The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust of Australia

Report by

Christine Laurence

2002 Churchill Fellow

Strategies, programs, policies and organisations
promoting sustainable transport

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Signed Christine Laurence Dated: 10 October 2003
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Acknowledgements

Ten years ago community groups from across the Greater Sydney Metropolitan region gathered together for the first time at the LinkUp Conference in Granville. They gathered to share their ideas, skills and strategies for making Sydney a better place to live by improving its transport system. I helped organise that conference. Now, a decade later, I sit typing up my report of one of the most interesting periods of my life. My Churchill Fellowship has given me the opportunity to travel the world asking questions, and then to reflect on and articulate both what I have learnt on my travels and over the last decade. And draw out lessons out for the future. So I have a lot of people to thank.

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Finally, Peter Wright, road manager and companion extraordinaire, who shares the journey with me.
Executive Summary

Name: Christine Laurence
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Project: To study strategies, programs, policies and organisations promoting sustainable transport. Visits to Zurich, Brussels, Gent, Copenhagen, Stockholm, San Francisco, Washington DC, Boston, New York, Toronto and Ottawa.

Highlights

- Stephanos Anastasiadis, from Transport and Environment, Brussels, and his insights drawn from his peace studies.
- Discussions with Andrea Broaddus from the Surface Transportation Policy Project, Washington DC, about working with coalitions and advocacy in general, and sitting on planning and strategy sessions regarding the reauthorisation of the Transportation Equity Act 21.
- Chris Cavanagh from the Catalyst Centre, Toronto, sharing his deep and compassionate understanding of the role of popular education in empowering communities.
- Hubert Dixon III, Centre for Community Change, Washington DC for his deeply grounded understanding of community development.
- Kristina Egan from Odyssey, Sacramento, and her comprehensive ‘Transportation 101’ and ‘Advocacy Boot Camp’ packages.
- Discovering that the late Bill Moyer, San Francisco, had developed his paper ‘Movement Action Plan’ into a fully fledged book, ‘Doing Democracy’, containing ideas that have long supported me in my work.
- Participating in the process leading up to a briefing by community representatives to staff of the United States Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, ably led and supported by Rich Stolz from the Transportation Equity Network, Washington DC.
- Stephanie Vance, Washington DC, previously staff for leading transport advocate Senator Earl Blumenauer, and her clear, humorous descriptions of how to contact your political representative that leaves nothing unexplained.

Lessons and conclusions

The key lessons from my study tour were: that community action is essential to develop the political will needed for healthy transport and that this action will be more successful if it is based on a comprehensive strategy that includes a set of guiding principles, a vision, focus, a robust analysis of the issues, goals, clearly targeted decision makers and supporters, organisational development, communications plan, considered tactics to persuade decisionmakers and community to take action and an ongoing assessment of the effectiveness of the strategy.

Dissemination and implementation

I plan to contact organisations that would be suitable to carry these ideas forward and encourage them to adopt them. I also plan to package up a number of initiatives and seek funding and/or support to undertake them. I have prepared a slide talk and PowerPoint presentation which I have presented to the Women in Transport Meeting and the Lane Cove Bushland Society and have been invited to talk at the national Cycling Connections conference organised by the Bicycle Federation of Australia. I will seek other opportunities to present these. I intend to write articles for publication in community group newsletters. I intend to design a website that lists the resources that I picked up along the way.
Programme

2002

10, 13 May, Bern
Jurg Tschopp, Consultant, Swiss Transport and Environment Association
Marco Rupp, Partner, Ecoptima
Bettina Hamel, Project Director, Department for Community and Town Planning, Kanton of Bern
Christa Gutknecht-Schafroth, Assistant, Swiss Environmental Transport Association

10, 14 May, Zurich
Peter Guller, Partner, Synergo
Robert de Tommasi, Partner, Synergo
Willi Huesler, Director, Ingenieurburo fur Verkehrsplanung

15 May, Brussels
Stephanos Anastasiadis, Policy Officer, Transport and Environment

16 - 17 May, Gent
European Platform on European Conference on Mobility Management, Conference

28 - 30 May, Copenhagen
Bo Rasmussen, Head of Division, Environmental Protection Agency, City of Copenhagen
Bjarne Winterberg, Architect, Ramboll Nyvig
Ivan Lund Pedersen, NOAH
Annagrethe Ottovar, NOAH

3 - 7 June, Stockholm
Stockholm Partnership for Sustainable Cities, Conference
Magnus Nilsson, Vice President, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation
Claes Pile, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation

2003

8, 16 April, Oakland
Stuart Cohen, Executive Director, Transport and Landuse Coalition
Amber Elizabeth Crabbe, Transportation for a Livable Region Coordinator, Transport and Landuse Coalition

9 - 11, 18 April, Sacramento
Adam Marcus, Landuse Co-ordinator, Centre for Liveable Communities
Paul Zykofsky, Director, Land Use and Transportation Programs, Centre for Liveable Communities
Elizabeth Murphy, Transportation Academy Project Manager, Odyssey
Kristina Egan, Executive Director, Odyssey

18 April, Davis
Village Homes

15, 19 April, San Francisco
Kimberly Burke Martinson, Executive Director, Transportation Management Association
Fran Peavey, Crabgrass Network
17 April, Berkeley
Richard Register, EcoCity
Shane Rhodes, Co-owner, Office Manager, PedalExpress

21 April - 11 May, Washington DC
Rich Stolz, Senior Policy Analyst, Centre for Community Change
Andrea Broaddus, State and Local Campaign Manager, Surface Transportation Policy Project
Surface Transportation Policy Project, Strategy Meeting
Art Guzzetti, Director, Policy Development and Member Mobilization, American Public Transit Association
Stephanie Vance, President, AdVanced Consulting
Foundation Centre, Library
Chris Weiss, Director, DC Environmental Network, Friends of the Earth
William Millar, President, American Public Transit Association
Nancy Jakowitsch, Director, Policy Development, Surface Transportation Policy Project
Melanie Mayock, Conservation Organizer, Sierra Club
Transportation Equity Network, Planning meeting and Senate briefing
Hubert Dixon III, Organisational Development/Community Organising Specialist, Centre for Community Change
David Burwell, Board Director, Surface Transportation Policy Project
Social Action and Leadership School for Activists, Grassroots organising course
Bill Wilkinson, Executive Director, National Centre for Bicycling and Walking
Alix Bockelman, Senior Transportation Analyst, Metropolitan Transportation Commission
Diane Ives, Director, Diane Ives Consulting

12 May, New York
Neysa Pranger, Campaign Co-ordinator, Straphangers Campaign, New York Public Interest Research Group
Michael Hernandez, Field Organiser, Straphangers Campaign, New York Public Interest Research Group

14 - 19 May, Boston
Women in Transportation Conference

19 May - 25 May, Toronto
Michael Roschlau, Chief Executive Officer, Canadian Urban Transit Association
Dr Quentin Chiotti, Director, Air Programme, Pollution Probe
Sue Zielinski, Director, Moving the Economy
Michael Olivier, Rocket Riders
Maogosha Pyjor, BikeShare Project Manager, Community Bicycle Network

26 - 28 May, Ottawa
Dara Finney, Outreach Program Co-ordinator, Environment Canada
Amelia Shaw, Manager of Public Affairs, Canadian Urban Transit Association
Bert Titcomb, National Office Manager, Transport 2000 Canada
David Jeanes, President, Transport 2000 Canada

29 May - 17 June, Toronto
Matthew Adams, Catalyst Centre
Jeffery Kay, Rocket Riders
Rocket Riders, Meeting
Ken Ogilvie, Executive Director, Pollution Probe
Elizabeth Everhardus, Manager of Communications, Pollution Probe
Gord Perks, Communications and Policy, Toronto Environmental Alliance
Keith Stewart, Smog and Climate Change Coordinator, Toronto Environmental Alliance
Chris Cavanagh, Catalyst Centre
Sean Wheldrake, Bicycle Promotions Co-ordinator, Toronto City
Steve Munro, Rocket Riders
Marty Collier, Detour’s Urban Source
Moving the Economy, New Mobility Conference
Deb Cowen, Planning Action
Susanah Brunce, Planning Action
Moving the Economy, Travel Demand Management Panel
Kim Fry
Donna Samoyloff-Hale
Eddie Hale, Toronto Renewable Energy Co-operative
Sue Zielinski, Director, Moving the Economy
Chris Caple
Strategies, programs, policies and organisations promoting sustainable transport

Introduction
A cherished societal myth at present is that cars give you freedom and make you feel good. Car advertisements commonly show bright, shiny cars zipping around traffic free city streets before purring out into a vast natural landscape, usually accompanied by a crescendo of bouncy music. The reality is usually much different. Car drivers are more likely to be stuck in traffic, or driving round and round looking for a place to park, while the kids fight in the back.

The fact is, our current transport system, centred around cars, is bad for our health. In Australia our transport system kills 1700 people a year in road crashes\(^1\) and injures 20,000\(^2\). Carcinogenic benzene levels in the Sydney Central Business District are twice that recommended by the British Expert Panel on Air Quality Standards\(^3\). Most children these days are driven to school, and everywhere else, and obesity is a rising health problem. Ten percent of Australians are subject to unacceptable levels of traffic noise and forty percent to undesirable levels\(^4\). Heavy trucks on our streets disturb conversation and our sleep, increasing heart rate, blood pressure and adrenalin output\(^5\). Older people who no longer drive are finding it hard to get to medical and social services. Unemployed people who don’t have cars find it difficult to get to jobs or training opportunities.

Our current transport system is also bad for our planet’s health. Australia’s greenhouse gas emissions from transport are the third highest per capita internationally (the United States and Canada are worse). This summer the Northern Hemisphere suffered from record-breaking heat waves, a scenario that mirrors scientists’ predictions of climate change impacts, and are a likely foretaste of things to come. Roads cover thirty percent of urban land\(^6\). Habitat and agricultural land is destroyed to build new roads. Air pollution is suspected as a cause of the disappearance of small birds in cities\(^7\). In Sydney it’s estimated that ozone caused by cars kills five to ten percent of agricultural crops\(^8\). Water quality suffers from the heavy metals, oil and grease that flows from roads into creeks.

And our current transport system is bad for our economy’s health too. We spend $19 billion more on roads than we get in taxes, registration fees and insurance premiums\(^9\). Customers poor access to commercial areas denies merchants’ sales. The average household spends the same on transport as it does on its house\(^10\). Our dependency on oil imports is increasing.

The way out of this social, environmental and economic predicament is to transfer spending from programs that make it easier to drive to programs that give people a genuine choice to walk, ride a bike or catch a bus or a train. These programs would build bike lanes and footpaths and improve and extend the frequency, speed and connectivity of bus and train services. They would establish financial incentives and disincentives that promote investment in healthy transport and land development and set transport prices to reflect different mode’s full costs to society.

\(^{1}\) Austroads, 2000, Road Facts, Austroads, Sydney
\(^{2}\) Austroads, 2000, Road Facts, Austroads, Sydney
\(^{3}\) New South Wales Environmental Protection Authority, 1997, State of the Environment Report, NSW EPA, Sydney
\(^{4}\) Clarke, B., Basum, F. Rosenfeld, E., Dunn, S., 1998, Transport and Health, South Australian Health Commission, Adelaide
\(^{5}\) New South Wales Environmental Protection Authority, 1997, State of the Environment Report, NSW EPA, Sydney
\(^{6}\) Clarke, B., Basum, F. Rosenfeld, E., Dunn, S., 1998, Transport and Health, South Australian Health Commission, Adelaide
\(^{7}\) New South Wales Environmental Protection Authority, 1997, State of the Environment Report, NSW EPA, Sydney
\(^{8}\) Adelaide University, 2001
\(^{10}\) Australian Bureau of Statistics
Yet car use and road building continues apace. Federal Governments in the past twenty years have spent $AU43 billion on roads and only $2.8 billion on rail and State and Local Government expenditure is similarly biased towards roads. Government policy is to reduce car use to improve environmental outcomes and simultaneously use private capital to finance new roads that need a guaranteed level of traffic to return a profit to the private sector who build, own and operate it, an ‘incoherent strategy that seeks to shift travel from cars to other modes, while at the same time investing large sums of money in making car travel more attractive’ (Mees, P., 2000, *Rethinking Public Transport in Sydney*, Urban Frontiers Program, Issues Paper 5. University of Western Sydney). Mechanisms to involve the community in transport planning and operations are generally on a project by project basis. Unlike the health sector there few community consultation protocols.

How is this situation to be addressed? Professor Peter Newman and Dr Jeff Kenworthy say ‘it is important for community groups to realise that the real visions for change rarely come from government or the marketplace, but from civil society’ (Newman P. and Kenworthy, J., 1999, *Sustainability and Cities*, Island Press: Washington DC).

Throughout history, communities of people have gathered together to advocate for the betterment of society. The end of slavery, voting rights for women and Aboriginal people, the end of the Vietnam war, the end of apartheid in South Africa, a nuclear free South Pacific are all instances where a community of people articulated a preferred future and acted to neutralise the influences that were holding the current situation in place.

Around the world, a movement of people is acting to create a healthier transport system, a movement, that Martin Wachs, Director of the University of California Transportation Centre, says is crucial:

> if policies similar to [European policies that are shifting travel to bicycle] … were adopted in the United States, surely they would produce results similar to those in Europe. The only question that remains to be answered is not *whether* this could happen here, but *why* it has not. In the United States and most other democracies, policies do not simply arise out of technical expertise and sound logic .. [they] result from political processes that are complex and on-going. .... Despite the clarity and validity of the case made by ... advocates of improved conditions for cyclists, there is no groundswell of public support for such policies in America. Many of the most effective advocates of particular programs and policies are those who have the most to gain from their implementation. Often those who have the most to gain are those who use, build, or supply the facilities and products that are supported by the policies they advocate. Construction workers, auto workers, automobile clubs, insurance companies, oil companies, and many more people and organisations gain directly from pro highway policies and advocate very effectively for them. Bicycle friendly programs are at a disadvantage, in part, because they would save money, and that means reducing spending for auto oriented programs and that spending benefits so many in our society. .... procycling interests must create and sustain a political movement that counters the entrenched power of the proautomobile industry... whether or not cycling catches on in the United States will depend on the success or failure of grassroots movements’ (*Transportation Quarterly*, Vol 52, No1, Winter 1998).

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What will determine the success or failure of grassroots movements? Transport is a very complicated issue and easily falls within Rittel and Webber’s definition of a ‘wicked’ problem. By this they mean ‘there are many different angles to view the problem from and little consensus about the best way to view it … there is a lack of agreement about the best way to solve the problem ... and the problems intertwine with other problems’ (Rittel and Webber in Bryson, J. and Crosby, B.C., 1992, Leadership for the Common Good: Tackling Public Problems in a Shared Power World. Jossey Bass, San Francisco).

Transport is especially wicked for the following reasons:

- Whilst managing transport impacts is the accepted domain of the traffic engineer, that profession’s activities have impacts upon others’ work. For example: the medical profession, health workers, youth workers, aged care workers, educationalists, are variously concerned with, among other things, obesity, deaths and injuries, asthma and access to medical services, educational and employment opportunities; town planners and geographers interested in the functioning of the city as a whole; scientists are interested in water quality; economists and business are interested in the healthy functioning of an economy. That’s a lot of professional and academic silos.
- Unlike ending old growth forest logging or stopping whaling, changing transport travel patterns would impact on every person in a community. That’s a lot of stakeholders.
- Transport is everywhere. Its not just an issue in a remote, rural location. It’s outside everyone’s front door. That’s a lot of geography to cover.
- Not only does transport impact on every person every day of their lives, but changing it requires people to change the way they physically move their body. Unlike recycling, which simply requires five minutes extra of materials sorting, or saving water, which requires the fitting of a low flow showerhead, changing transport habits requires what may be perceived to be (but need not be) a substantial change. That’s a big habit to change.
- As Martin Wachs outlines, a very large number of industries depend on our current transport system for their continued level of profits.

The result is that ‘it is often difficult to know which part of the mess to attack … further, problems formulated too generally may appear too difficult to solve, whilst problems that are too narrowly defined may prompt solutions that are not cures, but merely address symptoms of a more serious disease’ (Rittel and Webber, as before).

In response, many grassroots groups develop agendas ‘so full of low-priority issues that action is crowded out by a preoccupation with reading issues. Such a strategy lacks closure and any sense of priorities’ (Nutt, P.C., and Backoff, R.W., 1992, Strategic Management of Public and Third Sector Organisations: a handbook for leaders. Jossey Bass, San Francisco).

What is the community to do? Professor Peter Newman and Dr Jeff Kenworthy suggest the role of the community is to:

> dramatize the problems that prevent community so that the ethical issues involved in being a vital, alive, and sustainable city can be appreciated by government and the market place, and the many disparate parts of civil society… Urban environmental groups must use every means available in civil society to communicate their vision: the Internet, the media, traditional public meetings, universities, churches and more.

Community groups eager to act on these exhortations need a range of skills. Dr Steve Chase, organiser of the Masters of Environmental Advocacy and Organising course at Antioch
University, says that environmental advocates need skills in five subject areas: scientific eco-literacy, organisational development, social action skill, big picture political analysis and personal growth and life.

It is fairly easy to discover the scientific aspects of community organisations advocating for healthy transport. There are reports and papers and websites calling for healthy transport, setting out what it looks like, why it is needed and what policies and funding and institutional arrangements are needed to get it.

Less well known in the field of transport advocacy are the four other aspects of social change advocacy – the organisational development needed to build strong organisations, the social action skills needed to generate community support necessary for the adoption of healthy transport policies by decision makers, the big picture political analysis that underpins the social action, and the personal growth skills needed to hang in there for the long haul that is sustainability advocacy. Courses teaching these skills are generally not taught anywhere, at present they must be learned through hard experience by each individual and there are few, if any, mechanisms to share this experience broadly. It is a rare transport advocate who has had an opportunity to acquire training in these skills.

There are many theories, from both the political science and sociology disciplines, about how social change is brought about by social movements. These theories include rational choice, resource mobilisation, political process, new social movements theory, frame analysis, non-violence. What is missing in most of these theories, assert the authors of Doing Democracy is an insider’s view on what is actually happening on the ground in social movements, focussing instead on structural factors that facilitate or hamper social movements (Moyer, B., 2001, Doing Democracy, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island). The relationship between theorists and practitioners in social change, they assert, is weak.

Partly as a result of this, community based environmental organisations seldom articulate the strategies for social change they are employing. Dr James Whelan from Griffith University, says:

while we talk a lot about what is wrong, what needs to happen, and why we think the world should change, we do not talk enough about how we are going to contribute to the change or how we think it might happen. I believe missing the conversation about how results in confusion, misplaced energy and despair. Too much activism is reactive, routine or habitual. We often model our campaigning on apparently effective environmentalists and leave our models of how change happens unspoken. (Whelan, J., 2001, Bringing about change, six ways of thinking about environmental advocacy. 2001 National Environmental Movement Conference)

This study tour then focussed on learning how community based organisations are working to bring about healthier transport systems, and why they are choosing the strategies that they are using. Over three months I interviewed over sixty people and attended four conferences, and a number of meetings and workshops in Bern, Zurich, Brussels, Gent, Copenhagen, Stockholm, San Francisco, Sacramento, Washington DC, Boston, New York, Toronto and Ottawa.
Need for comprehensive strategies to win healthy transport

Through my study tour conversations and the printed materials gathered on the trip, I gleaned many interesting and thought provoking ideas about how to advocate for healthy transport. Putting these together, I surmised that it would be useful for advocacy strategies for healthy transport to contain the following:

1. **Principles**: a set of principles to guide the development and implementation of the strategy.
2. **Vision**: a platform that outlines a preferred vision.
3. **Focus**: a particular part of the vision to work on.
4. **Analysis**: a robust analysis of the issue being focussed on.
5. **Solutions**: long, medium and short term goals that successfully address the issue.
6. **Decision makers and supporters**: people who need to act to achieve goals.
7. **Organisational development**: to ensure that the organisation is capable of carrying out its strategy.
8. **Communications**: a communication plan containing stories which are carefully framed.
9. **Tactics**: actions to shift the key decision maker to take action to achieve the organisation’s goals
10. **Evaluation and documentation**: ongoing assessment of the effectiveness of the strategy.

(This framework draws especially from those used by the Sierra Club, the Midwestern Academy and the University of Kansas' Community Toolbox).

Some transport advocates disparage strategy development, perhaps fearing that it stifles spontaneity, or that it overly intellectualises matters. This, cautions Larry Bohlen from Friends of the Earth is the most common mistake - ‘to rush in and do the obvious’. It too easily leads to conversations such as this, reported by the Sierra Club:

‘Let’s do a stall at the county fair.’
‘We’ll need a brochure.’
‘What colours should the brochure be.’

This is not a strategy planning meeting, says the Sierra Club, it’s a bunch of people working on a to do list. A poorly understood issue, whose nuances you don’t completely understand, is much more difficult to solve than a problem you have clearly defined and analysed.

Some interviewees spoke about the importance of trusting intuition when formulating a strategy. Taking that hunch, and teasing it out, seeking to discover the thinking behind the flash of insight, will help to share with other members of the group the reading of a situation, and bring to light taken for granted assumptions. It will provide an opportunity for the group to develop a shared understanding of how they plan to bring about change and to share expertise. The Sierra Club suggests holding a planning retreat to take time away from the hurly burly and provide uninterrupted time to assess the issues facing the group.

One interviewee, when asked why the organisation chose to do particular activities said, ‘oh, well, because Greenpeace and World Wide Fund for Nature do I suppose’. And when asked what tactics were most effective responded, ‘we don’t know, if we did, we’d do only that’. Another interviewee, a senior employee, when asked ‘how do you mobilise the community’ replied, ‘when you find out, let us know’. I’m sure that in all cases these very thoughtful people did have some ideas about how to garner community support for their issue, and taking time out to think these through, with support from other group members and perhaps outside advice too, would surely help to articulate people’s tacit knowledge.
How different organisations elaborate their strategies depends upon their experience, core values and beliefs, environmental philosophy and their political ideology as well as the political context and the resources they are able to mobilise (Carmin, J., and Balser, D.B., 2002, Selecting Repertoires of Action in Environmental Movement Organisations, Organization and Environment, Vol 15 No 4).

Whilst situations are fluid, and will most likely change once the implementation of a strategy begins, a comprehensive strategy helps in considering many of the issues before hand and simplifies the adjustment of a strategy more easily having done much of the thinking first.

The remainder of this section of the report discusses in more detail the elements of an advocacy strategy along with examples of how different groups implement them. Appendix 3 contains further examples of activities that organisations are undertaking to advocate for healthy transport.

1. Principles to guide advocacy strategies for healthy transport

Urban transport campaigns aim to affect major government capital works programs. This can only happen if social change organisations are in for the long haul. A number of principles were articulated by various interviewees as being important principles.

1.1 Build community capacity to advocate

An essential goal of any advocacy strategy is to engage more citizens in advocating for the change proposed. Developing a strategy together will serve to orient newcomers to the tasks at hand and explain the rationale for particular goals and actions.

Civic disengagement is a threat to a healthy democracy, and any social change campaign has a responsibility to ensure that it works towards increasing the community’s ability to engage as active citizens.

‘To help … people shift by seeing themselves not as objects of change but as agents of change is the greatest challenge in community capacity building’ says Rick Flowers, Director of the Centre for Popular Education, University of Technology, Sydney. Dave Beckwith from the Centre for Community Change said that one of the main features of their work is to help people to learn that ‘you can take on city hall and win’.

Some advocates think that involving all members of a group in all stages of strategy planning and implementation is frustrating and time wasting. They’d prefer a more elite, ‘expert’ model of operating. Chris Cavanagh from the Catalyst Centre says that ‘dependency on a hierarchy concentrates capacity in the hands of a few. A powerful neighbourhood might organise, elect a leader who, through his position gets a skill set and understands the politics. That capacity can be brokered – its symbolic capital, a form of material power, and often leads to the leader being lured out of community based organising into the government or private sector, leaving the group to start all over again. The leadership model doesn’t show people that as a group they have power, knowledge and capacities’.

1.2 Embed learning into every aspect of the organisation’s work

Building in opportunities for learning and teaching is essential to ensure that people involved grow in skills and knowledge for active citizenship. Hubert Dixon from the Centre for Community Change believes ‘we don’t build enough training into our organisations. We assume people have skills they don’t have, such as how to run a good meeting’. Hubert believes training should be integrated into everything the organisation does. Odyssey’s Kristina Egan concurs, ‘we were surprised to find out how much our transit providers
wanted their hands held when it came to contacting their local Congresspeople. Many of them had never done it before.

2. Vision

Although the private motor vehicle has only been ubiquitous for the last fifty years of human history, it is now so embedded in our culture that many people find it hard to believe that it is possible to exist without it. Those advocating for a reduction of the stranglehold that the car has on our society need to clearly flesh out what that means for everyday life. This vision can act as an inspiration that mobilises people.

It is not enough to say what we don’t want, ‘we have a responsibility to have a solution, a positive approach’, says Larry Bohlen from Friends of the Earth. The Centre for Community Change’s excellent publication ‘How to tell and sell your story’ stresses ‘the need to get away from day-to day crisis and come up with a long-term plan, one that has an underlying vision’.

The Transport and Landuse Coalition from the Bay Area, California, prepared a Platform that set out that organisations’ broad outline for a more healthy transport system. Stuart Cohen, Executive Director from the Coalition, says that not only does the Platform demonstrate to its various audiences that the Coalition has thought through a comprehensive set of solutions, thus establishing its credibility, it also serves to reassure Coalition members that, even if the Coalition is not currently working on their particular issue, that it remains part of the Coalition’s concern and is carried into appropriate forums as part of the Platform.

3. Focus

As already mentioned, there are many transport issues needing attention, leading to the possibility of doing many things badly rather than a few things well. The thoughtful selection of a few issues to work on, ‘where you will get the biggest bang for the bucks’ as Andrea Broaddus from the Surface Transportation Policy Project suggests, will assist the group to develop a focus. To do this, the Sierra Club and Swiss Transport and Environment and Centre for Environmentally Sustainable Transport developed criteria to help them select which issues to work on and the Centre for Environmentally Sustainable Transport.

Swiss Transport and Environment Association has over 20 branches, who together are working on 17 different issues. During my visit, the national branch of the association was meeting with the branches to encourage them to reduce the number of issues they were working on in order to focus the power of numbers and effort on fewer issues.

4. Analysis

Having chosen an issue to focus on, it’s critical to get a solid understanding of it – both from a transport and a community/political viewpoint. Bill Millar, President of the American Public Transit Association says ‘you have to take away every excuse to say no and give them a reason to say yes’.

Bill Wilkinson, Executive Director, National Centre for Bicycling and Walking, likens engineers, those responsible for a lot of the transportation solutions, to a religious order, with those who challenge its theology being branded heretic. With the smell of sacrifice in the air, you need to have your facts straight.

Magnus Nilsson, from Swedish Society for Nature Conservation says ‘our most important resource is our credibility. There is trust in our organisation, because we get our facts right’. Stephanos Anastasiadis, from Transport and Environment concurs that they are very careful to be scientifically based.
Ken Ogilvie from Pollution Probe, says that ‘sometimes the science is so strong that they have to do something, they can’t dismiss the arguments’. He sees it as Pollution Probe’s role to provide that science and make the arguments. He says that he ‘walks around with a draft Cabinet memo in his back pocket’.

Swiss Transport and Environment Association were arguing for charges to be levied on trucks in Switzerland. The trucking lobby argued that this would inevitably result in an increase in prices to consumers. TEA analysed the impact of transport costs on grocery prices right down to pot of yoghurt, demonstrating that transport costs were a minor factor in the price of everyday groceries, and debunking the truckies’ argument.

Steve Munro from Rocket Riders sat down for weeks in front of a computer spreadsheet entering in data from years worth of timetables to compile a report demonstrating that service levels had declined, a fact that Toronto Transit Commission originally denied, until confronted with the evidence.

5. Solutions

Having analysed the issue, community organisations need to work out solutions to address the issue. Whilst the vision sets out a long term goal, establishing short term goals that are Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, Timed and Challenging will make it clear exactly what is needed and establish a sensible timeframe within which it is feasible to occur. This will serve to make the solution tangible, and establish a deadline around which to galvanise community action.

Richard Harnish, Executive Director, Midwest High Speed Rail Coalition, speaking at the Women in Transport conference, in a workshop entitled ‘Rail renaissance’ cites his experience in sales when he says that ‘when people tell you there’s no money, it means they don’t want the product yet. When they want the product, they’ll find the money.’

For example, calling for ‘ending global warming’ will take 100 years and offers no suggestions on how it should be achieved, but calling for ‘building 100 kilometres of bike lanes by 2005’ is much more concrete.

Transport and Landuse Coalition prepared a document called ‘World Class Transport for the Bay Area’ which contained recommendations for improvements to transport in the Bay Area of California. TALC’s Stuart Cohen said this gave them a strong credibility.

6. Identifying decision-makers and public supporters

There are three main groups of people who organisations advocating for healthy transport need to identify and understand in order to make change: decision-makers, persuaders and public supporters.

Many interviewees stressed the importance of relationships for sharing information and generating support for the organisation’s efforts. Hubert Dixon from the Centre for Community Change says ‘it’s easy to underestimate the power of relationship building’. Hubert is from the south east of the United States, and he says that there ‘you are your relationships’. ‘People need to feel they belong. You need one on one individual meetings. It’s a way to build community. The processes we have that don’t work well took time, it will take time to undo them. Relationships build trust, a sense of place, commonality and history. You need it if you are in there for the long haul.’
6.1 Identifying decision-makers

Once the organisation has set out its goals, it then needs to identify who has the power to change policies to achieve these goals and understand what support and opposition surrounds them that can be mobilised in support of your cause. The Sierra Club says ‘this question must always be answered with the names of individuals – not institutions’ (Sierra Club, 1999, *Grassroots Organising Training Manual*).

In their work on the reauthorisation of the Transportation Equity Act, the Surface Transportation Policy Project conducted a thorough analysis of the Congresspeople who were on the Committees with responsibility for developing the new Act so that they could better understand ‘where they were coming from’ and design their approaches to key Congresspeople accordingly.

6.2 Identifying persuaders

Persuaders are people who have influence over the decision-makers. Organisations need to identify these people and get them working for you. David Burwell, Board Member of the Surface Transportation Policy Project recited the story behind the enactment of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Equity Act and the Transportation Equity Act. In both cases, relationships between STPP staff and Congress staff and politicians was critical in enlisting support for the bills.

Nancy Jakowitsch, Director of Policy Development, from Surface Transportation Policy Project echoed this, saying that its important to have champions in Congress who understand the issues and will translate them into law. Jurg Tschopp from Swiss Transport and Environment Association says that many people who have worked with them are now in Parliament and can advocate on their behalf.

Sue Zielinski, from Moving the Economy argues that you need the same within industry – that there are many sympathetic people in business who are interested in turning their organisations towards more sustainable practices and that they should be encouraged.

Andrea Broaddus from the Surface Transportation Policy Project says that many of that organisation’s publications are aimed at engineers as they are often the ones who influence the politicians. The Centre for Livable Communities does the same.

6.3 Identifying and mobilising public supporters

Unlike some public health issues, such as HIV/AIDS or smoking, there is a limited amount citizens can do to improve their individual situation. You can’t catch public transport if it isn’t there, nor can you build your own railway track. And whereas an individual can purchase some goods to bring about a more healthy lifestyle, such as gym membership or organic food, an individual alone cannot purchase a new light rail line or clean air. Public transport is a common good, Adam Smith’s ‘invisible hand of the market’ makes no headway here.

Managing the problem at a local neighbourhood level faces similar limitations. An individual or organisation concerned about local air pollution quickly discovers that it is created many kilometres away in other neighbourhoods. Attempts to develop a local bus route to the shops find that it requires changes to state legislation and private bus industry reform.

There was strong agreement that individual, local effort is limited in what it can achieve, so that healthy, sustainable, socially equitable transport requires widespread, organised, collective action.
Stephanos Anastasiadis, from Transport and Environment says that ‘whilst the technocrats have to be convinced, the politicians need to be pressed by the grass roots’. They believe that the economic arguments have been won in principle, now they have to develop the political will. Councillor Howard Moscoe, Board member of the Toronto Transit Commission says that ‘for transit to improve, there needs to be a mass movement’. He says that at the moment, ‘it’s the same old faces’. Similarly, Amelia Shaw, Manager of Public Affairs, Canadian Urban Transit Association, says that the decision makers will move ‘when they hear it from the grass roots’. Larry Bohlen from Friends of the Earth believes that ‘politicians don’t need education, they need pressure’. Surface Transportation Policy Project’s Andrea Broaddus is clear that you need widespread public support to get healthy transport proposals adopted ‘with only a small public supporting a proposal, it is easier for those with political power to sweep you away and safely ignore you’.

Peter Guller, a planner with Synergo in Switzerland, works regularly with industry to assist them to deal with their traffic problems. He notes the importance of the public will in insisting that transport problems be dealt with by industry - ‘they might think that its not their problem, but it’s a public problem, so it must be dealt with. The public will leads to dialogue. Along the way, we help them to understand what sustainability means’.

Both the Centre for Community Change and Sierra Club believe that in the 1980s and 1990s, community organisations became more professionalised, and left the grass roots behind. Melanie Mayock from the Sierra Club says that in the mid 1990’s the Sierra Club went through an awakening, realising that it needed to do more to support local grassroots activities.

Given that demonstrating force of numbers a key, if not the key, factor in winning healthy transport, how, in this increasingly busy world, do we get people involved?

Some organisations mentioned difficulty in getting members involved. Magnus Nilsson is the Vice President of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, Sweden’s largest conservation group and is active on transport issues. The organisation has 250 branches, with a membership of 145,000, about 1.5% of the population of Sweden. However, only 10% of members are active, because say’s Magnus, ‘when things get complicated, they withdraw, they conserve their credibility’.

Jurg Tschopp from Swiss Transport and Environment Association noted the difficulty of people being active after the big flush of action in the 1970s. He believes it is because a lot of the infrastructure is now in place, and also that the Internet is keeping people pinned in their house. Although he says, you can get 100,000 people dressed in red and white chucking beer bottles in the air for the World Cup.

Many organisers talk about the need to appeal to people’s self interest to invite them to work towards social change. ‘People are very busy’, says Larry Bohlen from Friends of the Earth. ‘They need a compelling reason to get involved.’ That’s why the careful selection of issues and solutions is needed. Choosing a time-limited goal that has clear deadlines with a clearly defined goal and rationale can help mobilise people.

Chris Cavanagh from the Catalyst Centre, a popular education centre in Toronto, disagrees with the notion of self interest being a motivating factor. ‘That fits in neatly with the North American ideal of individual rights. But it simplifies, in a sad way, the depth and complexity of humans, in the same way that behavioural psychology does. People are moved by their relationships. When someone who we are in relationship with hurts, we respond with
compassion’. This suggests that personal human interest stories that describe the impact unhealthy transport has on people can move others to action.

The late Bill Moyer said that ‘the best way to inspire the public to be actively involved in creating social change is to show continuously, over time, the gap between the powerholders’ actual policies and programs and the cultures values and beliefs’ (Moyer, B., 2001, Doing Democracy, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island). Once the community is aware that their values and beliefs are being violated, they are inspired to act.

Hubert Dixon III, from the Centre for Community Change suggests that ‘to get over people’s fear … you have to have your first victory. It doesn’t have to be a change in policy, you just have to plan, carry out and meet your expectations. Then you realise you can do it’.

Eddie Hale, from Toronto Renewable Energy Collective talks of the importance of symbols, ‘our windmill on the Toronto waterfront produces only 0.0001% of power, but its effect is huge. It’s strengthened our organisation. People feel confident that we can achieve things, and it’s an exciting innovation that means that people are now more interested in duller things like demand side management.’

The Centre for Community Change’s Rich Stolz suggests a short cut to reaching lots of people by working with those who are already organised into groups. As part of the Transportation Equity Network Rich works a lot with faith based organisations in lower income areas, who make up a small but significant percentage of the population. The pastors are concerned about impacts on their congregations lives and can be convinced of the utility of become involved in transport issues.

Neysa Pranger from the Straphangers in New York reports sensational success in distributing flyers on New York’s trains.

The Surface Transportation Policy Project based in Washington DC supports community action by providing solid, well researched reports. Andrea Broaddus says the organisation ‘has limited capacity to follow through on their reports. But they don’t mail too many out. Instead, they put their effort into media work to reach people so that they know the reports are there. Lawmakers and bureaucrats read them, as do advocates who can download the report off the web and use it to give to their local transport planners as a best practice example’.

Working in coalitions
Because transport crosses so many professional boundaries, coalitions are a good way to demonstrate broad community support for healthy transport. Ken Ogilvie from Pollution Probe says that by working in coalition, you show that you have muscle behind you. He cites a letter about air pollution he co-signed with Ontario Medical Association and the Sierra Legal Defence Fund as being a useful way of demonstrating ‘I’ve got these people behind me, Minister’. Transportation Equity Network, Surface Transportation Policy Project and Transport and Landuse Coalition are good examples of coalitions. Both Odyssey and the American Public Transit Association APTA have detailed guidebooks on how to work in coalition.

Andrea Broaddus tells how the Surface Transportation Policy Project identified organisations who weren’t currently in their network but who STPP considered should be. They then held one on one meetings with them, with the aim that, even though they might not join STPP, they might support them.
7. Organisational development

Because it is such a large issue, getting healthy transport is a job that will take a long haul. So any individual strategy needs to consider the organisation’s capability to carry it out, and build in opportunities to strengthen the organisation as part of the strategy. Tasks that will strengthen non-government organisations include fundraising, conflict resolution, negotiation skills, meeting skills, community outreach, lobbying, staff and volunteer development, planning and media work.

In Europe, interviewees did not report the existence of organisations whose specific task was to support non-government organisations’ development.

In contrast, North America had a number of organisations that provided training and advice on strengthening groups working for sustainable transport. The Foundation Centre in Washington DC lists 74,000 philanthropic grant making foundations in the United States. Social Action and Leadership School for Activists and the Sierra Club Training Academy are just a few of the many organisations whose purpose is to support nonprofit sector capacity building.

This aspect of transport advocacy was the subject of my Masters of Community Management so was not studied in depth as part of this study tour.

8. Communications

A key element of a strategy for healthy transport is a communications plan. This part of the strategy sets out the way in which the ideas of the campaign are going to be disseminated to a wider public to enlist their support, encourage them to take action and influence the decision makers. The Sierra Club says ‘you will not win your campaign by merely telling people to do the right thing. You will need to make your case’.

They suggest that the key points of a social change campaign need to be distilled into firstly one brief sentence (the bumper sticker) and then into a short story that ‘dramatizes the problem and what needs to be done’. Once this is done, all materials, be it speeches, letters or media releases should ‘stay on message’.

Tone

The Centre for Community Change says that ‘perhaps even more important than the clarity of your arguments and message is the tone of your message. Tone is amazingly undervalued’. Stephanos Anastasiadis, from Transport and Environment says ‘the more passionate you are, the less credible you are’ as we live in a world that is scientific and values the dispassionate. One interviewee expressed concern that ‘activists are so shrill’. Shriilness and anger, whilst understandable in the face of government and industry intransigence, signals that the advocate feels powerless and that control rests with the opposition. It can also scare off bystanders who have yet to take positions on the issue. Instead, a reasonable tone, together with optimism and enthusiasm, serve to draw people to your argument, and don’t stand in the way of your message.

Stories

Transport planning is an especially rational, technical activity and those advocating for healthy transport have a tendency to bombard the community and decision makers with facts and figures. The technical terms that are used, for example tonne-kilometres, vehicle kilometres travelled, particles per million, are not particularly meaningful for the general public, though they have significant consequences one way peoples daily lives. Whilst is essential that the stories are underpinned by well researched facts, advocates need to go beyond them. To win public support for healthy transport, translating abstract concepts into
stories that resonate with people’s lived experiences is more meaningful and compelling. And also easier to remember.

Stephanie Vance, from AdVance Consulting used to work for healthy transport advocate Senator Earl Blumenauer. She says that letters containing personal stories from constituents about how an issue matters to a constituent ‘cut through the chaos of a politician’s day and makes real what is happening in their district’.

Rich Stolz from the Centre for Community Change says that stories are ‘politically compelling, they play to the strengths of the people, who have expertise that the statistics people don’t’. During the debate over reauthorisation of the Intermodal Surface Transportation and Equity Act, community members briefed staff of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee about the positive impacts of the Act. The speakers told stories about improvements to transport in their area, and how it had improved their communities lives. The stories were powerful and conveyed information in a way that dry statistics wouldn’t have.

Moving the Economy opened their conference with a story about a ‘day in the life’ of a city with healthy transport. The story follows David, Jane and their daughter Jenny as they telecommute, cycle to work, and dial up home deliveries from nearby farmers.

Whilst these stories are helpful in bringing statistics to life, it is important that the bigger picture, the context, is not neglected. Focussing entirely on individuals can neglect the bigger economic picture. A critical part of story telling is framing the issue. The Centre for Community Change says ‘framing selects and organises pieces of information into stories which make sense to their audiences. The frame suggests who is responsible for the problem and what needs to be done. Its essential to the attribution of responsibility for addressing public issues’.

There was no consensus among interviewees about how to frame issues. A wide range of driving forces, impacts and solutions were offered as superior ways to frame the transport issue:

Driving forces
• the Kyoto protocol
• obesity

Impacts of transport
• ‘middle America’ aren’t that concerned about the environment but they are concerned about traffic
• its easier to motivate people to protect nature than stop roads
• win arguments on economic grounds, and talk about getting the prices right, its not a moral argument, it’s a economic one.

Benefits of healthy transport:
• ‘you’ll get there faster’ is a stronger story for bikes than is the environment
• the idea of ‘choice’ works for both liberal and conservative
• a good use of space is important. In cities space is limited, so you have to use it well.
• time – the most precious gift you have
• transit needs to be sold as an investment in a sustainable city
• need to key into what people are longing for, what they are missing, and this includes community
• the American Public Transit Association found that the concepts about transport that resonate with Americans are ‘Freedom, mobility and quality of life’.

Illustrations
Kevin McCarty, from the Surface Transportation Policy Project, spoke about the importance of graphics and illustrations whilst briefing the campaign group preparing to lobby for the reauthorisation of the Transportation Equity Act 21. He was supported in this by Jason Tai, adviser to Democrat Senator, Bill Lipinski, who said that for the uninitiated such as himself, graphics helped to simplify complex issues.

The Centre for Livable Communities takes special pains to illustrate the solutions in their work. They have prepared a CD that shows photos of smart growth (the opposite of urban sprawl, or ‘dumb growth’).

Media
The Centre for Community Change says that as well as organising large groups of people, ‘in the modern media dominated world, shaping and responding to public opinion is crucial … power also comes from having a message that resonates with people both within and outside a community’ (Centre for Community Change, 1999, How to tell and sell your story). Community organisations can use the media to win in the court of public opinion.

Whilst noting that media coverage is no substitute for direct person to person contact and strong organisations, all organisations stressed the importance of communicating to the community and politicians via the media. Larry Bohlen from Friends of the Earth decries the media saturation of our society, but says social change agents must learn to use it. The media can be used to shine the spotlight on an issue, person or corporation, influence decision makers, generate community support, make public policy positions and divulge motives.

Politicians and corporations value their reputation and hate bad media. Steve Munro from Rocket Riders says ‘media is an important way to get political impact, the politicians know you are watching them, but if no-one is sticking a microphone in their face they don’t care.’ For example, Eddie Hale from the Toronto Renewable Energy Collective talks about working with public relations firm Hill and Knowlton. They prepared two draft media releases, one praising and one criticising a government policy that was set to be released. They sent it to the government ten days before the decision was due to be released. They got their proposal adopted.

Ivan Lund from NOAH, says that its hard to get media as there are less and less newspapers. And that journalists these days don’t know much about transport so you have to begin at the beginning.

Hubert Dixon from the Centre for Community Change reminds us not to underestimate the power of our own media and smaller local papers. He says a website is valuable as you can publish quickly.

Stephanos Anastasiadis, from Transport and Environment are planning to employ a press and communications officer because ‘their message needs to get to a wider audience’ in order to ‘generate political will’. Transport and Environment consider that media generates political pressure by increasing the number of people informed about an issue who will in turn talk to politicians.

To get media coverage, groups use a diversity of tactics. The Surface Transportation Policy Project has found success in ranking different cities on scales such transport accessibility and
accident rates. The ‘competitions’ attract considerable attention when, for example, New Yorkers are found to weigh less than people in Delaware because they walk more due to denser development. Straphangers stress the importance of visuals for television media.

Magnus Nilsson, from Swedish Society for Nature Conservation says that they use media also to communicate with their members – with such a high number of members, mailing costs are very high.

9. Tactics
Tactics are used to demonstrate the breadth of community support for an initiative to pressure decision makers to adopt proposed changes. Groups interviewed used a variety of tactics to demonstrate the breadth and depth of community support for healthy transport to politicians. These included letters, door knocking, yard signs, attending public hearings, lobby days, rallies, petitions, ‘bake sales for transit’ and are documented in Appendix 3.

There was disagreement on whether letters to politicians serve to influence them or not. Stephanos Anastasiadis, from Transport and Environment says ‘its reasonable to assume that someone else is thinking about the issue if you get a letter’. Stephanie Vance told of being on a Congressperson’s staff and selecting thoughtful letters at the end of each week to assist the Congressperson to get an understanding of both sides of an issue before a vote. Art Guzzetti from American Public Transportation Association says they don’t, so you need rallies, Katrina Egan from Odyssey says they don’t and the most effective thing to demonstrate support for an issue is to get the right group of people talking to the right Congressperson. From this I conclude that letters can be useful, but they should only be part of the tactics employed.

Non violent direct action also has a role to play in drawing public attention to public policies that are violating the community’s deeply cherished values. It is a technique that has been popularised by Mohandas Gandhi and Nobel Peace Prize Winner Reverend Martin Luther King. Hubert Dixon and Rich Stolz from the Centre for Community Change and Stuart Cohen from the Transport and Landuse Coalition spoke of the role it could play in putting the public spotlight on issues. They all cautioned that it was not a tactic that should be used in isolation, and should only be used once reasonable requests had been ignored.

Bill Moyer calls non violent direct action ‘politics as theatre’. He says it creates dilemmas for the powerholders – if the demonstration is allowed to go ahead, the citizen’s claims are upheld. If they act to repress it, their violation of society’s values is revealed. For example, Rosa Parks’ refusal to give up her seat on an Montgomery, Alabama bus to a white person highlighted the violation of the American value of equality and democracy.

As Martin Luther King said:

You may well ask, “Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn’t negotiation a better path?” You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the
mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.

Ivan Lund from Noah the Danish Friends of the Earth, talked about a group near Arhus that had been sleeping in trees in the path of a highway for over three months. He said ‘there’s lots of media interest and discussion. It’s some of the most positive reactions we’ve had’. Whilst he didn’t think it will stop the road, he does think it helps discussion get going, and maybe, could help stop the next one.

Gord Perks is renowned within Toronto for his confrontation with Ontario Premier David Peterson during the election campaign launch of 1990. More than a decade after it occurred, advocates still recalled the event. As Premier Peterson commenced his opening statement, Gord, who was working for Greenpeace at the time, jumped onto the stage with a steel case handcuffed to his wrist. The case contained a tape recorder with a tape that recounted the Premier’s environmental record. The news of the launch was of Greenpeace’s concerns, rather than Premier Peterson’s campaign promises. As a result, Gord says, ‘every politician asked him ‘what do you want’. In these post September 11 days, perhaps such an eye-catching activity needs to be very carefully managed so as not to be perceived to be physically threatening to a public figure.

Humour
Throughout history, humour has been used to break through people’s resistance to thinking about issues that they’d rather not be confronted with, by comically highlighting absurd contradictions. Here two examples draw attention to problems in a way that makes you laugh whilst you absorb the idea.

They quickly make a point in a forthright manner that gets to the point more quickly than a report or submission might and jolts us out of our taken for granted understandings of reality enabling us to see in a fresh new way.

Similar uses of humour in parades, such as the Dinosaurs on Bicycles from Vancouver, protesting use of their remains as fossil fuel and its role in climate change, perform a similar function. They can also be used to get into the media in a way that
demonstrations, often regarded by the media these days as ‘ho-hum’ or ‘passé’, don’t.

**10. Evaluate and document**

Evaluation and documentation of activities should be an on-going process. Most groups interviewed did not document how they went about working for more sustainable transport, though there was ample published material about what they wanted.

One interviewee spoke about the importance of oral history as a way of passing down information. Whilst this has its value, as the tragic loss of Australian Aboriginal languages demonstrates, if history is not otherwise recorded it can be lost.

After briefing the community representatives to staff of the United States Senate Environment and Public Works Committee the Transportation Equity Network, Washington DC met in the canteen to evaluate how it went. Rich Stolz, a member of the Network, quoted social change organiser Saul Alinsky paraphrasing Socrates in saying ‘an unevaluated action is not worth doing’.

The Centre for Community Change has published a number of manuals on how to change public policy that contains real life vignettes from campaigns. Stuart Cohen from Transport and Landuse Coalition has recently written up a chapter for a book documenting how environment groups in the Bay Area, California, began to work more closely with welfare organisations. This contains useful lessons and ideas for other groups to replicate.

**Conclusions**

With transport having such a major impact on our community, economy and environment, and strong forces supporting a continuation of road building at the expense of healthier transport choices, a stronger voice for sustainable transport is needed. This is more likely to be effective if it exists within a broader base of a vision grounded in a broad base of support, focuses on a hot issue, subjects the issue to a rigorous analysis then develops achievable goals, identifies primary, secondary and public targets, is underpinned by a strong organisation, that communicates effectively to generate support for the goals, uses tactics efficiently and selectively and evaluates and documents its achievements.
Recommendations

- It is recommended that international healthy transport advocacy groups increasingly share ideas on strategies (rather than just policies) for healthy transport. This could be via:

  - an international conference on how we are advocating for more sustainable transport. Whilst transport professionals have international conferences on technical issues and whilst North American advocates meet with each other sometimes, and European advocates similarly, there are few international meetings where all gather. With the developed world having the largest ecological footprints, it would be useful to reflect on the effectiveness of our strategies and share ideas, skills and knowledge.

  - a web site that contains transport advocacy materials: with PowerPoint presentations, generic postcards, images such as amount of space taken up by roads etc, posters, flyers, brochures made available to share along with case studies of how projects or campaigns were managed.

  - Community organisations who have an advocacy function to join together to establish a Training Academy for advocates, along the lines of the Sierra Club’s, along with an associated Advocates Social Change Strategy Network where advocates can meet on a monthly basis to swap ideas about social change strategies.

  - Establish an email talk list where people can swap ideas about social change strategies and ask for advice.

  - Environment groups would benefit from setting up a mentorship program linking advocates with each other to share advice and ideas. This could include members of completely volunteer community based groups along with employed staff of the funded groups.

  - Environment groups would benefit from setting up an internship program providing graduate placements in funded environment groups.

  - Organisations with an advocacy function could share in the prepare a regular syndicated column for publication in their newsletters on how to organise your group and how to do advocacy.

  - Volunteer Centres to consider establishing on-going Management Advisory Services, based on that based within the Toronto Volunteer Centre, comprising of retired professionals. This to include providing training in how to plan your retirement.

  - The Department of Transport and Regional Services prepare a directory of healthy transport initiatives being implemented in Australia for distribution to transport planners, community organisations and elected officials.

  - Government agencies prepare an ‘Introduction to the Transport and Landuse Planning System’ for the community to explain current processes of transport and landuse planning to assist where to get involved in transport decision making.
Appendix 2. Details of organisations visited

**AdVanced Consulting**
Stephanie D. Vance, has had over thirteen years of experience in Washington, DC, both as a lobbyist and a congressional aide, including positions as legislative assistant, legislative director and staff director. She is the author of “Government by the People: How to Communicate with Congress” (AdVanced Consulting, 1999).

www.advocacyguru.com

**American Public transportation Association**
An international organization that has been representing the transit industry for over 100 years, since 1882. APTA serves and leads its diverse membership through advocacy, innovation, and information sharing to strengthen and expand public transportation.

www.apta.com

**BikeShare**
A community bicycle-lending program in downtown Toronto that provides its members with access to a fleet of bright yellow bikes.

www.bikeshare.org

**Canadian Urban Transit Association**
The voice for enhancing the public transit industry in Canada.

**CUTA helps its members meet today's challenges face on. Activities such as the Transit Ambassador Program, Recognition Awards, and our research programs www.cutaactu.ca**

**Catalyst Centre**
Celebrates and promotes innovative learning, popular education, research and community development to advance positive social change.

www.catalystcentre.ca

**Center for Livable Communities**
A national initiative of the Local Government Commission. A nonprofit, nonpartisan, membership organization of elected officials, city and county staff, and other interested individuals throughout California and other states, the Local Government Commission helps local governments identify and implement solutions to today’s problems.

www.lgc.org

**City of Toronto and the Toronto Cycling Committee**
Have built a series of cycling programs based on the recommendations of the Toronto Bike Plan. Each of the programs is designed to make Toronto a more bike-friendly city.

www.city.toronto.on.ca/cycling

**Center for Community Change**
Helps organizations build their communities' capacity for self-help, develop strong leaders, provide critical services, build homes, develop businesses, give residents a say in their community's future and, perhaps most important, give low income people a sense of hope.

www.communitychange.org

**Detour's UrbanSource**
Established in 1995 as a non-profit mail order catalogue specializing in sustainable transportation books.

www.detourpublications.com

**Environment Canada**
Canada’s environment department. Its mandate is to preserve and enhance the quality of the natural environment, including water, air and soil quality; conserve Canada’s renewable resources, including migratory birds and other non-domestic flora and fauna; conserve and protect Canada’s water resources; carry out meteorology; enforce the rules made by the Canada - United States International Joint
Commission relating to boundary waters; and coordinate environmental policies and programs for the federal government
www.ec.gc.ca

**Ecoptima**
A planning company in Switzerland
www.ecoptima.ch

**European Platform On Mobility Management**
An international partnership aiming to: promote and further develop Mobility Management in Europe; fine-tune the implementation between the Member States of the EU and other countries in Europe. EPOMM provides a forum for all those interested in Mobility Management: representatives from EU member governments, local and regional authorities, researchers, major employers, transport operators and other user groups
www.epommweb.org

**Friends of the Earth**
The U.S. voice of an influential, international network of grassroots groups in 70 countries. Founded in San Francisco in 1969 by David Brower, Friends of the Earth has for decades been at the forefront of high-profile efforts to create a more healthy, just world.
www.foe.org

**Foundation Center**
Founded in 1956, the Center is the nation’s leading authority on philanthropy and is dedicated to serving grant seekers, grant makers, researchers, policymakers, the media, and the general public.
http://fdncenter.org

**Ingenieurburo fur Verkehrsplanung**
A landuse and transport planning consultancy based in Zurich, Switzerland
ibv@access.ch

**Management Advisory Service**
An organization of volunteers with extensive experience in management and technical areas in the private and public sectors. Our mission is to help non-profit organizations in Toronto resolve their specific management problems. There is no fee.
http://www.volunteertoronto.on.ca/mas/mas1.asp

**Metropolitan Transportation Commission**
The transportation planning, coordinating and financing agency for the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area.
www.mtc.ca.gov

**Moving the Economy**
A partnership of the city of The City of Toronto, Transportation Options (an NGO) and the Federal Government of Canada. MTE works locally and internationally with a broad range of Industry, Government, Community, Labour and Academics to carry out its mission and its projects.
www.movingtheeconomy.ca

**National Center for Bicycling & Walking**
The major program of the Bicycle Federation of America, Inc. established in 1977. Its mission is to create bicycle-friendly and walkable communities. The NCBW is not a membership organization; revenue comes from grants, contracts, and consulting fees. Ongoing NCBW activities include: providing specialized consulting services in the areas of long-range planning, policy development, public involvement, route selection, planning and design guidelines for bicycle and pedestrian facilities, training programs for public health and transportation agencies, economic development and tourism planning and analysis, organizing and managing workshops and conferences, including the biennial Pro Bike / Pro Walk conference.
www.bikewalk.org

**NOAH**
Friends of the Earth, Denmark
www.noah.dk/trafik
Odyssey
A non-profit organisation that promotes both policy reform and service improvements, builds coalitions, conducts trainings, outreach and education, organises communities to get more involved in transportation decisions, provides technical assistance to transit agencies and community groups.
www.odyssey.org

Pollution Probe
A Canadian environmental organization that defines environmental problems through research; promotes understanding through education; and presses for practical solutions through advocacy.
www.pollutionprobe.org

RAMBOLL NYVIG
Founded in 1962 in Copenhagen, Denmark. The company provides consulting services within transport and urban planning.
www.nyvig.dk

Rocket Riders
A non-profit citizens advocacy group dedicated to public transit issues in the Greater Toronto Area.
www.rocketriders.org

Sierra Club
The Sierra Club's has 700,000 members. They work together to protect our communities and the planet. The Club is America's oldest, largest and most influential grassroots environmental organization.
www.newcolumbia.sierraclub.org

Social Action and Leadership School for Activists
SALSA is an evening learning program providing classes in the Washington, D.C. area on scores of topics in nonprofit management, communications, fundraising, direct action, and career development.
www.hotsalsa.org

Straphangers Campaign
A project of the New York Public Interest Research Group. Has been a respected voice for the city's nearly 7 million daily subway and bus riders since 1979.
www.straphangers.org

Swedish Society for Nature Conservation
The biggest nature conservation and environmental organisation in Sweden with over 160,000 members and 274 local branches across the whole country.
www.snf.se/english.cfm

Swiss Transport and Environment Association
Founded 1979. 135,000 members. Organises campaigns which use direct democratic instruments such as referenda.
www.verkehrsclub.ch

Synergo
A landuse and transport planning consultancy in Switzerland.
www.synergo.ch

T&E
Europe's principal environmental organisation campaigning specifically on transport issues. Its members are drawn from NGOs in
nearly every European country.
www.t-e.nu

**Transportation Management Association of San Francisco**
Provide member services to 54 San Francisco properties. Help promote the use of alternative forms of commuting to that of the single occupant vehicle. Program services include public awareness campaigns, direct commute assistance & trip planning, events to explore environmental and social benefits of using public transportation, ridesharing, pedestrian or cycling alternatives. www.tmasf.org.

**Toronto Environmental Alliance**
Formed in 1988 in order to provide an activist voice to local Toronto issues. TEA’s mandate is to promote a greener Toronto. Works with concerned individuals, public health agencies, local governments and grassroots organizations in order to encourage the participation of Toronto citizens on local issues and to provide a forum for citizens to be heard on environmental issues. www.torontoenvironment.org

**Surface Transportation Policy Project**
A non-profit organization funded by individual donations and a range of national and regional foundations. Aims to ensure that transportation policy and investments help conserve energy, protect environmental and aesthetic quality, strengthen the economy, promote social equity, and make communities more livable. Emphasizes the needs of people, rather than vehicles, in assuring access to jobs, services, and recreational opportunities. www.transact.org

**Transport and Landuse Coalition**
A partnership of more than 90 organizations working to maintain the Bay Area’s renowned high quality of life, achieve greater social equity, and protect the natural environment. www.transcoalition.org

**Transport 2000 Canada**
A non-profit organization whose primary purpose is research, public education and consumer advocacy. It promotes environmentally-sound transportation solutions and gets actively involved in a wide range of issues such as: public transportation, safety, accessibility, energy efficiency, protection of the environment, intermodal cooperation and government regulation. www.transport2000.ca

**Transportation Equity Network**
A national coalition of grassroots organizing groups and allies working to advance equity in local, regional and national transportation policies and planning practices. TEN is staffed by the Center for Community Change. www.transportationequity.org

**Toronto Renewable Energy Collective**
TREC was founded by a neighbourhood community group - the North Toronto Green Community - in 1997 out of a concern that our leaders in business and government were not acting fast enough to address issues such as smog and climate change. TREC is a co-operative corporation that is responsible for the development of new renewable energy cooperatives and in spawning an emerging community-based green power movement in Ontario. TREC also provides renewable energy co-op management services, renewable energy advocacy and education, and will, on an ongoing or occasional basis, provide energy conservation products and services to its affiliated co-ops. www.windshare.ca
Appendix 3. Catalogue of advocacy initiatives

1. Principles

Advocates lunches
Friends of the Earth organised advocates lunches where people got together to listen to a speaker and ask questions. 50 people regularly turned up.

Bicycle User Group Network
Toronto City Council facilitates a Bicycle User Group Network. There are currently 40 groups in Toronto, and they are aiming to have 200.

Bike Ambassadors
Toronto City Council employs bike ambassadors.

Bike Week
Toronto City Council organises Bike Week. They have a great range of fun activities.

Community Image Survey
Centre for Liveable Communities survey lets people learn why they like particular things.

Conferences
Centre for Liveable Communities has teaching conferences for councillors on sustainable landuse and planning matters.

Dinners
Centre for Liveable Communities organises networking dinners for invited Councillors with a guest speaker. The aim is to provide networking and opportunities for discussion.

Go for Green
A Canadian non-government organisation began eleven years ago by Federal and provincial health departments of government, with senior government officials who sit on the board. Its aim is to promote a healthy lifestyle and put physical activity on the agenda.

Greencorps
An environmental leadership program started by Ralph Nader. There are up to a hundred applicants for each position. Recent graduates participate in an eighteen month training program on environmental advocacy.

Hotline for professionals
The Centre for Livable Communities has a hotline that provides planning advice. They get about 5-10 calls a week.

Interns
Many of the organisations have interns. Green Corps, Americorps, Pollution Probe have an internship that they share with industry and government. A recent graduate spends a third of a year with each organisation.

Learning circles
As well as classes, learning circles offer the opportunity to develop an on-going network of support and advice.

Public Interest Research Groups
An environmental leadership program for students started by Ralph Nader to encourage and facilitate student action. Funded from student fees.

Retreats
The Centre for social Justice in Toronto organises yearly retreats for activists to permit time for reflection and discussion.

Smart growth CD
Centre for Liveable Communities showcases sustainable landuse.

Study circles
Anngrathe Ottovar from Noah, the Danish Friends of the Earth, suggests that learning circles could be a good way of introducing new people to the issues.

Tour de Sprawl
Transport and Landuse Coalition organised a tour where they took people around to good and bad examples of landuse planning and
discussed what the issues were.

**Tours**
Centre for Livable Communities They take people on tours to show them what works.

**Videos**
US Emergency Services staff are often concerned about the ability of emergency services vehicles to travel through the narrow streets that are suggested by sustainable transport and planning advocates. Centre for Livable Communities has a video that shows emergency vehicles navigating easily through these kind of streets.

**2. Vision**

**A day in the life**
Moving the Economy wrote a story about a ‘day in the life’ of a sustainable city. The story follows a family as they telecommute, cycle to work, dial up home deliveries.

**Platform**
Transport and Landuse Coalition recognise that with such a broad coalition, members will have many diverse interests. By preparing a Platform that encompasses all the organisations’ demands members are then assured that their issues are being promoted in a general sense, whilst at the same time a few issues are being concentrated on right now due to timeliness of the issue. TALC also prepared a document ‘World Class Transit’ which laid out in some detail the

**3. Focus**

**Criteria**
Midwest Academy, Sierra Club and Swiss Transport and Environment Association all use criteria to select which issues can most productively be worked on.

**4. Analysis**

**Dictionaries**
1000 Friends of Florida have produced a dictionary of Florida Transportation Acronyms (Help for the Acronym Disadvantaged). www.1000friendsofflorida.org/PUBS/ACRONYMS/DEFAULT.asp

**Reports**

**Rocket Riders:** Steve Munro prepared an analysis of the decline in transit service over a period of years, route by route. Councillor analysed their own routes.

Green Scissors reports:
Friends of the Earth demonstrate how to fund sustainable programs by cutting unsustainable ones.

Environment report card
Everyone understands what a report card is. It simply and graphically summarises politicians policy positions and an advocacy organisations analysis of it. It can be used to reprimand the politician or department. Its different than just an attack. Larry Bohlen from Friends of the Earth tells the story of a report card his organisation issued. FOE found that those who got an A drew closer to the organisation. Some representatives printed off thousands of copies to distribute to their constituents. Those who did not do so well now paid more attention to FOE, returning phone calls whereas before they would be ignored and encouraging ‘my door is always open’.

**Decoders**
Surface Transportation Policy Project provides ‘Transportation Decoders’ that simply explain what transport issues mean.

**Conferences**
Pollution Probe use conferences very strategically to build support for an issue. 1. Multi-stakeholder. Politics is coalition building. Have to build support for politician. Day 1. bring together leading edge study. Minister to frame issue. State of the Art at the top of the House. Get everyone up to speed. Heavy hitters. Outcome – bring together 100-150 people. Want media. Want it to be a bit of a
buzz. Not just nice networking. Proceedings are as important. Hire writer, researcher to write the story. Becomes a platform that needs to be moved on.

Primer
Many organisations prepare primers that explain what an issue is all about.

Straphangers survey
Straphangers in New York organised 500 volunteers to undertake surveys of the transport system. They have surveyed: Payphone condition and subway car cleanliness and clearness of announcements.

5. Solutions

EPOMMMs directory of initiatives
The European Platform on Mobility Management prepare directories of transport initiatives that are being implemented.

6. Decision makers and public supporters

Awards
Toronto City Council runs annual Bicycle Friendly Business Awards.

Open board meetings
Toronto Transit Commission has board meetings that are open to the public. www.ttc.ca

Conversation Cafes
When you put strangers, caffeine and ideas in the same room, brilliant things can happen. For that very reason, the British Parliament banned coffeehouses in the 1700s as hotbeds of sedition. Might we brew up a similar social liveliness now? With democracy, critical thinking and "the ties that bind" all under siege, this may be the most radical cup of coffee you ever drink.

www.conversationcafe.ca

Doorknocking
Andrea Broaddus from the Surface Transportation Policy Project describes the annual program of Public Interest Research Groups, which run out of universities to facilitate student action on environmental matters. Every summer, thousands of students go doorknocking around the nation talking to residents about various environmental issues. Andrea says that it provides the students and the residents a 'unique wake up call'. The canvassing achieves political goals – it generates postcards and letters to congress people, and enables the organisation to then go to congresspeople saying 'we've spoken to 5000 of your constituents'. In 1977, Pollution Probe got 50,000 members through door to door canvassing.

Ice cream socials
Ice cream socials are events that use ice cream as a bribe to entice people to attend an event that introduces a new idea or initiative to people.

Lunches
Washington DC Environment Network has regular lunches with guest speakers for the general public.

Other people's meetings
Long time social change agent Donna Samoyloff Hale suggests a way to reach other people is to go to them, rather than expect them to come to you.

Speakers group
Speakers groups are a pool of trained volunteers who go around to community groups to explain issues to them.

Youth Summit
International Youth Summit on urban development. organised by the Canadian Urban Transit Association at the George Brown College. It was an incredibly powerful experience for CUTA, to experience the passion that people have for something important to them to go home and change policy. Had 300 applicants and 85 took part. Interaction with speakers and Councillors was great.
7. Organisational development

Grants
American Public Transit Agency gives grants of up to $5000 to local transport groups to support their advocacy work.

Management Advisory Service
The Management Advisory Service has been working out of the Toronto Volunteer Centre since 1993. It is a group of mostly retired professional people who understand non-government organisations and are willing to act as volunteer consultants to community organisations in Toronto. They do not charge for their services.

Organiser sabbaticals
The Bannerman Foundation offers grants for sabbaticals for organisers. alstonbannerman.org

PowerPoint presentations
Friends of the Earth have a print out of a PowerPoint presentation that outlines the achievements of the group – handy for showing to potential funders and volunteers.

Standards of Excellence
Maryland Council of Agencies has guidelines for good organisations.

8. Communications

Bus wraps
Toronto Transit Commission plan to wrap their buses with ads that show how much space a car takes up.

Models
Transport 2000 have models of a proposed light rail line. They took it to lots of meetings.

Lighthawk
A nonprofit environmental aviation organization with more than 100 current volunteer pilots who donate time, expertise, and the use of their aircraft. LightHawk facilitates more than 900 flights that carry more than 1800 passengers per year in nine countries in North and Central America.

The diverse types of missions our volunteers support include guided educational flights for passengers who may be local villagers, community leaders or members of Congress; media flights for reporters, photographers, and filmmakers working on environmental stories; technical flights to support scientists working on habitat and species surveys; and surveillance flights that help document environmental crimes and land use conditions. www.lighthawk.org

Parodies
Web sites, annual reports and other printed material can be parodied to highlight the logical inconsistency of some of industry’s claims.

Tickets to the zoo
To see the slowly moving animals. Switzerland.

VIP Program
The American Public Transit Association found that the concepts about transport that resonate with Americans are ‘Freedom, mobility and quality of life’. They use these concepts for their PT2 program, a national education and outreach program designed to build increased awareness, support and investment for public transportation throughout the nation.

Zines
Zines are simple photocopied, short publications, that are generally published in
the dozens and range over an incredible spectrum of design sense. Chris Cavanagh from the Catalyst Centre says that they are useful because they collapse the distance between the producer and the reader, they say ‘you can produce this too’.

9. Tactics

Bake sales
To publicise the massive financial deficits suffered by the transit in the Bay Area, transit workers in held a bake sale to help keep the buses, trains, and ferries moving. In bake sale terms, they said they would have to sell over 825 million baked goods to cover this year’s deficits alone—every Bay Area resident would have to buy, on average, 122 brownies or cookies each by the end of the year!

Website calls to action
Straphangers website contains calls to action. Tell the Governor or Mayor! One time they ‘melted down the Mayor’s phones’.

Lobby Days
Most people have these. You gather together all your members and take them up to your Government. Then you spend the whole day wandering round the Parliament. Wear colourful T-shirts to increase your visibility.

TransitWorks did this, they got their bus drivers and other staff up to Sacramento. It was the first time they had done it and they loved it.

CUTA also hold Federal lobby day. CEOs of transport providers and now also other members. Becoming an institution. One full day meeting with Ministers, chair of committees, reception on the hill 50-100. Breakfast meeting with the Minister. Break into small groups and go see local MPs. They prepare briefing sheets for Ministers.

Activists cook book
A manual showcasing some of the best media stunts, street theatre skits and creative direct actions from the labour and social justice movements.

Pokey Award
Straphangers award for the slowest bus.

Rankings
Nancy Jakowitsch from Surface Transportation Policy Project says that rankings are newsworthy – which State has healthier transport, with faster travel times and lower deaths and injuries.

Report cards
Straphangers did a ‘Shmutz Report’ on the state of cleanliness of New York trains. As a result, the Metropolitan Transit Association hired 200 more cleaners.

Survey politicians
Important to get the politicians on record as to their positions on issues.

Town meetings
American Public Transit Association encourages local groups to talk about the importance of transit at town meetings.

10. Evaluation and documentation
Stuart Cohen from the Transport and Landuse Coalition in the Bay Area California has written a chapter ‘Merging the equity and environmental agenda in the San Francisco Bay Area’ for an impending book entitled ‘Highway Robbery’.

www.talc.org
Appendix 4. Books

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