WEATHERING THE STORMS

Building Social Justice Resilience Against Opposition Attacks



RoadMap Weathering the Storms Progress Report September 2017

Politically motivated attempts to cripple social justice work are not new. However, the last nine months have brought on a full-scale hurricane of opposition attacks against progressive leaders, organizations and networks. In order to respond, RoadMap rapidly scaled up our 5-year old program "Weathering the Storms: Building Social Justice Resilience Against Opposition Attacks".

The Weathering the Storms program (WTS) prepares organizations to protect themselves against potential threats and to defend themselves against direct attacks. From media attacks to fraudulent video exposés, legal challenges, digital surveillance, Department of Justice tracking of protestors, and more, groups working for economic justice, gay rights, reproductive justice, immigrant rights and racial justice are increasingly being targeted. The WTS approach is based on two key principles: preparation for attacks should be central to organizational capacity building and campaign strategy; and responses must be integrated to include communications, technology, organizational development, leadership support, and compliance systems. This integrated approach increases resilience and helps turn attacks into opportunities to advance organizational values and goals.

Urgency has driven the work over the past several months, but we recognize that this elevated climate of threats will likely endure for years to come. We need to prepare for and prevent these threats while also supporting organizations in resisting and turning the tables on their opponents during active attacks. We are committed to what it will take to do this for the long haul.

We offer this progress report to our funders, clients, network members and allies to share lessons learned and to document how we are using the resources to aggressively respond to priority needs in this tumultuous moment. At the same time, we continue our core work to affirmatively invest in the effectiveness and capacity building of social justice organizations, to strengthen their resilience and impact from the ground up.

For history of the WTS project see https://roadmapconsulting.org/consulting-services/wts-public/

Please see **Addendum 1: Stories From the Field** on page 11 to hear directly from more organizations about how they have approached this important work.

"This is a dangerous time, and also a time for us to build power. The crisis preparedness work with RoadMap could not come at a better moment....since our member groups have been hacked by criminals, spied on by corporate and police agents, smeared in the media, and right wing extremists have physically attacked our members. We have beat back every attack and gotten stronger each time. RoadMap's knack has been to simultaneously work with a dozen of us at the same time, doing some WTS trainings together, and giving separate technical assistance for each group. This has helped us align internally, strengthen affiliates and made it easier to push back.

-- Kimi Lee, Bay Rising

PROGRESS REPORT

- Since August 2016, RoadMap has offered **27 webinars and 9 in-person** trainings in half a dozen cities. We have **engaged over 700 unduplicated organizations (representing 2,500 participants). Fifty foundations** have also completed the risk assessment checklist for themselves and **115 foundation staff** attended one of our "Weathering the Storms for Funders" trainings in New York City or San Francisco.
- ✓ We have expanded WTS training topics to include:
 - Getting and Keeping your House in Order
 - Crisis Management Planning and Threat Assessment
 - Crisis Communications
 - Data Security
 - Digital Security
 - Community Safety and Office Security
 - Self-Care
- Many webinars and trainings are tailored to specific sectors, including: MASA (Muslim Arab South Asian) communities, Workers Centers, Immigrant Rights organizations, Electoral/Lobbying activities, and Reproductive Justice groups.
- RoadMap's WTS team includes **over 30 consultants providing customized technical assistance (TA) and one-on-one coaching to over 130 organizations and state/national alliances**, with more requests coming weekly. These engagements last between 10-60 hours over several months.
- ✓ We have responded to dozens of small and large active attacks and have set up a Rapid Response fund to meet these immediate needs. We have helped organizations respond to PR

attacks, personal harassment, IRS audits, break-ins, undercover stings¹, vandalism, and digital hacking incidents.²

- RoadMap has raised approximately \$1.5 million dedicated to the WTS Program (to spend over 24 months). Grants and contracts have come from 16 foundations as well as direct contracts with organizations and networks; and a small amount of fees from webinars and trainings.
- In order to meet unanticipated needs and rapidly **grow our infrastructure and upgrade our systems and tools**, we have designated 10% of WTS grants over \$25K to an "Infrastructure Fund", with \$175K raised so far. This covers the WTS Program Lead, a project administrative assistant and part-time accountant, team meetings, webinar production and costs, new tools and curriculum development, and printing and design costs.
- ✓ This growth allows us to ensure high quality technical assistance and to sustain the program over the next two years, including embedding WTS skills into our core RoadMap client engagements and our consultants.³

OUTCOMES, CHALLENGES AND LESSONS

Outcomes Include:

- ✓ All clients have more knowledge and awareness about the types of attacks they are vulnerable to and greater confidence in their ability to integrate crisis planning into everyday practice.
- Clients who have received direct technical assistance have participated in a holistic risk assessment, addressed improvements in high-risk gaps in their policies and practices, and created a crisis management team and plan, as well as a communications plan.
- A few groups/cities and sectors are creating multi-organization crisis management plans that in turn support each other, in addition to their plans. For example, there are several Muslim-American multi-organization responses and a discussion among nine worker centers in Chicago to create a similar mutual support strategy.

¹ See http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/has-james-okeefe-accidentally-stung-himself-again

² There are many things we are not equipped to handle—for example, RoadMap cannot provide legal advice or conduct investigations or digital forensic assessments—but we can orient the group regarding next steps and make referrals to specialists.

³ Note: RoadMap's operating budget is \$300,000 including fiscal sponsor fee, Director and program support.

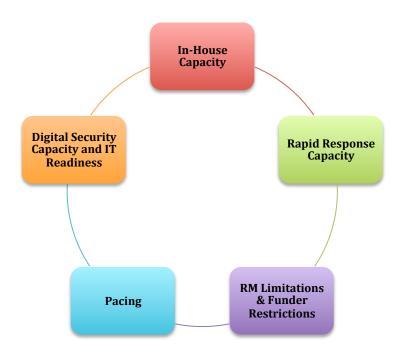
- ACCESSIBILITY: We have made the program accessible to hundreds of organizations in a quick timeframe, with low barrier to entry, high quality consulting, and accessible materials.
- RESPONSIVENESS, DIVERSITY: RoadMap has been able to jump in when support was needed. We have a culturally diverse team with a full set of skills and specialties. The team is politically bold, savvy and encouraging.
- SOCIAL JUSTICE NICHE: RoadMap and WTS are designed specifically for the
 social justice sector (grassroots organizing, advocacy, civic engagement, multiissue, multi-racial, multi-sector, ability to work with low-capacity, and larger
 institutions and networks). Clients often comment on how important this
 approach is to their interest, and appreciate relevance of the WTS practices to
 their core mission.
- **COLLABORATIVE:** We consistently incorporate new partners to expand the information and expertise we offer beyond RoadMap's core expertise. We learn with and from clients and colleagues.
- FUNDER PARTNERSHIPS: Solid funder relationships have been key. They have shown a willingness to trust the movement's priorities, trust RoadMap's model, and many have connected us with new partners. A few early commitments put us in a good position to secure the consultants we needed to scale up quickly. These commitments have also allowed us to offer Rapid Response to an evergrowing number of groups experiencing attacks, and to invest in the infrastructure and tools needed to meet this demand.
- EVERYDAY BEST PRACTICES: It has been noted that one of the key benefits of
 WTS is our checklist which addresses core practices, policies, systems and
 compliance issues that <u>all</u> non-profits should be paying attention to and
 reviewing regularly. Getting people "in" via the crisis response window has
 helped beef up these internal practices that are often ignored and downplayed,
 and that are necessary not only to prevent attacks, but for increased impact
 overall.

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⁴ See Addendum 2: How WTS works

OUTCOMES, CHALLENGES AND LESSONS

Challenges:



- 1. In-house capacity challenges: With leadership commitment and basic IT readiness and communications capacity, a motivated WTS client can make gigantic leaps toward security, preparedness and resilience. However, most groups do not have this capacity. Until every group has dedicated funds for internal infrastructure, such as Human Resources, Operations, IT, Communications and Technology, and cross organization administrative support and training, it is often slow or impossible to move on the key WTS steps and achieve full protection. This is a challenge that philanthropy can overcome with general support funds and designated infrastructure grants. RoadMap has also launched our Beacon Project to address these internal gaps.5
- **2. Rapid Response capacity** is important for addressing high-stakes attacks and also helps fill gaps for groups who are very small or who have not done crisis preparation yet. We can give quick, tailored support to groups with little prior experience or infrastructure, both helping them in the moment and sparking lasting changes **but we need to be able to replenish this revolving fund so that we can provide immediate help no questions asked.**

⁵ More about RoadMap's Beacon Project at https://roadmapconsulting.org/bp/

- **3. Pacing** goes at the client's capacity to absorb the changes: A subset of client engagements has been deep and wide and will likely last a year. When a client can devote at least one person to focusing on the work, they have underlying readiness, and/or are very motivated, we accompany them at a quicker pace. Other groups make step-by-step gradual improvements, and we encourage all clients to integrate Crisis Preparedness as a layer in natural work cycles like campaign planning, audit preparation, and established staff development training spaces. An annual fire-drill/refresher can also having lasting impact. However, with many groups, **getting and keeping their attention to move through the relatively short and guided process (on average 10-30 hours of consultant support)** has been challenging. RoadMap will continue reminders to all groups in the pipeline and increase outreach to highest risk sectors as we focus on bringing WTS to underserved areas.
- **4. Digital security** is an area of great need and interest given the heightened awareness regarding high stakes hacking and other forms, large and small, of digital surveillance and cyber threats. However, the field of digital specialists of all kinds, especially providers of color, seems tapped out. It is hard to find providers who are available for tailored support to groups, who understand the circumstances and conditions of social justice organizations, and who can work within their very limited capacity and readiness. There are areas of alignment but also much divergence among digital security providers about the most important tools and practices to focus on. RoadMap has served as a platform for several approaches via webinars and trainings, and coordinated two learning cohorts. About a third of the WTS engagements have included some element of digital security advice. RoadMap's stance is particularly rooted in the importance of a systematic understanding of digital security in relation to organizational strategies and risks, integrating change management and a culture of learning in order to build organization-wide protection.
- 5. RoadMap's expertise and funding limitations: Although we have been able to expand our team of providers, our capacity is still limited. Many RoadMap network members and our partners are in high demand and stretched in this moment. We have expertise in most areas, but our team's resources are stretched in order to respond to all the requests; for example there are more requests for Technology and Digital Security TA in particular than we can accommodate, as well as for appropriate referrals for legal counsel and private investigators. We are doing our best to keep up with the additional administrative, fundraising and accounting activities associated with this expansion but need to find ways to adequately balance our attention to WTS along with RoadMap's other ongoing priorities. We have over 50 engagements in our regular organizational development roster, we are working with half a dozen alliances on integrated capacity building, and we are running the Beacon Project and our Racial Justice initiative. Additionally, in spite of our best efforts to receive flexible funding, most grants are tightly restricted to support for designated grantees. This has left us unable to provide TA to many priority organizations and locations throughout the country, leaving significant needs unaddressed.

OUTCOMES, CHALLENGES AND LESSONS

Lessons:

While we have seen many organizations successfully take advantage of the WTS support (see case studies below), there are many others who have not yet completed the basic practices. This leaves them –and our entire sector – vulnerable. We will be testing a variety of strategies in the future to address this gap, and have identified the following elements that create a more receptive and ready situation.

Readiness Elements: 6

- ✓ Organizational capacity time for learning and implementation of new policies and systems
- ✓ Recognition that preparedness is an ongoing process and not an event
- ✓ Staff person w/ role, authority & time to absorb the TA & engage others
- Own sense of how vulnerable or targeted due to their work / prior attacks or familiarity with others who have been attacked
- ✓ **Coalitions / networks doing WTS together** for their core staff & for their affiliates strengthens the whole eco-system
- ✓ **Common analysis of the threats** by bringing together program, communications and operations staff; an integrated approach to risk reduction
- ✓ Risk prevention lens is powerful; Success in small bites and sustainable pace can have great impact on the group's work
- ✓ Buy-in from the top is relevant to the change process and maintaining the new systems
- ✓ A culture of learning and internal planning, with regular 'refreshers' for staff, board and volunteers

WHAT'S NEXT?

The ideas below indicate the ways that we intend to move forward pro-actively and defensively, to close gaps, bolster "weak spots", and incorporate our increasingly bold stance and smart practices into all of our work areas. We welcome your continued support so that the opposition doesn't have access to a complacent and negligent sector that feels that the "storms have passed".

⁶ See Addendum 1, page 11 for client stories

RoadMap's WTS team has mapped out the following priorities for the next 18 months:

1. Regional Road Show 2017-18

A significant challenge is how to meet the needs of organizations in under-served areas of the U.S. The limiting factor is that 90% of the WTS funding is restricted to the grantees of those participating funders. Few grants have allowed RoadMap to direct the services where we see the most need. We have made a decision to commit the majority of remaining unrestricted funds to bring WTS to these areas that face attacks, minimal infrastructure, and are key to having a more robust national social justice movement.

Specifically we plan to organize 3 in-person trainings and 'lab days' with local host and partners in the south, mid-upper west, northwest, southwest (likely sites to include Kansas, Missouri, Atlanta, Florida, Texas, Chicago/Milwaukee, Arizona, Seattle area).

RoadMap will seek new grants and dedicate a significant portion of WTS unrestricted funds to offer services in these historically under-resourced and ignored parts of the country. RoadMap will work with local partners to get to know the lay of the land, make the entry point very accessible and see how we can engage based on their needs and capacity. We also are committed to bringing other RoadMap services beyond crisis preparedness to these areas, such as the Beacon Project and other organizational development support.

2. Ongoing Core Program, Training and Quality Control

We will continue monthly webinars, and increase the number of trainings and conference workshops offered. We will continue to invest in the RoadMap team and our partners, increasing peer learning to ensure high-quality services and consistent feedback to improve our practices and add more materials to the toolkit. We will focus on groups who participated in webinars and encourage them to

3. Multiplying the impact: Partnering with Networks and Alliances

One of the most effective strategies that allows for a deep and wide investment is to partner with coalitions and networks to build up their overall membership and capacity of network staff. For example, through partnerships with alliances like PICO, Family Values at Work, Partnership for Working Families, Right to the City and others we are able to reach tens of organizations, beyond the one "parent org". We will continue to emphasize networks for these reasons, and ensure that there is a designated person ("Beacon") who can hold and share this information ongoing.

4. Embedding WTS in All Engagements

We believe that our due diligence as RoadMap providers requires that we incorporate WTS into all of our engagements. Our goal is that by the end of 2018 we will have trained consultants in all current RoadMap engagements to lead their clients through the core WTS risk assessment Checklist and setting up their Crisis Management team. This will require new resources but has high impact.

5. Weathering the Storms in Philanthropy

RoadMap is collaborating with a few foundations to promote crisis preparedness in the philanthropy sector, and to make the connection that funders and organizations face the same threats and can mutually protect and learn with each other. RoadMap's current priority is support for groups on the ground, but philanthropy is also being attacked and can benefit greatly from the same kind of crisis preparation.

6. The Beacon Project

Our Beacon Project is a creative and exciting initiative designed to address a critical need we have seen inside many movement organizations, including within highly effective organizations. This initiative will build a cadre of staff leaders to become "Beacons", that is, internal change agents and catalysts for organizational resiliency, health and effectiveness. Beacon fellows will participate in an intensive leadership and organizational development program accompanied with additional one-on-one support. The goal is to embed transformational change skills and practices *inside* organizations and alliances in a sustainable and consistent way. Organizations and alliances participating in both the Beacon and Weathering the Storms programs will holistically build internal capacity and resilience across the organization's systems, practices and culture.

CLOSING

We see movement leaders becoming more adept and sophisticated in engaging in a very unpredictable political and changing landscape. We anticipate that attacks will come more frequently and more aggressively. It is important that we keep the field – funders and organizations – updated on new forms of attacks and tactics. And it is also critical that RoadMap, as well as our partners, move forward proactively as well as defensively during these tense and uncertain times.

We are inspired and encouraged by bold and brave responses to hate attacks and the smart and effective pushback by grassroots campaigners. The harsh political environment is traumatizing and exhausting but is not weakening the social justice movement. Rather, we see growth in organizing, in creative action and mass mobilizations. The crisis preparedness work can strengthen every part of our organizations and movements, building more resilience and better communications skills and stronger security practices. We are excited to collaborate and grow stronger together.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people to acknowledge for their incredible contributions to this work. This work, especially under current circumstances, takes a village. The ability to work collectively and generously share knowledge and resources is also our best defense as a movement during these and future trying times.

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- Borealis Philanthropy
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- East Bay Community Foundation
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- Four Freedoms Fund
- Funders Committee on Youth
 Organizing
- General Services Fund
- Groundswell Fund
- James Irvine Foundation
- The LIFT Fund Labor Innovations for the 21st Century

- Ms. Foundation
- National Institute for Reproductive Health
- Proteus Fund
- San Francisco Foundation
- The California Endowment
- ♣ The Hyams Foundation
- The Surdna Foundation
- The Unitarian Veatch Program at Shelter Rock
- ◆ TREC: Training Resources for Environmental Community

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Thank you to many generous allies and partners who have contributed to our knowledge and resources, ever committed to our collective defense and boldly working for a more just world.

ADDENDUM 1: Stories from the Field

Leveraging national networks to protect the grassroots sector: RoadMap is working with half a dozen national alliances including People's Action Network, Right to the City, Partnership for Working Families, Family Values at Work, National Network of Abortion Funds, and others.

"The initial wake up around organizational security for the PICO National Network began with the entrapment attack of ACORN," recalls Monica Sommerville who now holds the title of Director of Compliance for the Network. The concern was heightened into action when the 3 Snetwork members started to gain more prominence with its health care work and as they ventured into bolder action and civic engagement around ballot measures in 7 states. As fortune had it, PICO began to assess and address security and compliance issues at the same time that RoadMap initiated its "Weathering the Storms" (WTS) project in 2012.

"PICO has greatly benefited from its partnership and contract with RoadMap, says Sommerville. "Concretely, PICO has benefited from in-person training at our national staff meeting as well as the webinars we co-created with RoadMap. Roadmap's toolkit is amazing and a tremendous resource which has added new and additional resources. We also value having a thought partner and an external validator for this work. We appreciate the updates about actual attacks and being in relationships with other organizations, such as our participation in the digital security cohort and national webinars. Finally, we've valued the real-time advice, responsiveness and help in dealing with actual attack incidents. And we have appreciated the way that RoadMap has worked with us to build up our own capacity to strengthen and push our own network."

The PICO network is now extending WTS to all PICO affiliates. Every affiliate is expected to complete and assessment and have a crisis management plan in place. "This is now a network expectation. We need to make sure that we can defend the actions of our members and discredit any attacks on our federation," says Somerville. "Our network leadership understands this and is fully on board."

--Monica Sommerville, PICO National Network, talking with Mary Ochs

Ready to beat back attacks:

As a new internally-facing Associate Director at Mobilize the Immigrant Vote, I am taking on compliance, digital systems, board operations, and more. We are in an era of GOP-majority and increased political attacks on the democratic rights that are core to our work. Security and crisis preparedness feels more necessary than ever, but it is also scarier and higher stakes, especially as a newer staff person. It has been comforting and super efficient to be able to lean on the RoadMap consultants. They are basically on-call experts giving advice just when I need it, or they can lead to me to the right expert I need. And the Weathering the Storms Toolkit is a comprehensive roadmap that makes this crucial prep work possible in a way that it just wouldn't be otherwise. We feel stronger rather than more anxious, and are ready to beat back any attacks that come our way.

--Hillary Brooks, Mobilize the Immigrant Vote

Breaking it Down: What does it take and what results?

The Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC) has been very efficient and focused in taking advantage of WTS offerings. This was achieved by dedicating time to WTS from one of the Co-Executive Directors and an operations team member, taking advantage of all WTS public offerings as well as the customized technical assistance hours.

"We have found RoadMap's WTS webinars, tool kit and individual consultations to be very helpful." explains Lindsey Harris Co-Director at TIRRC. TIRRC had reviewed RoadMap's "Getting and Keeping Your House in Order" check list when it first became available 3 years ago and took advantage of a new opportunity to review it again as well as create a crisis management plan. "Our board and staff felt it was important to do it again in light of our higher profile and our interest in pursuing litigation as a new resistance strategy." "Also, TIRRC and some staff have been singled out in right wing blogs and a new publication so we know we are on their radar."

Over the course of 6-7 months, TIRRC took advantage of webinar offerings often replaying the recording to make sure the information stuck and was spread to other staff. "Overall we felt we were in pretty good shape but digital security was new to us. We didn't know what we didn't know, so we took advantage of the opportunity to have an individual phone consultation on digital security. We then were able to take advantage of a local corporation's IT service day designed to assist nonprofits with technology support. We really benefited from their hands-on help but we would not have been able to do that without the prior webinar and consultation."

"Overall, we went from concerned to confident--confident that we have done what we can to protect our organization and its work."

(Lindsey estimates that overall they spent 25-30 hours (total) of staff time to reach this point of which 6 were TA hours by the consultant.)

Bold and prepared

In these times, we are called upon be bold. We knew it was important that we be both bold and prepared. We knew that we needed to do our homework and address vulnerabilities to be prepared to handle opposition backlash. The Weathering the Storms opportunity came at a great time for us. We have appreciated the advice and help of our consultant as well as the informative webinars, check list and the tool kit. We have used all of it. Thank you RoadMap!

-- Lizeth Chacon, Executive Director of Colorado People's Alliance

Protecting women's health and access

As part of the reproductive justice sector, our organization has been targeted for harassment and political smears as we fight for women's rights to health care and reproductive freedom. With support of our national allies in the National Network of Abortion Funds, we got support around digital security working with Information Ecology and our own I.T. vendor that has been right on target. Now we are working with another RoadMap consultant on our Crisis Response team, tightening up our physical security protocols, and updating our internal operations to protect the women we serve and our staff and volunteers. It has built our skills and our confidence, bumped up our communications skills, and cut through some of the anxiety of this work, especially in the new polarized environment."

-- Sara Spriggs, ACCESS

ADDENDUM 2: How the Weathering the Storms project works

Most WTS clients come into the program by attending a webinar or training on one or more key topics, which always include ample Q&A time with consultants and a peer who has successfully implemented "Weathering the Storms" practices in their own organization. All groups who participate in one webinar get free access to the whole WTS library including over 30 hours of audio recordings and slides; plus invitations to training days and cohort learning series which run several times per year.

Since December 2016, 130+ groups have begun receiving customized technical assistance. These engagements typically last 3-9 months to conduct a risk assessment, build knowledge and skills, support implementation of new systems and build an organizational culture of security and preparedness. The WTS consultant walks the groups through a comprehensive compliance checklist, and gets in place their Crisis Management Team. In the WTS process, the groups surface and analyze the threat scenarios that might hinder their social justice work, from politically motivated government investigations to criminal hacking; from PR smear campaigns to targeted harassment of movement leaders; from disgruntled employees or opposition infiltrators. With a clear eyed look at their context and defined priorities, the WTS process quickly results in new systems, habits and training to address immediate gaps, and organizations start to use a crisis preparedness lens to build their resilience, effectiveness and capacity overall.

The most successful engagements have a designated point person to complete the WTS risk-assessment checklist. RoadMap assigns them a lead consultant who reviews the checklist and provides the client with a copy of the 200-page WTS Toolkit chock full of templates to adapt. Throughout the 3-9 months, RoadMap matches one, two and even three consultants to help the client implement new systems or fill gaps. We offer from 10 hours up to 60 hours technical assistance from the WTS pooled fund, allowing them to pursue multiple tracks of preparedness, as they are ready. Some groups also pay RoadMap directly for WTS services if they need more support, or are not eligible for the pooled fund.

By the end of an average 20-30 hour WTS consultant engagement, typical client outcomes are:

- ✓ Improved compliance and governance protocols;
- ✓ Stronger training for staff and volunteers;
- ✓ Crisis Management Team and Plan in place, with staff and Board oriented;
- ✓ Crisis communications plans ready to go for the most likely risk scenarios;
- ✓ They have taken steps toward more secure technology and information management practices.

For more information on RoadMap and Weathering the Storms, see https://roadmapconsulting.org/ RoadMap's mission is to strengthen social justice organizations and the social justice sector through capacity building, peer learning and field building. We are a network of over 70 social justice oriented consultants with a wide array of experiences, areas of expertise and approaches to capacity building.