of work actively complement the other, or operate under a shared analysis of the structural problems we face and the power needed to address it.

Finally, an observation. Few organizations laid out a crisp and clear analysis of the structural problems and clear strategy for addressing them. There was surprisingly little strategy identified by organizations in their survey answers. For example, the survey asked organizations to identify key goals and the critical structural changes needed to win those goals. Few groups really grappled with this question, preferring instead to simply relist their key issues. Many groups simply did not fill out any of the more strategic oriented questions.[9] It would be a mistake to read too much into this silence. It may be that these questions required more time and thought beyond "cutting and pasting" from other reports—time recipients did not have. It might be that the person submitting the survey on behalf of the organization did not feel authorized to name the organization's strategy. But it might also signal the field has yet to have the deep strategic conversations that would enable them to quickly identify key structural barriers and name strategic ways to move forward holistically as a field.

3. **There is a notable lack of coordination and strategy-formation infrastructure.** Directly related to the lack of shared strategies is a lack of coordinating infrastructure. In short, it is not clear who

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[9] 18 of the 60 responding organizations did not respond to any of the more strategic questions.

would facilitate alignment in the field. To date, funders have played a big role, for example, Piper's "A New Way Forward" report identifies key strategic questions and paths forward around equity.[10] Another example is the Victory 2021 plan, which arose out of an initial investment from Issue One.[11] Other projects, like "Blueprints for Democracy", have tried to bring together a broad agenda for structural reform.[12]

Several groups are collaborating in ways they weren't a few years back. Demos is partnering with Every Voice, Wellstone, Common Cause, Rockwood and others around their inclusive democracy work, a collaborative project that reframes money in politics through a racial, economic, and gender justice lens, builds a cohort of leaders of color in states, and connects demands for structural election reforms with other inclusive democracy demands. The Democracy Initiative is bringing together labor, environmental, and civil rights groups around voting rights and money in politics. Public Citizen is coordinating much of the work being done around an Executive Order for federal contractors to disclose campaign contributions and with People for the American Way and Free Speech For People to pass a constitutional amendment to overturn *Citizens United*. Most of these efforts are focused on moving specific issues, initiatives, or campaigns. A notable exception is the work being done by the Brennan Center, Campaign Legal Center, and Demos on the Jurisprudence Project, which aims to build a new consensus around the appropriate regulation of money in politics.

The aim of movement alignment is not to unite the field around a singular issue or approach. Even if such unity were possible it would likely be counter-productive. There are no silver bullets. Movement alignment aims for highly aligned and loosely coordinated work. It focuses on deep relationship building, developing a shared analysis of the structural problems, and the power needed to address them, and then providing a space to learn, share best practices and lessons, and jointly strategize and find ways to work together. This type of movement (or field) alignment hub does not presently exist.

4. **There is a need for greater, more flexible funding, particularly for smaller state organizations.** Unsurprisingly, nearly every group identified additional resources as a key need. There will always be a need for additional resources. Based on the data received, money in politics organizations spend a little over $28 million doing advocacy work. Taking into account incomplete data, we could double or even triple the reported amount and it still would pale in comparison to the $300 million spent by the Koch Brothers alone in 2014.[13]
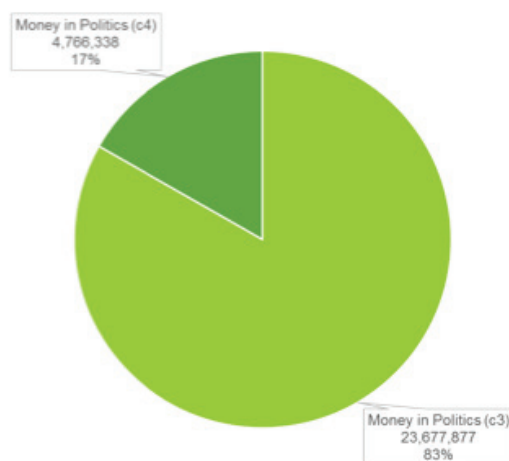
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[10] Piper Fund, "A New Way Forward: Bringing an Equity Lens to the Work of Reducing the Influence of Money in our Democracy" (December 2015), http://www.proteusfund.org/piper/new-way-forward.

[11] See https://www.issueone.org/colio/victory-2021/.

[12] Lawrence Noble, "Blueprints for Democracy: Actionable Reforms to Solve our Governing Crisis" (November 2015), http://www.blueprintsfordemocracy.org/.

[13] Charles and David Koch spent nearly $400 million in the 2012 elections and an estimated $300 million in 2014, http://mediamatters.org/research/2014/08/27/myths-and-facts-about-the-koch-brothers/200570.

Total Money Reported Spent Stopping Money in Politics

The type of dollars available to spend represent another barrier. 501(c)(4) money makes up a fraction of overall resources spent on money in politics issues— in 2015, 17%. This presents huge challenges for employing broad strategies such as moving ballot measures or constitutional amendments. We saw this in Missouri, where efforts to place a Constitutional Amendment on the 2016 ballot stalled in part over the lack of sufficient c4 resources. This Missouri amendment included a comprehensive bundle of democracy reforms, including desperately needed changes to redistricting, ethics, and campaign financing laws. Lack of c4 dollars also essentially forecloses serious engagement with more direct electoral strategies, either through express advocacy campaigning, candidate development, or using the issue (effectively) to shape an electoral contest.

5. **There is a need for sustained funding in states to pay for dedicated staff for base building, coordination, and coalition work.** Many smaller state-based organizations struggle to juggle multiple issues, grow their base, raise money, and run their organizations with one or two staff. Over 50% of all surveyed organizations reported two or fewer employees working on money in politics issues, 83% of state-based organizations.[14] Funding, when available, is often tied to specific short-term campaigns and not for ongoing organizational capacity, coalition, or base-building work.

   This lack of sustained funding and dedicated staffing makes strategic, long-term investment in grassroots organizing and coalition building very difficult, despite being a broadly recognized priority. Addressing it will require sufficient, dependable, and flexible money targeted to strengthening anchor organizations that diversify their base of support, rather than linking funding to passing a particular policy or defeating a specific threat.

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[14] Of the 45 total organizations reporting detailed staff data there were 1906 staff, of which 264 worked in money in politics, only 13.8%. Of these, six reported no dedicated staff, ten had one employee, eight had two. Only eight had more than 10 employees working on money in politics. Of the 24 state-based organizations returning detailed staff data, 20 had two or fewer staff dedicated to money in politics.
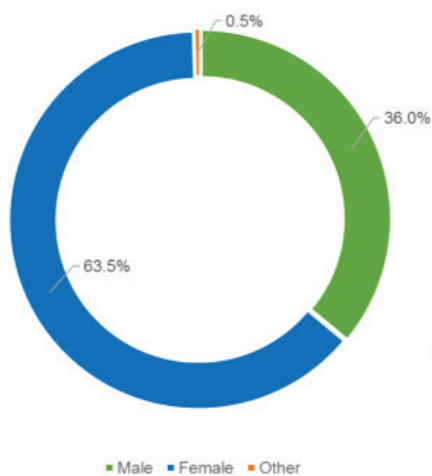
Number of Staff Dedicated to Money in Politics
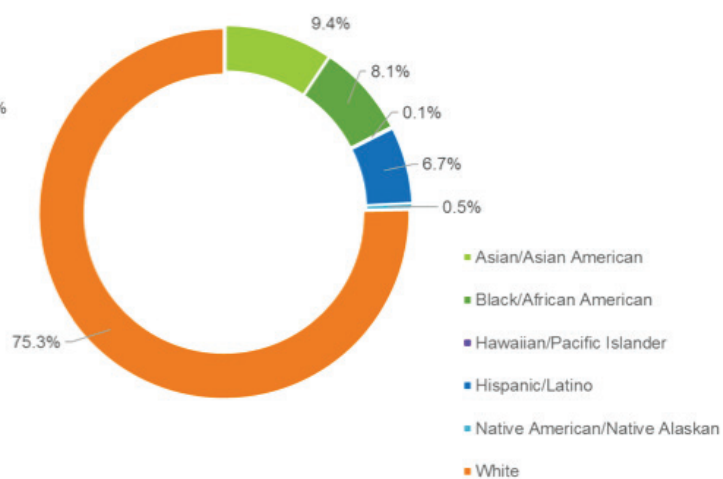

- 10+ Staff
- 6-9 Staff
- 3-5 Staff
- 0-2 Staff
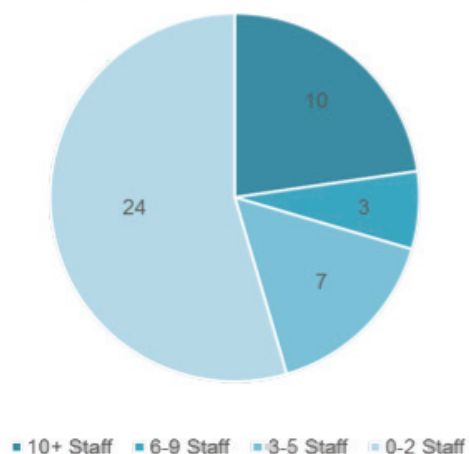
One approach to helping provide long-term support is to fund external organizations that can help provide core services and capacity-building assistance across the field. But even this capacity-building assistance requires resourcing state staff and organizers to be able to effectively use the external support to build capacity in their states.

6. **Field is still too white, too small, too siloed, and too insular.** This observation has been made obliquely in several other findings. With notable exceptions (e.g., Demos' Inclusive Democracy Project) the field is still too focused on policy and good government without either the broad base of support or a powerful compelling way to engage and mobilize people to act on scale, particularly in communities of color. The field is overwhelmingly white, with 75% of organizational staff identified as white. This may actually overstate the diversity, since the question was applied to overall organizational staff and not specifically to staff working on money in politics.

How Employees Identify Gender

0.5%
36.0%
63.5%

- Male
- Female
- Other

Demographics of Staff

9.4%
8.1%
0.1%
6.7%
0.5%
75.3%

- Asian/Asian American
- Black/African American
- Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Hispanic/Latino
- Native American/Native Alaskan
- White

7. **There is no broadly disseminated, widely held, unifying narrative that connects across issues and sectors.** Several groups lifted up the hands-on communications work provided by ReThink Media as very valuable. Similarly, organizations such as ReThink Media, Demos, Topos, Lake Research, and others have done exceptional work identifying different ways to talk about money in politics, moving from a frame of corruption and good government to a frame of money as a barrier to participation. Despite this work, even a cursory glance at websites across the field suggests that either this narrative has not burrowed deeply into organizational thinking, or it is not widely embraced. In either case, much of the communication in the field continues to promote a corruption frame. ReThink Media's newly released messaging guide "Moving Americans to Action: A Message Guide for Democracy Advocates" is now being disseminated, but it will take focused and sustained work to move organizational messaging in this new direction.

8. **There is significant digital media capacity across the field, but there is no clear way to connect or coordinate messages or speak from shared narrative frames.** The survey data suggests there is significant digital and social media capacity across organizations, tools the field as a whole has yet to fully exploit. Organizations returning surveys collectively report more than 7.6 million email list members, over 1.6 million Facebook followers, and more than 650,000 Twitter followers. Eight organizations provided no website information (13%) and 15 (25%) provided no Facebook information.

There are also some very innovative memes being developed. For example, Every Voice leveraged the visibility generated by the all-white Oscars (#OscarsSoWhite) to make the connection between the all-white nominees chosen by elite, mostly white, Academy members and the undue influence of concentrated, mostly white, special interest money in our democracy and resulting skewed choices (#GovSoWhite). Still, most organizations appear to still rely on traditional email updates or Facebook posts, often pointing to data, new studies, or emerging events.

Despite this capacity and the informal relationships across organizations, there is no agreed-on space or organization to coordinate and strategize between organizations across multiple digital platforms to drive a shared meme or narrative. ReThink Media is currently exploring this as a potential role to play. The existing digital capacity prompts several questions that the collected data could not answer:

- How many staff are dedicated to digital communication across the groups?
- What potential exists for coordinated strategies using the field's combined digital capacity to elevate a different narrative?
- Where would such coordination take place and by whom?
- How can smaller, less resourced state organizations get assistance to significantly strengthen their digital capacity and impact? How could this local capacity align with and help drive national narratives?

9. **Find better ways for national groups to integrate, strengthen, and support in-state organizations to build lasting state capacity and infrastructure.** National organizations increasingly see states as laboratories to test and experiment with new approaches that build support to move national strategies. There is a tension between often smaller and less-resourced state organizations that hold local knowledge and relationships gained over years, and national organizations that have their own organizational priorities and need for control and accountability. This is only complicated when national organizations bring the predominance of funding to a collaboration.

   This tension ran as an undercurrent in a number of my interviews. It is neither new nor unique to this field. It has also been around as long as I have been an organizer working in state-based organizations interacting with national partners. There is no easy or simple answer, except to recognize the tension, name it, and then listen deeply and respectfully. Lifting up three core values may help: (1) national organizations need to partner in states as if they are guests in someone else's house, acting accordingly; (2) there is value in *both* local knowledge and a broader national perspective, and when in conflict, navigate the differences as equal partners; and (3) always approach collaborative work through a lens of relationship over task with an eye toward long-term movement building, particularly in communities where little relationship has historically existed.

10. **Key States.** There is activity happening in every state. Those states where organizations said they are mostly working in are listed in the table below. The states with the fewest organizations working in them were North Dakota (6), Wyoming (6), Utah (6), Kentucky (7), Rhode Island (7), and Vermont (8). These numbers are likely even lower once we account for the six organizations that checked every state in the survey.

    Organizations define political opportunity and target states differently. For example, Demos looked at states that had both independent political organizations (IPOs)[15] that could anchor inclusive democracy cohorts and were of interest to the big national organizing networks, and provided political opportunities to work together. Every Voice, Public Citizen, Represent.Us, and Common Cause looked at states and municipalities that had a core coalition that could move legislation and ballot measures for money in politics reform. Other grassroots membership groups like People's Action (formerly National People's Action, US Action, and Alliance for a Just Society) are engaging in cities

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[15] Independent political organizations, or IPOs, is a term coined for organizations that are grounded in an analysis of power that flows from a multi-racial, multi-class, organized membership that defines the values and agenda of the organization and aims to win governing power by building and leading a coalition that engages in base building, mass-scale mobilization, and integrated legislative and electoral work, which both challenges the current dominant cultural narrative and elevates a new one. Independent means the organization is willing to challenge corporate Democrats as well as defeat Republicans, and is financed through diverse and multiple streams of (increasingly independent) money. For a quick overview of the characteristics of an IPO, see Daniel Cantor and Anthony Thigpenn, "Build an Independent Political Organization (But Not Quite a Party)", *The American Prospect* (November 28, 2012), http://prospect.org/article/build-independent-political-organization-not-quite-party.

like Chicago, where they have done previous political accountability work and can continue building deeper alliances around building independent political power.

States	Number of Organizations Doing MiP Work
New York	22
North Carolina	22
Washington	22
California	21
Wisconsin	20
Oregon	20
Florida	19
Illinois	19
Pennsylvania	18
Texas	18
Colorado	18
New Mexico	17
Maryland	17
Minnesota	17
Ohio	17
Michigan	16
Georgia	15
Massachusetts	15
Iowa	14
Maine	14
Missouri	14

Key movement gaps

Most of the most pressing movement gaps have already been mentioned above. They include:

1. **Sustained, stable money to hire dedicated staff and build state organizational capacity** to organize, coordinate, convene, and align strategies across issues and sectors, that is, a movement alignment infrastructure (e.g., a state democracy alignment hub).

2. **Permanent, inclusive, and racially diverse anchor membership organizations in states** that can connect money in politics with other democracy issues and the broader progressive fight for a more equitable and inclusive movement.

3. **Layered and aligned strategies within states and across states** that can drive bigger impacts than any one individual campaign (e.g., using ballot measures as a positive demonstration to build power to shift larger structural barriers around money in politics; using list building around overturning *Citizens United* to build support for moving local reforms).

4. **Connecting digital and social media resources and developing shared strategies** across states, organizations, and issues.

5. **A connecting, compelling narrative that powerfully links democracy issues with deeply felt values and frames**—e.g., across fair courts, voting rights, administration, money in politics, redistricting, and diversity of the bench. Although messaging and shared talking points are important, this deep narrative work (touched on below) differs from messaging to win a vote or persuade a legislator.

6. **A leadership pipeline program and broad network of organized elected champions** to develop a new generation of champion leaders and create a cadre who can meet, share, strategize, and support state-based legislative work.

Movement Capacity Analysis

In this section I use the movement capacity framework (introduced above) to organize a deeper discussion around core approaches and to highlight a few organizations providing specific capacities. For each capacity I also identify some critical challenges.

Capacity 1: Outside pressure from an organized and mobilized base

> The ability to organize and mobilize a diverse base of people at sufficient scale through organizations, networks, and coalitions to support and demand electoral, legislative, and legal change.

There are two kinds of a mobilized base—an organized, broad grassroots base in communities and an organized echo chamber of grasstops opinion leaders (see Capacity 2 below).

Money in politics is not the number one issue for many groups, or even the number 2, 3, or 4 issue on a long list of organizational priorities: unions are fighting for their institutional survival; environmental groups are in an urgent fight to save the planet; human rights groups are facing daily violence in the streets and fighting to redress structural, institutionalized racism; immigration groups are fighting mass deportations and a growing, ugly anti-immigrant xenophobia; and choice groups are in a battle to protect the fundamental right to choose on virtually every front.

Yet over the last few years, more and more groups are seeing the barriers and corrosive influence money imposes on our political system as a root issue along with other barriers to democratic participation, one that must be addressed for them to win on their primary issues. Money in politics is breaking out of its separate silo and has notably begun moving beyond the traditional good government groups to connect with other progressive issues within a broader democracy framework, including voting rights, fair courts, and redistricting. Some of these new allies once actively opposed campaign finance reforms.

Groups like the Democracy Initiative are pulling together unions, environmental groups, and civil rights groups. The Communications Workers (CWA) and the AFL-CIO have dedicated staff working specifically on democracy issues. Groups like Sierra Club are mobilizing their base, connecting money in politics and voting rights with environmental protection and climate change. Friends of the Earth put staff on the ground in Maine during the 2015 ballot measure. Demos and others are pulling together state-based independent political organizations (IPOs) along with other organizations doing work in communities of color—their goal is to develop a cohort of leaders of color who can help champion the issue, change the narrative, and make the field more inclusive and diverse. The Working Families Party and People's Action see regulating money in politics as a core strategy in their state-based fights to build broader, more diverse state-based independent political power (IPP). In Chicago, for example, Reclaim Chicago

(a coalition of The People's Lobby and National Nurses United) has joined with Common Cause to run a grassroots campaign to secure small-donor public financing modeled after New York City.

Recent ballot measures in Seattle and Maine won by wide margins,[16] demonstrating that voters will vote for public financed elections when the issue is presented smartly, the hard work is done to authentically engage communities of color early in the process around both policy formation and campaign strategy, and efforts begin early enough to build a broad, grassroots electoral coalition.[17] Similarly, money in politics is a salient (though not yet determinative) issue in the presidential race generating prominent stories and commentary about super PACs, dark money, mega donors and their potential impact on the election. At rallies for Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump, tens of thousands of people roared against corporate donations and the magnified voice of large campaign contributors. Such outrage does not necessarily translate into political power, and as managers of reform-minded campaigns can attest, money in politics, while a popular issue, rarely persuades a critical mass of voters to vote a particular way. As a campaign manager myself for a number of reform candidates, this has certainly been my experience as well. Still, from a candidate's perspective, the show of popular support in Maine and Seattle, as well as on the presidential campaign trail, suggests at minimum there is little political risk in staking out a tough stance, and if done right there may even be a political benefit.

Democracy Hub Model
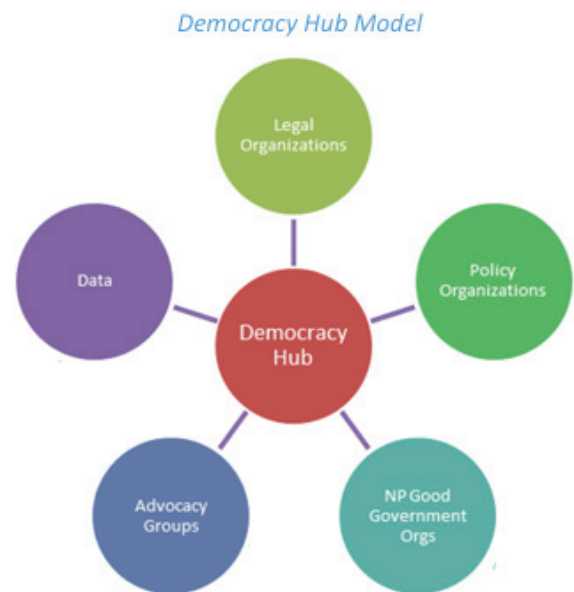
Gaps—Despite increased attention and a few recent electoral victories, the money in politics field writ large still has a relatively small *organized* grassroots base of supporters, although the Democracy Awakening and Democracy Spring rallies and mass arrests in April of 2016 signal an increasingly diverse and broad base of support. The movement is also still too white and too old, although there have been efforts to change this. Most base building is still approached as a grasstops exercise, pulling together existing organizations and leaders, rather than in expanding and strengthening the deep organizing needed to grow and diversify membership.

Victories like Seattle and Maine are important, but the deep work and resources needed to build *enduring* coalitions start long before any given election cycle, and only accelerate after an election—the hard organizing work needed to capture and engage the tens of thousands of newly identified "democracy

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[16] Honest Elections Seattle won their measure 60:40 and the Maine Campaign for Clean Elections won 55:45.

[17] For lessons learned from Maine and Seattle see the Piper Fund review, "Three Lessons Learned from Maine and Seattle" (February 2016), http://www.proteusfund.org/piper/state-victories.

voters." This work, whether understood as building independent political power (IPP) or Integrated Voter Engagement (IVE), requires enduring relationships, communication, data capture, analysis, and sustained engagement with voters through resourced and staffed organizations in states.

One idea for state-based infrastructure—call them "democracy hubs"—offers a way to hold relationships and foster and facilitate state strategies across multiple sectors, and act as mobilization hubs that can seize political opportunities as they arise. This hub could be housed within an existing trusted coalition or table, if it already exists, or anchored by a key IPO organization, or created new where no home currently exists. The key is recognizing the need for some form of permanent, state-based coordinating infrastructure to move multiple democracy issues, forge relationships and shared strategies, maintain focus, and achieve scalability.

Capacity 2: Aligned inside pressure from lawyers, lobbyists, and elected leaders

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The inside game, the powerful combination of inside strategies, elected champions, and traditional lobbying needed to change the rules and/or their interpretetation and implementation.

There are a number of exciting developments to cultivate powerful inside voices that can echo, amplify, and help shape the demands of outside pressure groups into workable public policies, legal opinions, and practice. Identifying and organizing grasstops champions is another element of base building, which is most powerful when connected with broader grassroots movements. The inside game focuses both on determining who makes the decisions and shaping their decisions. I call this capacity "lawyers, lobbyists and elected leaders" to indicate key opinion shapers and decision-makers who can activate their own networks and relationships of power. Effectively working within and impacting this arena is no less an organizing task than organizing the grassroots public, albeit a task that is focused on a much narrower set of elites.

Working inside the system on campaign finance and ethics issues is hard work. Current legal opinions equate money with speech and allow only a narrow regulation to eliminate quid pro quo corruption. This already puts a shade on reform efforts and generates an almost inevitable resistance from decision-makers to any assertion that money influences their own decisions.

At the same time candidates are increasingly dependent on big donors to fund massively expensive political campaigns. Few candidates risk disarming themselves unilaterally in this environment, and fewer yet win if they do. Consequently, although many candidates and elected leaders bemoan the problem of money in politics, and resent having to raise it, there are relatively few respected and effective elected

leaders willing to stake their reputation and reelection to champion significant reforms, or risk the wrath and marginalization by colleagues, party, organized interest groups, and opinion leaders. Both political parties and their candidates are dependent on big money and the beneficiaries of dark money spending, and with this dependency comes a narrowing of acceptable public policies and debate. Put simpler, within the current legal and political constraints, conventional wisdom (at least amongst opinion leaders, if not the public) holds that attempts to restrict money in politics are unworkable and unlikely at best. It is critical to change this pessimistic climate to win the kind of reform needed to match the problem.

Lobbying is the stock-in-trade of many groups, and there is already a significant amount of informal coordination across organizations around legal strategies, research, and sharing political opportunities. A few groups are starting to organize the inside players. The Brennan Center for Justice, Campaign Legal Center, and Demos, with support from Open Society Foundations, have launched the Jurisprudence Project, which brings together legal experts through symposiums, seminars, legal research and scholarly articles to try to build a new consensus and shift the prevailing legal opinion to embrace appropriate regulation of money in politics as necessary, in the name of a broader public interest and in support of a litigation strategy for a future Court.[18]

In a different vein, Demos and Wellstone are working to develop a pipeline of leaders, particularly leaders of color, who can champion money in politics and other democracy issues. Every Voice is also partnering with Project Six to begin building a network of elected leaders to support each other as reform champions, share experiences and ideas, and speak with a unified voice.

Others like Public Citizen, People for the American Way, and Free Speech For People are building a cadre of supporters within Congress to champion a Democracy for All constitutional amendment. And Public Citizen has taken a lead on trying to secure an Executive Order that would require federal contractors to disclose their campaign contributions.

Gaps—There are many exciting and promising capacity-building experiments underway. Many of them will require long-term investments and years of dependable funding. They will need to balance immediate needs (and wins) with the more daunting challenge of building the essential, long-term infrastructure necessary for enduring success. Authentic leadership pipelines take years. Changing elite culture and jurisprudence takes years. Building relationships between elected officials and scholars takes years. Historically these long-term efforts have not been funded by progressive organizations over the many years it takes to begin seeing impact. And conversely, it is very difficult for grassroots and national organizations to maintain the sustained attention required to move a multi-year strategy forward, particularly for those groups where money in politics is a secondary issue.

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[18] See, for example, the Brennan Center publications: Brent Ferguson, "State Options for Reform" (2015); "Money in Politics 2030: Toward a New Jurisprudence–Conference Summary" (May 1, 2014).

Finally, much of the current inside strategies focus on the federal level (with the Demos' work being a notable exception). There is a critical need to expand this grasstops organizing work into states with the breadth, depth, and scale required to build effective leadership pipelines and networks of local and state elected officials able to champion (and potentially even coordinate) state-based legislation.

Capacity 3: Alignment around smart strategies

> The ability to develop and run aligned (sometimes coordinated) campaigns across multiple sectors with a clear understanding of the need for different roles and functions as part of what is needed to win.

There has been substantial agreement over the past few years around core approaches. This dates back, in part, to the 2012 Piper-commissioned study "Reclaiming Democracy" by Richard Kirsch.[19] In his insightful piece, Kirsch lays out a number of key strategies, including building the base around a shared narrative, developing communications support and infrastructure, moving public financing models in states, challenging and shifting existing jurisprudence, connecting money in politics with voting rights and economic justice, and building awareness using galvanizing issues like *Citizens United* and a constitutional amendment to repeal it. These core themes and approaches emerged with remarkable regularity in the surveys. Funders have also played an important role in helping align the field, both by bringing organizations together to learn and share, but perhaps even more importantly by connecting organizations through their insistence on funding collaborative endeavors.

There is a growing spirit of collaboration and strategic alignment around ballot measures, inclusive democracy, narrative development, and jurisprudence, among other areas. One of the initial efforts to nurture greater coordination has been around state targeting decisions for small-donor ballot initiatives. Groups moving ballot measures and public finance and disclosure laws in states are also increasingly collaborating with the legal expertise of national organizations like the Campaign Legal Center and Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (BISC). In previous years, the Campaign Legal Center ended up defending poorly drafted laws in court; now they are often pulled in early to help draft the initiatives from the beginning. Funders have also played a significant role as catalysts for these collaborations across different sectors.

Gaps—Despite growing coordination, there is a continued need to fund movement alignment and strategy formation spaces. Much more effective alignment can happen simply by pulling organizations together for deeper discussions around their analysis, strategies, outcomes, and targets. In movement

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[19] Richard Kirsch, "Reclaiming Democracy: A Strategy for Advancing Comprehensive Reforms in the Influence of Money on Politics in the United States" (January 2012).

alignment, as in Netflix corporate culture, the phrase "highly aligned and loosely coordinated" defines a workable relationship. There is no need for a unified strategy or singular approach, or unifying singular issue—in fact, such discipline would likely be harmful, as well as presuppose a level of prescience that makes me skeptical. But there is a continued need to share and identify overlapping interests, targets, and parallel pathways.

A second gap lies in in-state alignment. Many of the resourced collaborative spaces are at the national level. Certainly groups have come together in individual states around specific fights (such as the Honest Elections Seattle coalition), but too often, once victory has been declared, resources and organizational commitment dry up and effective, robust coalitions disappear. There is a need to develop coordinating and strategy formation spaces in states as part of a permanent supporting infrastructure—either through State Voices affiliates, state anchor IPOs, or some other type of "democracy hub"—which can hold the relationships and help connect democracy issues with other issue priorities (See Capacity 1 above).

Capacity 4: Robust shared data

> The ability to access, learn from, and use critical shared data (e.g., public opinion and impact research, public transparency databases, voting files, membership) for organizing, mobilizing, communication and strategy development.

Data—its accumulation, aggregation, and dissemination—is not the most daunting challenge facing the money in politics field. It is much easier to define tangible outcomes when funding data projects than the much more challenging (and expensive) task of organizing a powerful, political base of supporters.

There is already substantial capacity in the field to track available public data on campaign contributions and to make that data more accessible and useful to public and partnering organizations (e.g., Center for Responsive Politics, Maplight, Sunlight, FollowtheMoney.org/National Institute on Money in State Politics, Center for Media and Democracy). It is even a bit bewildering to track the number of sites that offer the right tools, most reliable dataset, or best search functions for any given question; and there appears to be a substantial overlap in data sets. The Campaign Finance Institute, for example, is a unique peer-reviewed research institute that examines the impact of public financing systems including comparing outcomes such as Los Angeles and New York public financing systems. CFI has developed a historical database of the various campaign finance laws in all 50 states, and has done research on user experiences of state campaign finance databases to improve public access to information on state campaign contributions.

There are a growing number of reports studying the impact of publically-financed elections with varying conclusions.[20] State-based groups, in particular, with limited staff capacity, need readily accessible and quickly digestible state and target-specific research.

Gaps—Running integrated grassroots advocacy and electoral campaigns require sophisticated data tracking and modeling within a voter file. A key tool used by most major advocacy groups is the Voter Activation Network (VAN), or some other similar voter file interface. I could not find evidence of a democracy sector voter file nationally or within states, outside of the traditional access via State Voices or America Votes. Nor did I find great depth in organizations using this data to deepen base building, communications, or strategy development. This presents a serious challenge for groups wishing to engage in ballot measure work or other forms of voter education and ongoing integrated voter engagement.

I was also unable to identify any centralized holder of longitudinal, multi-state, multi-sector public opinion research similar to what some Progress Now state tables, or other tables like Alliance for a Better Minnesota or Our Oregon, do within their state. I found it particularly challenging to find public opinion research that digs deeply into Americans conflicting views around money and money in politics (beyond the Pew studies available online, or in searchable news articles). The challenge is not more polling but rather broader access and sharing of the data across organizations and sectors. Having access to this data becomes particularly important as the field digs deeper into grassroots advocacy campaigns, narrative development and multi-constituency messaging and the complexities of testing language for ballot measure campaigns.

Capacity 5: Credible workable policy alternatives

The intellectual work needed to develop new ideas, interpretations, arguments, and specific policy proposals that will work and achieve the desired ends.

Policy development for money in politics is challenging since virtually any significant or effective policy will likely face a court challenge, should it pass. This highlights the growing need for collaboration between grassroots advocacy organizations pushing policies and the legal expertise needed to make sure they pass muster and do not result in unintended consequences. Much of this work is currently done by the Campaign Legal Center and Brennan Center for Justice. Additionally, the Center for American Progress,

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[20] There are a number of studies that oftentimes contradict each other from within the same state. The GAO updated report on Maine and Arizona found little impact on the five Clean Elections goals, see http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-10-390. Conversely, a 2003 study by the Clean Elections Institute found significant diversification of donors as well as an increase in numbers of candidates running, see http://library.publicampaign.org/research-pub/research/Reclaiming-Democracy-in-Arizona. Demos published research about the impact of public financing in Connecticut, finding a number of positive impacts: http://www.demos.org/publication/fresh-start-impact-public-campaign-financing-connecticut.

Common Cause, and Public Citizen all do some policy development or best practice review. The gaps identified below mostly relate to the aggregation and accessibility to best practice policies across multiple issue areas.

Gaps—There is no readily accessible clearinghouse for grassroots groups and state policy makers to assess best practice policies. This may be by design, since it might prompt a more in-depth conversation between advocates, legislators, and legal experts, but just as likely this might result in poorly crafted policies.

Capacity 6: Coordinated tactical and strategic communications

> The ability to engage in mass-scale communication to educate, disseminate and message effectively to win tactical campaigns, and the deep, strategic narrative work needed to shift the current dominant values narrative.

For this capacity I make a distinction between **tactical campaign messaging** (those messages developed with the limited end of winning an election, ballot measure, or defending against attacks)

Connection Between Narrative and Messaging

and **strategic narrative work** (the longer-term values and transformational work that challenges and reframes a dominant narrative). The two—tactical messaging and strategic narrative—are ideally connected, although too often they are not.

Deep narrative work starts with core values and worldview.[21] Our **worldview** comprises the core values, beliefs, assumptions that help us make sense of the world. They help determine what we consider right and wrong and what is possible and what is not.

Public narratives are the purposeful and powerful stories we tell to express our worldview and connect with others to shape collective possibilities and outcomes. They are stories we tell to help explain how the world works, identify the villains and heroes, and imagine outcomes. As such, they shape what we consider to be realistic, potential solutions.

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[21] Framework developed by Erik Peterson, Bending the Arc Strategies, based on work done by the Grassroots Policy Project.

Frames are how we quickly categorize and make sense of our world. They trigger deeper values and lay out a choice by intentionally elevating or focusing on one theme or anecdote rather than another.

And finally, **messages** are the "magic words" targeted to specific audiences that evoke frames that shorthand a values choice. Most campaigns start here with public opinion polls, focus groups, and dial tests to measure what words or phrases resonate most deeply and are most effective in moving people to take a particular action. However, without challenging the dominant narrative and its underlying value choices, we can end up reinforcing the dominant narrative, even as we run campaigns opposed to its consequences.

There has been a growing consensus within the field over the past few years that the traditional narrative frame and story of "money corrupting politics" is harmful because it triggers public cynicism and helplessness. This is particularly dangerous because as a frame it sets up a space and desire for a superhero (or even totalitarian), as we have seen in the most recent presidential race.

Work over the past few years points to an alternative story we can tell about money in politics. Topos Partnership, Demos, ReThink Media, Lake Research Partners, Women Donors Network, Roosevelt Institute and others show that the narrative frame of "money as a barrier to participation" triggers a different set of collective values, and offers a way to connect money in politics more easily to other issues of democratic participation, like voting rights. There is still a lot of work to do to connect money in politics with other democracy issues and other labor, environmental, and human rights values.

Surveyed organizations in this landscape scan repeatedly pointed to the support and expertise of ReThink Media as an important resource for their work. In particular, they described ReThink Media's hands-on field work and best practice messaging with state-based organizations that would not otherwise have that capacity. ReThink released in May a message guide and is building a network of communicators and organizations to share best practices across the field. They have also joined Color of Change, People for the American Way, and Common Cause to launch an exciting new social media initiative called #MyDemocracy,[22] where people are invited to share the story of what democracy means to them. This not only grows a digital presence and list, but also provides rich language to better understand how to connect democracy issues.

Gaps—There is still a lot of work to be done to develop both a compelling and connecting narrative across multiple democracy issues, and to deeply engage organizers, staff, and advocates across the field in this narrative work.

There is a need to scale up outreach, training, and use of values-based messaging and public narrative amongst organizations on the ground, particularly for smaller, state-based organizations. This might involve train-the-trainer initiatives to build up state-based expertise across multiple sectors.

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[22] See http://mydemocracyis.tumblr.com.

As a whole, the field has considerable collective digital media capacity.[23] Yet, while there is a mechanism for communications teams across the field to draw on that capacity to drive common messages, memes or narratives through a closed Facebook group, there is not yet a digital media strategy that connects different streams of work—ballot measures, legislative policy fights, base building, identifying democracy voters—to create an echo chamber that circumvents and helps shape traditional media.

Finally, there is a gap in terms of overall media strategy for the field as a whole.

Capacity 7: Sustained and organized money

The organization of sufficient financial resources to allow strategic long-term investments in intellectual work, organizational staff, coordinating infrastructure and communications at the scale needed to win structural change and protect those victories once achieved.

I will spend relatively little time here since another landscape survey of funders is underway. Many of the comments above touch on the need for targeted, sustained, reliable funding for staff and key pieces of movement forming infrastructure on a scale that can reasonably make a difference in the face of the challenge.

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[23] For example, organizations returning surveys reported collectively more than 7.6 million email list members, over 1.6 million Facebook followers, and more than 650,000 Twitter followers.

Alliance for a Just Society

Arizona Advocacy Foundation

Arizona Advocacy Network

Arizona Wins

Brennan Center for Justice

Campaign Finance Institute

Campaign Legal Center

Center for American Progress

Center for American Progress Action Fund

Center for Media and Democracy

Center for Political Accountability

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington

Clean Elections Texas Education Fund

Common Cause

Common Cause NM

Common Cause NY

Common Cause Ohio

Common Cause WI

Communications Workers of America

Corporate Accountability International

CT Citizen Action Group/CT Citizen Research Group

Democracy at Stake

Democracy Initiative

Demos

Energy and Policy Institute

Every Voice

FollowTheMoney.org/National Institute on Money in State Politics

Free Speech For People

Friends of the Earth

Hawaii Center for Food Safety

Healthy Democracy

Honest Elections Seattle

Housing Works

Illinois Campaign for Political Reform

Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement

League of Conservation Voters

League of Women Voters of Wisconsin

Maine Citizens for Clean Elections

MapLight

National People's Action

North Carolina Voters for Clean Elections

Our Oregon

Planned Parenthood Arizona

Progress Florida (C4) & Progress Florida Education Institute (C3)

Public Citizen

Represent.Us

ReThink Media

Rootstrikers

Southwest Organizing Project

State Voices

The Public Society

U.S. Public Interest Research Group

Union of Concerned Scientists

Washington CAN!

Wellstone Action

Win/Win Network

Wisconsin Democracy Campaign

Wisconsin Voices

Working America

Alliance for a Just Society	LeeAnn Hall
Brennan Center for Justice	Wendy Weiser
Campaign Legal Center	P Raul yan
Center for Media and Democracy	Lisa Graves
Common Cause	Marc Caplan
Demos	Jodeen Olguin-Tayler
Every Voice	Rahna Epting
Friends of the Earth	Jon Fox
Grassroots Policy Project	Richard Healey
National People's Action	Daniel Espinosa
North Carolina Voters for Clean Elections	Melissa Price Kromm
Public Citizen	Margrete Strand Rangnes and Lisa Gilbert
ReThink Media	Ginna Green
Our Story-The Hub for American Narratives	Richard Kirsch
Sierra Club	Courtney Hight
Wellstone Action Fund	Adriana Barboza

Appendix 3: Survey

FCCP PIPER FUND m g f
a proteus fund initiative MERTZ GILMORE FOUNDATION

Advocacy Survey - Money in Politics/Fair Courts

Survey for Money in Politics/Fair Courts Landscape Analysis

Thank you for your work to reduce the influence of money in politics and ensure fair and impartial courts.

The purpose of this survey is threefold: (1) map the existing field in terms of money in politics and fair courts, (2) acquire data from a broad cross-section of the field to map critical capacity needs and strategies needed to move our work forward; and (3) help provide an analysis for the field that can help your organization be more strategic, build capacity, network, and identify new opportunities for action and collaboration. Please fill out this survey by no later than November 20th.

* 1. Organization

Organization	
Address	
Address 2	
City/Town	
State/Province	-- select state --
ZIP/Postal Code	

* 2. Contact

Name	
Position/Title	
Email Address	
Phone Number	

3. What do you consider your organization's core work or mission and current issue areas or campaigns?
(If you already have this written out you can cut and paste into this box)

* 4. What scale do you focus most of your work on? (please check only one)

☐ Local

☐ State

☐ National

☐ International

5. Please list the municipalities and/or counties you primarily work in:

[   ]

6. What specific states do you work in? (mark all that apply):

☐ Alabama	☐ Louisiana	☐ Ohio
☐ Alaska	☐ Maine	☐ Oklahoma
☐ Arizona	☐ Maryland	☐ Oregon
☐ Arkansas	☐ Massachusetts	☐ Pennsylvania
☐ California	☐ Michigan	☐ Rhode Island
☐ Colorado	☐ Minnesota	☐ South Carolina
☐ Connecticut	☐ Mississippi	☐ South Dakota
☐ Delaware	☐ Missouri	☐ Tennessee
☐ Florida	☐ Montana	☐ Texas
☐ Georgia	☐ Nebraska	☐ Utah
☐ Hawaii	☐ Nevada	☐ Vermont
☐ Idaho	☐ New Hampshire	☐ Virginia
☐ Illinois	☐ New Jersey	☐ Washington
☐ Indiana	☐ New Mexico	☐ West Virginia
☐ Iowa	☐ New York	☐ Wisconsin
☐ Kansas	☐ North Carolina	☐ Wyoming
☐ Kentucky	☐ North Dakota	

7. Are you a membership organization?

◯ Yes

◯ No

If yes, how many members? How do you define membership?

[   ]

ALLOCATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

For numerical answers, please enter numbers only, no special characters ($, commas, etc.)

8. What is your organizational budget for the current fiscal year?

501(c)3 [   ]

501(c)4 [   ]

9. Email and Social Media Presence

Organization Website Address: [   ]

Organization Facebook Address: [   ]

Email List Size: [   ]

Facebook Followers: [   ]

Twitter Followers: [   ]

10. Does your organization have access to the Voter Activation Network (VAN) or other enhanced voter file/database to manage and track contact and communication with your membership or general public?

◯ Yes

◯ No

If yes, what do you use and how do you use it?

[   ]

For numerical answers, please enter numbers only, no special characters ($, commas, etc.)

11. How much of your organization's time and budget are spent on Money in Politics and/ or Fair Courts?

	Approx. % of organizational work
MiP c3	[▲▼]
MiP c4	[▲▼]
Fair Courts c3	[▲▼]
Fair Courts c4	[▲▼]

12. What is the approximate amount of dollars allocated per year on Money in Politics and/ or Fair Courts?

MiP c3	
MiP c4	
Fair Courts c3	
Fair Courts c4	

13. Employees:

How many people are employed at your organization	
How many FTEs focus on fair courts	
How many FTEs focus on money in politics	

14. Please help us gather the demographics of your organization. How many employees self-identify as:

Female	
Male	
Other gender identity	

15. How many employees identify as:

Asian or Asian American	
Black or African American	
Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	
Hispanic or Latino	
Native American or Alaska Native	
White	
Other (please specify)	

16. How any years has your organization been active on these issues?

Money in Politics?	
Fair Courts?	

17. What are your organization's current priority issue areas and active campaigns regarding money in politics and/or ensuring fair courts?

[ ]

CORE STRATEGIES FOR WINNING

18. How would you describe the major programmatic goals of your money in politics or fair courts work? (check all that apply)

☐ Campaigns, Elections and Voting	☐ Government
☐ Campaign Finance	☐ Budgeting
☐ Election Administration	☐ Civil Liberties and Rule of Law
☐ Redistricting	☐ Executive Branch Performance
☐ Voter Education, Registration, and Turnout	☐ Judicial Selection and Performance
☐ Voting Access	☐ Legislative Branch Performance
☐ Civic Participation	☐ Open Government and Transparency
☐ Civic Education and Leadership	☐ Media
☐ Issue-Based Participation	☐ Journalism Education and Training
☐ Naturalization and Immigrant Civic Integration	☐ Journalism
☐ Public Participation	☐ Media Access and Policy

Other (please briefly explain)

[ ]

19. What are 1-2 of your organization's key victories regarding Money in Politics/Fair Courts?(Please briefly describe)

[ ]

34

20. What key strategies did your organization use to achieve these victories? (check all that apply)

☐ Coalition or Network/Table Building

☐ Message/Strategic Communications (including public opinion research and social media)

☐ Grassroots Organizing/Mobilizing

☐ Lobbying/Advocacy

☐ Litigation

☐ Research (e.g., analysis of policy and potential impact, etc.)

☐ Policy Development

☐ Data management/Data Access

☐ Funding (e.g., regranting)

☐ Other (please specify)

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21. There are many elements to reducing the influence of money in politics and ensuring fair courts. In your opinion, what are the 1-3 most important policy/structural changes that, if won, would result in a significantly more just and equitable system?

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22. What do you see is the greatest barrier(s) to achieve success in the field?

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CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

23. What have been your biggest internal challenges you have faced in advancing your money in politics/fair courts work? (e.g. dedicated staffing, funding, coalition dynamics, etc.)

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24. What have been your biggest _external_ challenges you have faced in advancing your money in politics/fair courts work? (e.g., broadening the movement, political and media environment, opposition activity, current laws and policies, etc.)

25. What would provide the most benefit to your organization in advancing your money in politics/fair courts work in the next 2-3 years?

26. Beyond your own organization, what other organizations/networks/funders do you look to as collaborators or leaders in the money in politics and fair courts field? (for each describe your organization's relationship and the value they bring)

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Thank you for your time and consideration. The information you have provided will be part of a national analysis of the field. When completed this information will be shared back with you as a participant.

27. Additional comments: