

ANATOMY *of a* VETO

Grassroots Organizing as a
Motive Force for Policy Change



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P R E P A R E D B Y

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D E D I C A T I O N

Anatomy of a Veto is dedicated to five people who played the behind the scenes,
hard traveling and hard-working organizer roles:

- **Melissa Case:** Director of Organizing for MEA-MFT
- **Molly Moody:** MOP Project Director
- **Sheena Rice:** MOP Eastern Montana Organizer
- **Amanda Harrow:** Montana Small Business Alliance
- **Michaelynn Hawk:** Indian Peoples Action Director

A P P R E C I A T I O N

"Founding and building Montana Organizing Project would not have been possible without the strategic thinking and intensive support provided by LeeAnn Hall and the staff of the Alliance for a Just Society. Montana Organizing Project is an affiliate of AJS, a national network of community organizing groups. <http://allianceforajustsociety.org/>"

The Center for Community Change made a substantial commitment to the start-up of MOP through financial support and a multi-year commitment of the field staff time of the author, Gary Sandusky.

Finally, telling and publishing this story would not have been possible without the inspiration and financial support of the Northwest Area Foundation.



CENTER *for*
COMMUNITY CHANGE

www.communitychange.org

The mission of the Center for Community Change is to build the power and capacity of low-income people, especially low-income people of color; to have a significant impact in improving their communities and the policies and institutions that affect their lives.



A Montana Brand of Veto

An Epilogue Comes First

On April 1, 2011, over 2,000 Montanans descended on Helena, the state capital, in a high energy protest. The "No Fooling with Our Future" demonstration opposed the enormous cuts to public services, infrastructure, education and health care programs that the Montana legislature had passed during its biennial legislative session. Only a governor's veto stood in the way of implementation of

over \$180 million in cuts. However, on the morning of April 1st, the governor's stance was not at all clear:



No one could remember a rally of this scale in the state of Montana and rarely had people witnessed the breadth of participation the rally produced. Organizers hoped to bring 1,000 people to Helena, but about double that number attended. Protesters came from far flung parts of the state (some traveling over six hours) to have their voices heard.

Arrivals carried signs like "Crow," indicating The Crow Nation, and "Browning," a town on the Blackfeet Nation. Signs from small and medium sized cities like Havre, Heart Butte and Hamilton underscored the sense that this was not a rally attended only by Helena or Missoula's progressive residents. The music, noise makers, sign-making stations, colorful banners, union members in hard hats, and families with children created a high energy, carnival-like event.

The range of speakers also addressed the breadth of participation, the diversity of interests and the sheer geographic coverage represented by the participants. The speakers included a small business owner, a student, a women's rights activist, a disability rights advocate, a Presbyterian minister, union members and a local Native American leader.

Only two years after its inception, the Montana Organizing Project (MOP) was a key sponsor of the event and produced a significant share of the rally's speakers. MOP mobilized about 20% of the 2,000 people in attendance, ensuring the presence of people who would be most directly impacted by the proposed cuts. This was an incredible victory for such a young organization – demonstrating the success that can be achieved when local groups work together across ideological and geographic divides.

The following story demonstrates how the Montana Organizing Project implemented its plan to create change on a statewide level during a very tumultuous time. However, this is not a story that is just about Montana. Across the country, state legislatures were enacting cuts to public education, social programs and public infrastructure. In Wisconsin and Ohio public workers were having their collective bargaining rights curtailed or removed.

The MOP story, building a diverse and inclusive base of stake-holders, demonstrated the ability of a broader social movement to generate large-scale protest and the ability to impact state-level policy. During Montana's 2011 legislative session, this new type of movement bucked the national trend by protecting the state budget from massive proposed cuts.



This could be the start of something big

The Theoretical Underpinnings

Grassroots community organizing must go beyond the traditional perception of a neighborhood force for change in order to have a larger impact. No matter how good they are, a single neighborhood organization can never speak with a powerful enough voice to shape and move a statewide policy initiative. Any hope of creating such an impact, especially in rural states, must include a plan to develop an interconnected and diverse support base that may be dispersed across vast distances.

Organizers must meet four key challenges if they want to ramp their work up in order to meet statewide organizing goals. Those challenges are:

1. Creating the infrastructure required to address the demands of working in a larger geographic area;
2. Developing a support base among an expanded and diverse constituency;
3. Crafting a compelling story which will speak to the concerns of each member of the diverse constituency base; and
4. Pacing the development of the campaign so that it peaks at the right moment.
Organizers who meet these challenges will be able to generate the power, constituency and momentum they need to shape state-level policy. When grassroots community organizing achieves these goals, the resulting initiatives have the look and feel of a broad social movement.

Given that similar challenges exist for any community organizing group which seeks to promote statewide policy, the 2011 Montana story could provide a model for those initiatives.





Challenge 1

Overcoming the Challenges of Montana's Geography

While it may seem obvious, the scale of Montana's geography was the most striking barrier to creating a unified voice for change.

According to the United States Census Bureau, in 2012 Montana had a statewide population of just over one million people - equivalent to the number of residents in the city of San Jose, California. While the entire population of San Jose is situated on 175 square miles, Montana's residents are distributed across a whopping 145,545 square miles. This means there are about 5,500 residents per square mile in San Jose, in contrast to 7 people per square mile in Montana. In fact, roughly 46% of Montana's population lives in rural counties, bucking the national trend toward urbanization. So when organizers of Montana's "No Fooling with Our Future" rally brought over 2,000 geographically-dispersed supporters to the state capital, they had to overcome a daunting logistical challenge.

In 2009, the Montana Organizing Project stood at a crossroads. Although organizers started at the local level in Billings, they quickly realized they would need to have a statewide presence. MOP then shifted its strategy to focus on people in major population centers, low income families, social service organizations, progressive small businesses, faith-based groups, labor unions, rural areas and Native American communities. Creating a multi-constituency organization meant a better chance to have a powerful impact on the economic and social justice issues that would form the core of their work.

MOP's first structural step – and a key to their success – was to host "listening sessions" as a way to draw people in to the organization. During the initial sessions over 200 Montanans spoke about the compelling economic and social concerns facing their families and communities. By June of 2010, the staff and leadership of MOP had held 14 listening sessions in communities including Missoula, Butte, Bozeman and Billings. Information from these sessions defined the broad set of issues on which MOP would concentrate.

By the fall of 2010, leading up to the 2011 legislative session, MOP joined with an even broader set of groups, which eventually became the Partnership for Montana's Future, including MOP, Montana Human Rights Network and Montana Women Vote. The organizations ran issue forums and events in several geographically diverse communities, focused on the upcoming budget and revenue struggles. These issue forums were held in Billings, Missoula, Bozeman, Butte and Helena. MOP Organizers also held forums in the Hi-line, a string of small cities located along Montana's Northern tier. In April 2011, this tactic bore fruit when rural residents committed to join the "No Fooling with Our Future" rally.

Based on the information they gathered during the first listening sessions and their participation in the Partnership for Montana's Future, MOP staff crafted their next steps.





Challenge 2 (part 1)

Expanding the base of support to include a broad and diverse constituency

Community organizing groups need to think beyond their local community and their current constituent boundaries in order impact statewide policy. In states with a large land mass and a smaller population, covering a vast geographic area and relentlessly recruiting new allies requires increased organizational capacity and an infrastructure that can respond to significant travel demands. Advocates and organizers must go beyond their natural networks of support in order to produce new and bigger impacts.

Montana's massive land mass is equal to Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland combined. In a state with barely one million residents, there are only three cities with a population of more than 50,000. Billings, the largest, has a population of 104,170; Great Falls has 58,505; and Missoula counts 66,789 inhabitants. Helena, the capital, has a mere 29,000 residents. In order to develop an effective campaign, MOP had to come up with a strategy that included both rural and urban areas.

a. The Challenge Presented by Montana's Demographics

According to the United States Census Bureau, Montana's demographics break down, in part, as follows :

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| Asian | 0.7% | Multi-Racial | 2.5% |
| Black/African American | 0.6% | Native American | 6.5% |
| Immigrants | 2.0% | Seniors (65 and over) | 15.7% |
| Latino | 3.1 % | White | 89.7% |
| Organized Labor | 15.7% | Youth (18 and younger) | 22.1% |

Native Americans comprise the largest community of color in Montana. While Census figures note the population at 6.5%, according to Native activists the percentage may more accurately be 9% of Montana's total population. Even though Montana's Latino community has increased by more than 13,000 residents since 2000, at only 3.1% of the population Latinos have low visibility throughout the state. Organized labor holds a very influential place in the state's history, but only includes 15.7% of the total work force.

This means that in Montana, no single constituency (other than those who broadly describe themselves as White) are able to gather enough support to influence statewide policy.





Challenge 2 (part 2)

b. MOP's Approach to Organizing Across the Demographic Spectrum

From the beginning, the founders of the Montana Organizing Project recognized that it would be almost impossible to achieve state level policy changes without bringing together a broad base of support. Their strategic vision was to create a multi-constituency organizing base held together inside one larger organizational framework.

By July of 2009, MOP had set up a statewide steering committee in Bozeman. Faith communities from Missoula, Billings, Bozeman and Helena were represented. Labor representatives came from the Central Labor Councils of Missoula and Billings, as well as Service Employees International Union and Unite HERE. The state's largest union, the MEA-MFT, also sat in. Several community and direct service organizations representing small business interests, Native Americans, economically struggling rural and farm workers, youth and children were also at the table.

From the beginning, MOP's founding members made a commitment to the development of two vital constituencies, the Montana Small Business Alliance and Indian Peoples Action (IPA). The loudest voices from the business community were the ones calling for tax cuts, the erosion of public services and reduced investment in public infrastructure. MOP recognized the clear need for a balanced viewpoint, one that could speak to the connection between the private and public sectors. Small businesses, in particular, benefited from a range of public infrastructure spending, including road maintenance, parking neighborhood beautification and municipal services like waste removal.

Indian Peoples Action had a long history in Montana of tackling racial and economic justice issues. Although inactive for a number of years, IPA was re-emerging and developing a track record among urban, grassroots Native Americans. Given that grassroots Native people were disproportionately impacted by cutbacks in education and other public services, capacity development for IPA was a critical step to enable them to reinvigorate their membership and inspire the significant participation by Native Americans.

MOP's thoughtful support of renewed leadership and action created a clear opening to invite additional members into the organization. As allies joined the momentum, participation in MOP increased significantly and new leadership voices emerged in the campaign. In the end, this decision proved to be critical as each community played a crucial role in the 2011 Montana budget campaign.





Challenge 3 (part 1)

Telling a Communal Tale

At any moment there are a range of initiatives in Montana, from children's issues to affordable housing, from gender equity to human rights. These single issue initiatives experience the same geographic and constituency challenges already detailed above. But single issue initiatives also experience additional limitations - not everyone is moved by a specific issue. Not everyone feels the same level of passion and willingness to act as a person who is committed to a specific concern like homelessness or gender equality.

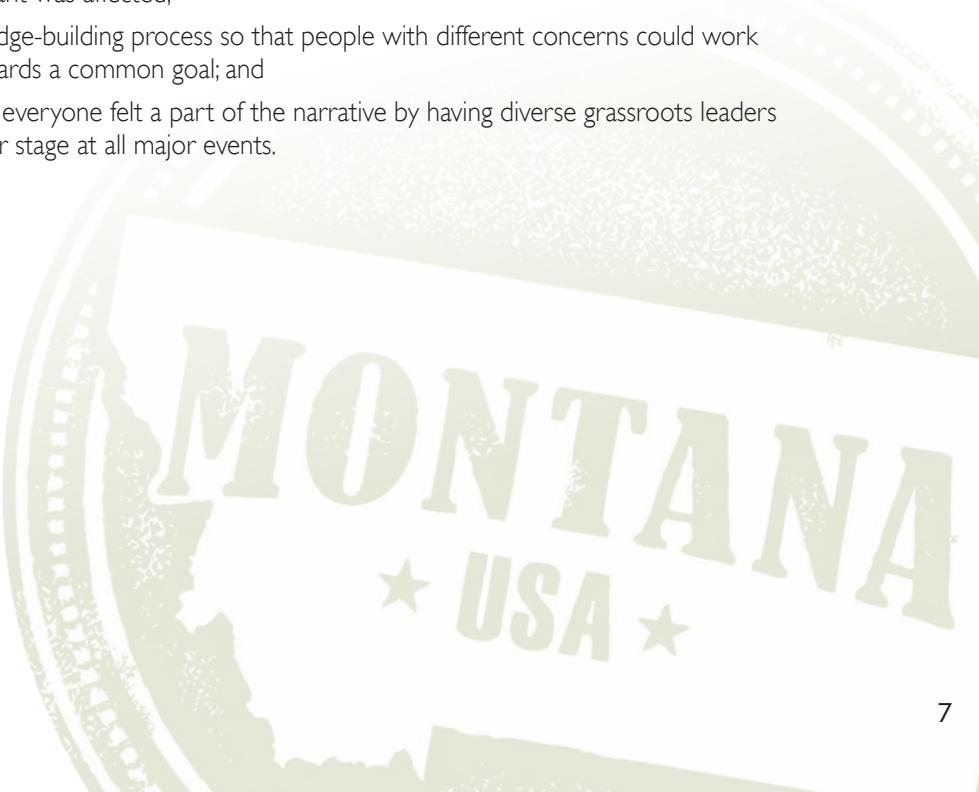
When people feel threatened, they often put their own needs first. And lawmakers are skilled in using communal fear as a way to divide allies. The organizers of the 2011 budget campaign realized that in order to be successful they needed to fuse the interests of diverse issue groups.

a. The Montana Solution: Building Bridges and Refusing to Crumble Under Pressure

The state budget and revenue issues at play in the 2011 Montana legislative session directly impacted virtually everyone who was involved. However, the strength of that impact was not the same for every group. A cutback proposed to the Medicaid enrollment process was for a program that specifically worked with Native Americans. A plan to reduce collective bargaining rights impacted unionized workers, but not at-will employees. There were also plans to close a state-run veterans' center and to eliminate the Montana's Child Health Insurance Program. Many more budget and revenue policy proposals would impact other groups. Clearly the volume of these threats could have fragmented the coalition as each constituency vied with others for the chance to preserve their piece of the budget.

Montana Organizing Project and the Partnership for Montana's Future resisted this possibility and created a common core of interest by:

- framing the budget and revenue issues in terms that were broad enough to show how each participant was affected;
- creating a bridge-building process so that people with different concerns could work together towards a common goal; and
- ensuring that everyone felt a part of the narrative by having diverse grassroots leaders occupy center stage at all major events.





Challenge 3 (part 2)

Training sessions called attention to the far-ranging consequences of the proposed cuts to education, veterans' services, and prescription assistance, among others. Having participants understand the effect of the cuts on the attendees sitting next to them helped change the tone and tenor of the dialogue. Solidarity became more attainable as participants understood the shared impact of the cuts.

MOP Listening Sessions encouraged individuals to capture the key events of their lives and the values they held dear. These personal history and values stories led to a deeper level of personal interaction between attendees. It also set the tone for the 'listening' portion of the meeting where participants were asked to identify the key social and economic concerns they felt most strongly about. The story-telling approach created a framework for understanding the participants' varied concerns, and established a set of expectations around the value of working together toward common purposes.

MOP collected these stories which detailed how ordinary Montanans would be affected by the proposed budget cuts. These accounts were published in a story-book format, which included policy recommendations at the end. MOP widely distributed this book to legislators, MOP members and allies and the Montana Governor's office.

The storybook became an aid for MOP members to speak to their legislators when MOP brought community leaders from across the state into Helena on February 21, 2011. These leaders lived in communities as far flung as Ashton, Havre, Billings, and Missoula. They represented labor, Native Americans, small business, the faith community and direct service providers. After a brief refresher course on the issues, teams of people sought out their legislators to speak about their most heartfelt budget issue. By seeking out their legislators as a team, participants were able to directly convey the support they had – not only for their own concerns – but for those of their allies as well. Legislators found it a difficult challenge to divide and conquer when leaders crossing issue areas and geography showed them a unified front.

Many organizations had a role in opposing the 2011 budget cuts, but the overarching strategy was to encourage the participants to see themselves as part of a larger movement – one that placed the concept of community at its core – and had the power and courage to advocate for all those who would be impacted.





Challenge 4 (part 1)

Keeping the momentum going and getting the timing right

Maintaining the pace and momentum of any campaign is a challenge. Whether it is a local drive or a statewide effort, the goal is always to ensure that the energy and action of the participants peak in concert with key decision-making moments. In rural states like Montana, which hold their legislative sessions during the tough winter months, there is only a small window of opportunity to build momentum. When that window opens for a legislative session only once every two years, the timing is even more critical.

Organizers in Montana have to plan well in advance to move people across huge distances. When activists in Baker, on the eastern edge of Montana, want to be heard in Helena, the state capital, they must travel 461 miles, roughly equivalent to the distance between Virginia and Connecticut. Because there is very limited bus and train service in Montana, a significant amount of networking needs to occur just to ensure the participants arrive. Doing so in the winter adds another level of complexity. This logistical and constituency challenge of working statewide in Montana has a profound impact on the pace, momentum and timing of any statewide public policy campaign.

a. Timing is not everything, it's the only thing

The Montana Organizing Project started strategizing about the 2011 legislative session in the summer of 2009. The organization had to make sure all the elements came together in one ninety-day period.

The solutions to this challenge included many strategies, but two stood out:

1. Scheduling events to build upon the increase in participation, and
2. Spreading the work load across many organizations.

The frequency of events and the pace of growth were very demanding for the organizers and strategists producing them. All of the major actions were directly tied to the legislative calendar, in order for participants to generate the largest possible impact. From the beginning of the 2011 Montana legislative session up until the last event, the size of the public demonstrations grew. The geographic and ideological basis of the participants expanded from January, when about 190 people rallied at the Capitol, until April, when the numbers exceeded 2000 people.

For several months, MOP had planned to hold a training session in the capital on February 21st. The goal was to educate members on the scope of the issues at stake and provide them with experience speaking to legislators and the Governor's office about their concerns. A significant number of MOP's community leaders chose to drive up to 8 hours in the snow to attend this event. Many of these leaders had never visited the capitol or spoken with their elected representatives.

Montana's teachers union had also planned a rally for the 21st. When they heard that MOP would be holding an event on the same day, the union invited MOP to join them in front of the capitol to jointly protest the proposed budget cuts. MOP brought about 140 of the several hundred participants attending the "Rally to Protect Public Services and Education." This impromptu collaboration bolstered the momentum of the campaign.

The next phase of collaborations led directly to the April 1st success story. The Partnership for Montana's Future coordinated regular event planning sessions that included representatives from the Montana Organizing Project. On the day of rally, the teacher's union arranged for buses to pick up attendees in several key MOP organized communities and MOP hosted people who traveled up to 14 hours in order to attend a two-hour event. In the end, MOP turned out nearly a quarter of the Helena rally-goers, including virtually all of the faith-based leadership, the majority of Native Americans, the small business contingent, elements of blue-collar labor, and the bulk of attendees from rural communities.





Saving the best for last

a. The story begins with an Onslaught of Punitive Legislative Proposals

During 2011, the Montana state legislature forayed into new policy arenas, including nullification of federal health care reform and the endangered species act; privatization of state owned Veterans' homes; the addition of the Cowboy Code to the state constitution; the overturn of DUI laws and new legislation that allowed spear hunting. Shortly after the Wisconsin State legislature severely limited the collective bargaining rights of public sector workers, the Montana legislature considered a similar act with corresponding budget cuts intended to erode public sector jobs.

The legislative session was also a bruising experience for those concerned with social justice issues. The Montana Human Rights Network identified 38 bills that contained negative consequences for their members and NARAL Pro-Choice Montana saw the largest number of bills threatening reproductive rights since they had begun legislative tracking.

The visibility of these policy threats, in conjunction with the proposed budget cuts, had pushed the public's approval rating of the Montana legislature to approximately 38%. These high profile policy proposals galvanized Montanans by how personal and imminent the threats felt. As a result, there was an understanding at the leadership and strategic level of the need to stand up to the legislature's attempts to slash the state's budget and revenues. rural communities.





Saving the best for last

b. United Montana Stood

With the range of competing needs and interests, it would not have been surprising for one sector or another to have attempted to take control of the podium on April 1st. But organizers were determined to keep the rally's central theme focused on a common message – the damage that state budget cuts would inflict on Montana's public services and infrastructure, and how those cuts would hurt ordinary Montanans.

On April 1st, 2,000 Montanans showed up to speak their minds and stand together in opposition to the legislature's actions. A rally of this scale, that drew participants from around the state and across ideological divides, was almost unheard of in Montana. Joe Sands, a Billings firefighter and lobbyist for the Montana State Council of Professional Firefighters, highlighted the unified spirit of the attendees when he noted that "...Montanans [were] standing together; public and private sector, union and nonunion, women, Native Americans, Human Rights Advocates, clergy and small businessmen."

Perhaps most telling was the turnout of people that legislators were not used to seeing during the chilly winter session in Helena. Traditionally, legislators heard advocates from Helena or Missoula speak about cuts to social programs and state budget issues. They were unprepared to see the residents of Heart Butte and Havre (from the Northern tier of the state), Miles City and Crow Agency on the Crow reservation, or people from the reservation border town of Hardin venture into Helena for a legislative session. It was also uncommon for them to hear small business people speak about public investments and a faith-based community member challenge the views of their more religiously conservative counterparts.

The rally attendees and speakers turned out by the Montana Organizing Project stood alongside public workers, service sector advocates, small business people, the women's community, union members and the human rights activists. Their presence served to reshape the impact of the April 1st rally.

As Aimee McQuilkan, an MOP member and small business owner, stated from the podium, "These public services and infrastructure make it possible for businesses across the state to succeed and create jobs. We're part of a whole, the private and public sectors – neither can function without the other."

Pastor Dan Krebil, a founding MOP board member, noted, "The first step in reversing the irresponsible cuts is for legislators to talk to the people who use and provide these services every day. As people on the frontlines, we have the best perspective on how well they work, and what they mean to our communities and families."

And Connie Brox, a nursing home worker and MOP member, spoke for many attendees when she said, "I know just how critical these state-funded services are. When my kids were growing up, we depended on several programs to help make ends meet, even while I was working several jobs."



Saving the best for last

c. No Fooling with Our Future!

On April 1st, the critical moment came when Governor Schweitzer arrived. He had not publicly committed to attending the rally and there had been questions about his willingness to show up, but behind the scenes conversations between the Governor's office and the state's largest labor group – MEA-MFT – indicated that the governor was seriously considering using his veto power.

Part Montana rancher, part politician, and part entertainer, the Governor had heard from constituents across the state about their opposition to the current crop of legislative proposals. In a televised address in March 2011 he stated, "Some of these legislators, they draft bills just to get an effect from the people." He later went on to state, "And unfortunately, it kind of makes some of them look bat-crap crazy."

Governor Schweitzer arrived in dramatic style, wielding his branding irons. The atmosphere in the crowd turned electric as the reality sank in that the \$180 million in budget cuts passed by the legislature were about to be vetoed by the governor. In vivid detail the governor described how he would use branding irons emblazoned with the word "VETO" on different categories of bills.

By early May, the dust had settled on the procedural back and forth between the legislature and the governor. When the final budget was signed, more than three-quarters of the legislature's cuts and all of the threatened federal funds were restored. In particular, the Department of Health and Human Services saw \$123 million restored to its budget. This meant that funding was preserved for the Healthy Montana Kids program, personal care services for people with disabilities and the Big Sky RX program providing prescription assistance to low income seniors. Even though public education and employee pay plans were impacted, the scale of the restored cuts was viewed by all as a victory.

This diverse assembly of faith-based, labor, small business, rural, Native American, women's and human rights groups effectively mobilized public opinion leading up to and during the legislative session. And as a result, the Governor vetoed the vast majority of cuts the legislature delivered to his desk. As Tara Veazey, Director of the Montana Budget and Policy Center, said, by standing together across issue and geographic divides, Montanans got "about the best budget we could have hoped for."





Application beyond Montana

Today, meeting the four challenges remains a staple of the Montana Organizing Project's approach to thinking strategically about how to drive progressive public policy in Montana. However, A Montana Brand of Veto is more than the mere re-telling of a budget battle that happened in a small-population state in the West. The challenges of working across a large geographic area, bringing together multiple constituencies, building a unifying story, and keeping up the campaign's momentum are not unique to Montana. The organizing principles MOP employed can be applied to any statewide policy campaign.

The MOP approach stands in contrast to the format that most issue and advocacy campaign manuals promote. In those methods grassroots organizing is handled well after the issues are clearly defined, the communications plans laid out, etc. The approach detailed in A Montana Brand of Veto is almost exactly in reverse. MOP paid great attention to strategic questions about which constituency groups needed to be engaged in statewide policy, why they would bring added power to the campaign, and then how to effectively recruit and bring that constituency in to the wider public policy struggle. The MOP experience indicates that starting with a clear vision of the grassroots, constituency base needs can be the most important first step an organization can take if it is seeking to have a bigger impact on policy.





End notes:

ⁱ Mike Dennison, "Montana Legislature's Focus Turns to State Budget", The Missoulian, February 26, 2011, http://missoulian.com/news/state-and-regional/montana-legislature-s-focus-turns-to-state-budget/article_259cfaf8-4217-11e0-974c-001cc4c03286.html

ⁱⁱ Melissa Case (Director of Organizing, MEA-MFT) and Eric Feaver (President, MEA-MFT) in a conversation with the author, Feb 21, 2011.

ⁱⁱⁱ Melissa Case (Director of Organizing, MEA-MFT) in a conversation with the author on or about April 15, 2011.

^{iv} Wikipedia, "List of Towns and Cities: Montana" (last accessed 2/8/2013), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cities_and_towns_in_Montana

^v University of Montana Rural Institute: Center for Excellence in Disability Education, Research and Service, "Montana Urban Areas Clusters/Rural Areas", map with analysis, http://ruralinstitute.umt.edu/Maps_Urban.asp.

^{vi} Wikipedia, "List of US States and Territories by Population", (on line content last accessed 2/8/2013), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_U.S._states_and_territories_by_population

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^x John Schmitt and Marie-Eve Augier, "Size and Characteristics of States' Union Workforces", Center for Economic and Policy Research, May 2012, <http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/unions-states-2012-05.pdf>.

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^{xiii} Marnee Banks, "Hundreds Gather in Helena to Protest Budget Cuts", KPAX.com, Feb 21, 2011, <http://www.kpax.com/news/hundreds-gather-in-helena-to-protest-budget-cuts/>

^{xiv} Tim Leeds, "Pride, Human Rights Network Recap Legislative Session", Havre Daily News, July 8, 2011, <http://www.havredailynews.com/news/story-253380.html>.

^{xv} Montana NARAL, "Legislative Report", (content last accessed January 2012)

^{xvi} Charles S. Johnson, "Gazette Poll: 2011 Legislature Earning Failing Grades", Billings Gazette, March 22, 2011, http://billingsgazette.com/news/state-and-regional/montana/gazette-poll-legislature-earning-failing-grade/article_111218ec-3631-54e3-8a78-9addcae093e7.html.

^{xvii} Joe Sands (Billings, MT firefighter) in speech outside the Montana State Capitol Building on April 1, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqHj0FMUCLs>

^{xviii} Aimee McQuilkin, (Owner, Betty's Divine, Missoula, MT) speaking notes, April 1, 2011, <http://mainstreetalliance.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Aimée-statement-April-1.pdf>.

^{xix} Dan Krebil (Pastor, Bozeman First Presbyterian Church), speaking notes, April 1, 2011.

^{xx} Montana Organizing Project & Alliance for a Just Society, "Protecting Montana's Future: Montanans Talk about Public Investments", (on-line publication, Alliance for a Just Society, February 2011), http://allianceforajstsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/2011-0221_Protecting-Montanas-Future.pdf.

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^{xxii} MEA-MFT, "State Budget: Where it Stands", (on-line update, May 2, 2011), http://www.meamft.org/Articles/state_budget_where_it_stands.aspx

^{xxiii} Tara Veazy (Executive Director, Montana Budget and Policy Center) while serving on a panel with the author, Northwest Area Foundation Board of Director's meeting, Whitefish, MT, May 20, 2012.