



THE GLOVER PARK GROUP

MEMORANDUM

To: Scott Faber, Grocery Manufacturers Association
From: Glover Park Group
Date: March 6, 2008
Re: Food and Fuel Campaign RFP

Thank you for the opportunity to present this proposal for services.

The unintended consequences of America's current corn-based ethanol policy are crying out for increased focus and attention. Already, independent-minded grassroots organizations, news media leaders and policy makers are recognizing the looming threat to the food security of Americans and vulnerable populations worldwide.

In this environment, a federal agency-level or legislative solution to the economically, environmentally and socially untenable ethanol policies now in place is feasible. A range of options exist to help alleviate the problem. Examples include an EPA waiver, legislation eliminating or updating of the biofuels mandate, ending the ethanol import tariff and possibly shifting revenue from the blender tax credit to hunger abatement programs. At the same time, state governments looking to take action on climate change in the absence of clear federal leadership (or under the sway of corn ethanol interests) may soon establish undesirable policies, while other states may be reachable on reforming existing policies.

We therefore have a window – albeit brief – to intervene and change funding priorities before the impacts become too great. Our opportunity and task is to galvanize grassroots, media and policy voices into a unified campaign that will impact decision makers at the state and federal level and deliver constructive shifts in policy.

The Glover Park Group is an agency that was designed to help build and manage these kinds of high-intensity campaigns. We have deep experience bringing together diverse groups to organize around issues of common interest; effectively coordinating efforts among those groups; and then translating that organizational energy into effective communications blitzes that force policy makers to respond.

In this proposal, we address the following points:

- **Strategic overview:** While the goals and messages of this campaign are generally clear, there are important decisions that have to be made about strategy, particularly how best to leverage the available resources of this campaign to achieve the desired outcomes. We offer here some initial thinking on this, with the caveat that final decisions will require more in-depth conversation.
- **Campaign infrastructure:** The success of this campaign requires a smart strategy and well-executed tactics – but nothing is going to move unless we have a

campaign organization that is nimble and based on a cohesive and smoothly-functioning coalition. We present here our thinking on how to build this kind of structure based on our experience creating and managing similar efforts.

- **Communications tactics:** Without getting into excruciating detail, we offer here a broad overview of the tactics we recommend executing in order to maximize the impact of our coalition and deliver against our strategic objectives.
- **Work plan:** Again, without going into unnecessary fine points, we offer a general outline of the step-by-step process that we would recommend following in order to get this campaign off the ground as quickly as possible.
- **Budget:** Finally, we present our best estimates about the costs that will be associated with the successful execution of this campaign.

Strategic Overview

In the looming battle over ethanol policy, there are a number of core advantages on the side of those who recognize the harm our current policy is creating:

- The facts are behind us. While political debates are never won or lost solely on the merits, it is helpful to have the facts on your side. And in this case, the overwhelming weight of evidence suggests that corn-based ethanol is bad food policy, bad economic policy, bad energy policy and bad environmental policy. Existing and new research and data on the issue will offer a substantial intellectual resource on which to draw.
- Elite media opinion is starting to get behind us. While the editorial boards of the nation's leading outlets were a bit slow to recognize the urgency of this issue, the tide is clearly shifting. The Washington Post, Wall Street Journal and New York Times have now all come out against our current corn-based ethanol policy. This does not yet indicate a sea-change in public opinion, but does suggest a fertile media environment among the nation's leading publications.
- The national zeitgeist is behind us. Americans are open to the argument that government policy is aiding special interests at the expense of the national interest. They are feeling the pain of an economy in recession, coupled with inflation. And they are demanding action on a wide range of issues at precisely the time that politicians are most attentive to their constituents' concerns.

Taken together, these dynamics offer a unique window of opportunity in the next six months.

Objectives:

During this time, we need to accomplish two fundamental goals:

1. First, we must obliterate whatever intellectual justification might still exist for corn-based ethanol among policy elites. Pivoting off of the recent environmental studies and increasing evidence of rising food prices, we need to make the substantive case about the urgent need to rethink existing ethanol mandates.

2. Second, we must demonstrate to policy makers at the state and federal level that there is a political price to allowing ethanol policy to drive up the cost of food. Working with a broad coalition of partners with access to large and diverse memberships, we need to spark real demonstrations of popular discontent with increasing food prices.

It is worth noting at the outset that the recommendation to take this fight beyond the confines of the Beltway and policy elites is relatively rare. Many issues that consume the policy world are too esoteric and complex to be relevant to average voters. That does not hold true here. Average voters understand perfectly well what increased food prices mean and with the right messaging are fully capable of drawing the connection to corn-based ethanol.

Not only is such broad outreach feasible, it is necessary. Congress and state lawmakers must be made to feel the political risk on this issue. We need to get the phones ringing from real voters; making this solely a DC-based campaign won't do it. Trying to create an "astroturf" (fake grassroots) campaign won't do it, either. We need a real inside/outside game. We are confident this can be accomplished.

Messaging Imperatives:

In order to meet that goal, the strategic messaging for this campaign must deliver against three central imperatives:

1. **Causality.** We must clearly show the direct and irrefutable link between corn-based ethanol policy and the variety of harms caused by that policy, above all food price inflation.
2. **Urgency.** We must make plain that this is not a problem that is going to slowly develop over time. Rather, we must emphasize that this is a "Now" issue that is fast reaching crisis proportions for American consumers.
3. **Remedy.** We must give people a clear and actionable path forward, showing that by taking the highly plausible step of freezing federal mandates and eschewing any new attempts to impose fresh mandates at the federal or state level, food inflation can be tamed.

Using these messaging imperatives as our guidepost, in the sections that follow we lay out our initial thinking on how to use the resources available to us in this campaign – particularly the members of the coalition – to drive reach the appropriate audiences and achieve our goals.

Building the Campaign Infrastructure

Before getting into detailed communications tactics, it is important to start by emphasizing the need to build a robust campaign organizational infrastructure that supports and effectively utilizes the coalition partners.

Our strategy depends on sparking a high-volume, intense political battle. We need to expect a sharp response from the opposition. In order to win that exchange, we have to

be first to the punch every time. That means building an organization that is essentially designed to function with the same efficiency and clarity of purpose as a traditional political campaign.

While the coalition itself will take some time to assemble, GPG will work as quickly as possible to get the campaign moving and finalize those key elements that can be addressed even before a final group of coalition partners are assembled. In other words, we are planning to get moving on Day One (see Work Plan, below).

Toward that end, GPG will assist with:

- Identifying and recruiting coalition members. We will work with GMA to create a master list of likely partners. Where we have existing relationships, we will reach out to those organizations and help bring them into the fold.
- Identify and recruit third party validators. Trusted voices – whether from coalition members, the business community, elected officials or elsewhere – will prove crucial to ensuring that the coalition’s messages are taken seriously. Using our extensive network of contacts in politics, advocacy and business, GPG will work to recruit the most effective third party validators to support the coalition and participate in its activities.
- Establishing a coalition “brand”. In order to establish a public voice to give expression to the shared beliefs of our coalition partners, we recommend establishing an informal coalition brand. This would include a coalition name, logo and potentially a tagline or slogan.
- Developing and distributing communications materials: In order to promote a clear and consistent message from all coalition partners, as well as to empower members with less communications experience, we will develop, disseminate and regularly refresh a range of press-focused materials, including but not limited to:
 - Fact sheets and one-page leave-behinds for public distribution
 - Talking points
 - Q&A sheets
 - Relevant third-party studies
 - GPG is available to assist with the development and editing of third-party research and will work to leverage its release with earned media, relevant thought leaders and online audiences, as well as supporting GMA’s Government Relations team in efforts to generate interest on the Hill and in the Administration.
- Establishing a web presence: Creating a coalition website will serve to anchor the campaign. It will be the go-to source for media covering the issue and a distribution tool for getting our message out to coalition members and supporters across the nation. Most importantly, it will be a primary destination for our various audiences – the place to which we can drive elites, voters and engaged online audiences like bloggers and e-activists to learn more about the issue and engage in basic activities such as sending an email to a target legislator. We have extensive experience coordinating with talented partner firms to build coalition sites that combine both persuasion and advocacy functionality.

- Establish regular channels for communication: In order to create real cohesion and buy-in among coalition partners, we will establish a regular system of group communication. This may include weekly or even daily conference calls, depending on the need. We will also coordinate individual coalition member communication activities to the degree possible to ensure our message is consistent and our implementation is choreographed.
- Create a rapid response protocol: We will put in place a virtual War Room that allows all relevant stakeholders to communicate and respond to developing situations quickly. This will include distribution of contact lists to allow coalition members to quickly reach us, as needed. The rapid response team must be empowered to speak on behalf of the coalition and to make necessary decisions on tactics.

The Inside Game: Targeting Policy Elites

Political calculations are always central to policy decisions. But ideas still do matter. So long as state and federal decision makers and their staffs can comfort themselves with the thought that current ethanol policy makes sense on the merits, it will be difficult to get them to take up the fight. We need to demolish the rationale for the current policy.

Messaging:

From a messaging perspective, this means focusing on all facets of the case against corn-based ethanol:

- **Bad energy policy.** Every reasonable study has demonstrated that corn-based ethanol will not substantially reduce our dependence on foreign sources of oil or make us in any way more energy secure.
- **Bad environmental policy.** As the most authoritative recent studies have shown, ethanol actually puts more carbon in the atmosphere, not less – while at the same time destroying precious eco-systems and consuming vast amounts of clean water.
- **Bad economic policy.** At a time of economic slowdown and rising inflation, ethanol policy is a cost burden on both the consumers and the government. This “ethanol tax” poses risks to the broader economy, especially as consumer spending falls and the Fed is forced to raise interest rates.
- **Bad foreign policy.** Spiking food prices in the US reduce our ability to feed vulnerable populations worldwide. This creates both a humanitarian challenge as well as the geo-political risk of instability.
- **Above all, bad food policy.** Corn-based ethanol is directly responsible for major increases in the costs of not just corn products, but virtually all major food staples.

Communications Tactics:

In order to deliver these detailed and, to some degree, nuanced messages to our target audience of policy elites, we need to combine direct outreach, earned media and paid media.

- Direct Outreach: As we understand from the RFP, lobbying is outside the scope of work. However, we strongly recommend that all legislative outreach efforts be tightly coordinated with the full campaign effort. This will be critical to ensure a clear, unified message, as well as to ensure that at all times the realities of the legislative process are informing tactical campaign decisions.
- Earned Media: As noted above, the elite media have already begun to shift their thinking on this issue. The campaign needs to consolidate that achievement and translate it into a steady drumbeat of news that points out the intellectual hollowness of our current ethanol policy and sounds the alarm on the dangers, particularly rising food prices. Toward that end, we will:
 - *Generate national and policy-focused coverage.* This can include a Hill press event launching the coalition and calling on Congress and the Administration to fight the ethanol tax; holding panels and brown bag lunches with key reporters to unveil new research; putting out regular statements and pitching coalition spokespersons around policy developments; and leveraging GMA and coalition participation in third party events (e.g. domestic and international issue conferences).
 - *Build relationships with key editorial boards.* While they do not always generate immediate news, ed board visits can help to frame the issue and drive a publication's future coverage. GPG will work to set up ed board visits at the major daily publications, provide counsel on the best set of coalition participants for each, and provide background materials, talking points and media training as needed.
 - *Stake out a clear opinion position.* Both to support our earned media efforts (e.g. launch of the coalition) and as a rapid response tool, GPG will draft and place op-eds and letters to the editor in major daily and relevant trade publications.
- Paid Media: Ultimately, decisions about paid media will have to be made based on the available resources. There are a lot of options worth exploring. That said, there are some important strategic considerations that will drive our approach to paid media:
 - *The creative has to be high-impact.* On a limited budget, we cannot afford to put all our chips behind one ad that blends into the "white noise" of DC advocacy ads. This issue lends itself to striking statements – our ads need to make one.
 - *The media placement has to be creative.* 60-second radio ads on WTOP and 30-second TV spots on DC cable are solid media plays, but hardly revolutionary. We will look to get a bit outside-the-box to find new ways to reach our targets. Ads including billboards at key DC metro stops, National Airport and on city transit can be a cost-effective way to reach huge numbers of people. Aggressive web advertising strategies can similarly attract a lot of attention for relatively little money, with the added bonus of directly linking to the website.

- *Print media is most effective for long-format.* Standard issue-ads in print publications are rarely cost-effective. There are too many of them to easily break through in the average issue of Roll Call, Politico or The Hill. But longer-format pieces – advertorials in outlets like the New York Times, Wall Street Journal and Washington Post actually do get read. Microsoft, Merrill Lynch, Exxon and others have made extremely good uses of these spaces to deliver extended messages. As the purpose of this part of the campaign is to attack the intellectual underpinnings of the ethanol case, paying for the space to make a substantive argument could be worthwhile.
- **Research:** In most large-scale campaigns of this nature, we would recommend conducting a thorough round of qualitative and quantitative research with all relevant audiences to ensure that our message is pitch-perfect.

In this case, two factors impact our thinking. First, the pressure of time makes it difficult to justify the weeks it would take to execute a best practices research protocol. Second, the messaging on this issue is fairly clear – we more or less understand the arguments we have to make rather than choosing from a variety of potential arguments.

That being said, we strongly recommend doing creative testing for any and all potential paid media. This recommendation is simply based on our experience that advertising needs to go through the acid bath of research in order to ensure that we are not only delivering the right message, but doing so in a manner that is clear, understandable and memorable. Thus, for all paid media discussed below, we will recommend conducting some basic focus group research, which can be executed either in person or online, depending on the circumstance, to make sure that we are on-target with our creative.

The Outside Game: Galvanizing Key Constituencies

Winning the substantive debate over the merits of current ethanol policy is only half the equation. If we want to see elected officials act on this issue, we have to demonstrate its political salience to a wide range of constituents: namely, the folks back home.

While we do not have polling data to support us, we strongly suspect that this issue can resonate powerfully with a broad range of audiences. Fundamentally, the key to this campaign will be identifying ways to reach and activate broad swaths of the public on a relatively limited budget and drawing the clear causal link between high food prices and our nation's embrace of corn ethanol.

In order to do so, we need to make our efforts high-impact. Specifically, we need a message that is simple, sharp and attention grabbing. And then we need communications tactics that are going to grab attention.

Messaging:

Our message for policy elites must be nuanced and detailed. For the broader public, we must be concise and sharp. We simply won't have the audience's attention long enough to discuss every reason why current ethanol policy is bad. Rather, our mission must be

to boil down the debate to its essentials. That means delivering a single message that clearly conveys the ideas that:

Support for corn-based ethanol is **driving up food prices and creating a crisis that threatens the kitchen tables and pocketbooks of millions of Americans and the welfare of vulnerable populations worldwide.**

Targeting:

While we strongly recommend an outside-in strategy for this campaign, a comprehensive nationwide effort is neither possible nor advisable. Instead, we will work closely with your Government Relations team to identify and prioritize a list of federal lawmakers who we believe will be the most important targets for our state-level activity. These targets can include Committee and Subcommittee chairs and members with relevant oversight over EPA, potential swing votes as legislative activity advances and House and Senate leadership.

At the same time, GPG will coordinate with GMA's Government Relations team to identify and target state legislatures and governors who may be considering new support for corn ethanol, or whose existing policies may be vulnerable (or particularly harmful and therefore crucial to our efforts).

In both cases – whether we are targeting state or federal decision makers – the emphasis will be on creating a decisive sense of urgency and a wave of public action calling for an immediate change in policy.

Communications tactics:

As with the “inside”-focused effort, GPG will work with the coalition to deploy a range of communications tactics that hit key state audiences and motivate action.

- Direct outreach through coalition members: Due to the realities of a finite budget, this broader grassroots strategy will be driven in large part by the strength and reach of coalition members. Some of this will likely fall under the purview of your grassroots firm, but we envision playing an active role in integrating the efforts into the broader communications strategy as part of our role in managing the coalition.

GPG recommends harnessing the coalition's strengths in several ways to reach state-level audiences directly:

- *Activating coalition groups memberships.* One of the greatest strengths of a vibrant and wide-reaching coalition is a strong network of members and supporters, and GPG recommends engaging coalition organizations to activate their existing networks of members and supporters. This outreach will have to be phased – to first educate their members and then activate them to engage on this issue.

These engagements can take the form of direct communications to federal and state lawmakers, local grassroots activity such as recruiting friends and family to sign pledges or letters, and indirect outreach to media in the form of surrogate earned media operations. They can also engage in public visibility activities such as petition drives at local supermarkets.

- *Coalition leadership and third party validator outreach to electeds.* Using third party supporters as a means of influencing targeted electeds and influentials will be a key task for the campaign. GPG will work closely with GMA and coalition members to utilize third party supporters' networks as effectively as possible. Depending on their size and influence, coalition members can also be tasked to reach out directly to state and local elected officials. GPG and the GMA Government Relations team would coordinate to determine the best coalition voices for this type of outreach.
- **Earned media:** State and regional earned media efforts will largely parallel our efforts with national elite media. As with the campaign's direct outreach in the states, most of these efforts will be undertaken by coalition organizations. Even with a limited list of partners, we believe these efforts can produce robust local media coverage. We will work with the coalition members to ensure that targeted elected officials are aware of the increased coverage on the issue in their districts and states.

Our initial step will be to develop a menu of communications resources for surrogates and coalition organizations. This will include, but not be limited to:

- *State-specific, branded template collateral materials* including fact sheets, talking points, press releases and draft op-eds;
- *Local media lists* where necessary to support state-level activity;
- Ideas for *substantive research to drive state-specific news* including studies on the cost to state and local governments of increased food prices, the average increase in staple food products for average families and the relative impact on family budgets;
- Ideas and template materials for *news-driving and public visibility events*. For example:
 - A costumed "mascot" and accompanying grassroots staff to draw attention and distribute advocacy materials at local supermarkets;
 - Distributing coupons or store credits outside a supermarket to offset the "ethanol tax" on staple goods. Even done in a highly limited way, this could generate significant local news coverage; and
 - Delivery of bags of groceries to key legislators filled with staple products, each with stickers noting the increases in price due to the ethanol tax.
- *A roadmap for editorial board meetings* and reporter backgrounding, with preparatory materials and training for state-based spokespersons.
- **Paid/Viral media:** Reaching a broad audience through paid media may be largely cost-prohibitive, and we obviously will not have the funds to do a full-blown national ad campaign. That being said, there are a few options worth exploring and a few that would almost certainly be worth executing:

- *Targeted local media:* Local radio, spot-market television buys and local newspapers are all powerful tools for reaching into the heart of the population and delivering a message. Each placement on these outlets tends to be affordable (assuming the spot-market isn't Manhattan). However, the cumulative effect of trying to target numerous markets nationwide can make this kind of effort very costly. We will work with you to determine just how many markets need to be targeted and based on that analysis determine whether locally-focused paid media makes sense.
- *National Cable:* Placing a meaningful buy on national cable is not cheap. But if we have to hit a large number of target markets, it is vastly more affordable than trying to do spot-buying. And while CNN, MSNBC and/or FOX News are traditionally viewed as "Opinion Elite" outlets, that is not the case during the election. The viewership numbers they are posting for election coverage are remarkable. While the prices are going up, this has emerged as real value-buy. Our recommendation would be to choose just one of these networks (most likely CNN) and do the largest buy we can. If sufficient resources are available, we can get all sorts of bonuses such as sponsorship mentions that amplify the frequency of our message as well.
- *National Print:* There may be unique circumstances where a national print buy may be a smart play. If, for example, we were to do any sort of major public event or campaign launch, a national print buy in outlets like USA Today and the major news weekly magazines can serve as highly effective national billboards.
- *Viral Video:* Everyone promises viral and few deliver. We won't bother to promise. Having a campaign ad go truly viral is very hard and fairly rare. But GMA has a powerful story to tell. And GPG has experience making the kinds of high-impact ads that can create real buzz online and have a life beyond the ad buy. Our goal will be to produce an ad that stirs some real attention, with the media and blogosphere serving to propel our hits.

Work Plan

If we have the opportunity to work on this project, our goal will be to hit the ground running. The window of opportunity is there and we want to move quickly.

GPG will follow a methodical process for getting ourselves up to speed and then beginning to execute on the three pillars of work: Coalition Building, Communicating to Policy Elites and Communicating to the Grassroots.

- **Step One: Getting up to speed.**

Upon commencement of the work, we will look to organize a half-day or full-day session that brings together all the relevant parties: GMA, any grassroots or other consultants, lobbyists and our full team. The purpose of this meeting will be to allow for a "brain-dump" on the issues and to discuss campaign strategy. Moreover, this meeting will serve to establish face-to-face relationships among campaign team members.

- **Step Two: Coalition outreach**
As noted above, a major factor in the success of this effort will depend on building a robust coalition. We will work immediately to assist GMA in its outreach to potential partners and will conduct our own outreach to individuals and groups with whom we have relationships. We will immediately coordinate on regular calls to create a clear sense that this coalition will be an active and closely coordinated entity.
- **Step Three: Message documentation**
Typically, this phase of work is titled “Message Development” and it’s the phase during which we do in-depth research. As discussed above, we don’t see this as necessary in this case. Rather, we will work with you to take the messages we know will underpin this effort and literally commit them to paper so all engaged parties can agree on the high-level elements and the necessary details. We want to have a single set of templates that can inform all subsequent communications.
- **Step Four: Initial materials development**
Based on the messaging, we will move quickly to develop a first generation of basic materials for the coalition. This will include things like talking points, Q&A sheets, fact sheets, etc. This is also the phase during which we will develop the campaign website.
- **Step Five: Targeting**
Working with you and the legislative team, we will work to define our outside-the-Beltway targets and begin working with the grassroots firm and coalition partners to start recruiting effective third party supporters and developing a strategy to begin working those districts.
- **Step Six: Battle plan**
With all these pieces in place, we will be able to develop a detailed plan for going out and driving the message. If paid media is part of the program, this is the phase during which we would develop and test the ads. This is also the time during which we will develop the precise earned media and other tactics to implement the full range of ideas listed above.

These steps, all of which are necessary to put ourselves in position to take this campaign live, can be executed fairly quickly. As you can imagine, much of this work can take place on parallel tracks, rather than sequentially.

Our goal will be to complete this ramp up work in no more than 4 – 5 weeks so that we are ready to start our communications blitz by late-Spring or early-Summer.

Budget:

To execute the campaign management and tactical plan laid out above, GPG recommends a six month, \$50,000/month retainer that would cover:

- **Message development**
 - Core messaging
 - Tailored messaging for individual audiences and messengers
 - “Branding” the campaign
- **Coalition building**
 - New member recruitment counsel

- Outreach to organizations we have relationships with
- Development of collateral materials
- Day-to-day campaign management
 - Support integration of various campaign elements (communications, GR, grassroots)
 - Coordination of partner communications activities and messaging
 - Create rapid response and systematized internal communications structures
- Two-pronged earned media campaign
 - Coordination with GMA's Government Relations and grassroots teams
 - Press outreach (op-eds, ed boards, LTEs, etc.)
 - Development and distribution of press releases
 - Management of press events
 - Regular monitoring of coverage

Additional activities with budgets TBD pending timing and scope include:

- Research
- Paid media

About The Glover Park Group

Our firm and our staff have been in the middle of the toughest public policy fights in Washington and around the country over the last decade. We bring a proven ability to develop messages and execute strategies that not only shape the public debate, but also produce results for our clients.

GPG is also deeply immersed in the most salient environmental debates occurring in Washington and around the nation. Our strategists work closely with clients from The World Wildlife Fund and Environmental Defense to the Alliance for Climate Protection and the International Conservation Partners. Top to bottom, we know the environmental policy space.

With nearly 100 employees and offices in Washington, New York and Los Angeles, the Glover Park Group offers a full range of communication services, including:

MEDIA RELATIONS/PUBLIC AFFAIRS

From the White House podium to the halls of Congress to the busiest newsrooms in the nation,

GPG knows the media. The firm specializes in message development and strategic placement of client stories in print and on radio, television, and the Web. GPG works with clients to achieve the perfect sound bite, a clean press hit, and high marks from target audiences with the following services:

- Media Training
- Speech Writing
- Drafting and Placing Op-Eds
- Briefing Editorial Boards
- Event planning
- Pitching and placing stories
- Crafting strategic messaging

Partners in Charge

- ***Joe Lockhart***
- ***Michael Feldman***

ADVOCACY AND IMAGE ADVERTISING

Drawing on experience that runs from Madison Avenue to Pennsylvania Avenue, GPG offers a unique combination of left- and right-brained approaches with originality that cuts through a cluttered media environment to achieve the following:

- Advancing causes
- Motivating voters
- Repositioning companies
- Reenergizing industries
- Enhancing reputations
- Moving consumers

Partners in Charge

- ***Carter Eskew***
- ***Mike Donilon***

LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

At the White House, in Congress, and in the private sector GPG staff have built careers tackling complex policy initiatives, delicate political negotiations, and intricate communications campaigns, providing clients with a first-rate mix of veteran communicators, tested policy makers, and savvy legislative strategists. Our team provides the following services to a range of corporate, nonprofit, trade association, and government clients:

- Legislative Strategy
- Coalition Management
- Corporate Positioning
- Member Education
- Issue Advocacy

Partners in Charge

- **Joel Johnson**
- **Susan Brophy**

RESEARCH

GPG believes that successful communications strategies are predicated on identifying and leveraging target insights among key constituencies, and the firm's research department offers a full range of research services, including:

- National, regional, and local polling
- Web-based online surveys
- Focus groups
- Highly targeted, in-depth interviews with key decision makers
- Dial/keypad testing and mall intercepts

Partner in Charge

- **Amy Phee**

Case Studies

National Air Traffic Controllers Association

Integrated campaign harnessing local activity to drive national policy

Challenge

During two years of rule by an Administration and Congress hostile to unions, NATCA was faced with fights over privatization of the nation's air traffic control system and the roll-back of contract provisions negotiated during the Clinton Administration.

Solution

GPG helped NATCA design two national public education and lobbying campaigns – "I FLY SAFE" and "Fair FAA" – which involved media relations, advertising, and lobbying both nationally and in more than 50 markets across the country. For both campaigns, GPG played the role of lead strategist and media relations coordinator, conducting training and outreach with local representatives of the union across the country.

A key component of both campaigns was outreach to local TV and radio outlets in targeted Congressional districts. GPG took advantage of the typically slow month of August while Congress sits in recess and executed dozens of press conferences during each campaign, focusing on privatization and the contract issue through the lenses of safety, staffing and efficiency across the air traffic system.

GPG developed television, radio, print, and online advertisements for both campaigns, placing them in both national and local outlets to drive the campaign message. GPG also undertook creative advertising efforts, including a national aerial advertising campaign at 10 trafficked beaches over Memorial Day, and helped develop dedicated campaign website, including the unique www.avoiddelays.com, which allowed travelers to track delay numbers across the air traffic system using interactive tools.

Results

The “I FLY SAFE” campaign led the U.S. House to take the highly unusual move of sending back a conference report – and making the White House promise that it would issue a one-year moratorium on privatization. The effort also won the best Public Affairs campaign “Pollie” from the American Association of Political Consultants, as well as two additional Pollies and two Telly Awards for outstanding advocacy commercials.

The “Fair FAA” campaign created over 40 million impressions through local and national earned media. Although the campaign ultimately fell short by a handful of votes in the U.S. House, NATCA was well-positioned when a Democratic Congress took office in 2006.

Bring Back the Gulf Coalition

Managing a complex coalition’s earned media campaign

Challenge

A coalition of the country’s leading property and casualty insurance companies was faced with broad reputational issues in the wake of Hurricane Katrina and a need to help residents in hurricane-prone states improve their readiness in the face of future storms.

Solution

GPG was engaged to work with this complex group of competing companies and the four major industry trade groups – all with varying interests and priorities – to conduct research, develop messages and media outreach efforts, as well as implement crisis communications strategies.

To help facilitate this complex coalition, GPG organized twice-weekly intelligence sharing and strategy development calls among members, monitored the landscape, and recommended steps to strengthen the industry’s efforts through earned media. GPG developed the Hurricane Readiness Index, the launch of which included representatives of each company as media spokespeople, a satellite television and radio tour, a national news conference with a former National Hurricane Center director, and tailored outreach strategies in 17 media markets.

Results

Industry competitors and trade groups coalesced around the core communications strategy, while maintaining individual control over company-specific issues. GPG created a highly coordinated rapid response procedure for both national and local

media, and developed an effective all-industry media coordination infrastructure for long-term use in this and other policy areas. The Hurricane Readiness Index received extensive pick-up by print, radio and television outlets in markets along the coast and nationwide.

DIRECTV

Driving Federal agency action with a short-term campaign

Challenge

Comcast and Time Warner acquired Adelphia Cable and could have used their expanded market power to lock up exclusive access to “must-have” content, including local sports. Such exclusives would harm consumers and make it more difficult for DIRECTV to compete.

Solution

GPG helped build a coalition of satellite companies, regional cable providers, technology companies and consumer groups in support of American’s “Right to Root.” The coalition called on the Justice Department to put conditions on the acquisition and ensure that cable cannot use its market power to deny consumers the right to subscribe to the video provider of their choice without losing access to local sports coverage.

Over a three-month, high intensity campaign the coalition placed dozens of stories in both the trade press and in broad-reach media highlighting the danger of cable’s monopoly power. On daily conference calls, GPG coordinated the outreach to lawmakers, leading to dozens of letters from Congress and the Senate to the Justice Department. The Senate drafted legislation prohibiting the kinds of exclusive deals the cable companies sought to create.

Results

Under an avalanche of public and political pressure, the Justice Department imposed conditions on the Adelphia acquisition, prohibiting Comcast and Time Warner from creating new exclusive deals on regional sports content.

The National Security and Climate Change Project

Redefining a key environmental issue for skeptical policy makers

Challenge

Despite growing support for the idea that global warming could pose a major environmental disaster, many key policy makers started 2007 viewing efforts to curb greenhouse gases as anti-business, anti-growth and anti-American.

The challenge was to give moderate and conservative thought leaders and the public a reason to change their stance on global warming. The strategy was to highlight connections to core concerns of the right – the impact on the U.S. military, on our national security and on the continuing war on terrorism. To be successful in this pursuit, a message normally targeted to a narrow national security audience had to be adapted for broader consumption.

Solution

GPG was tasked to assemble a team of bipartisan communications and government relations advisors to assure we reached elite and grassroots audiences on both sides of

the aisle. The firm helped the CNA Corporation draft, edit and design a report and helped keep the message focused on the campaign's core audiences.

We created a plan to announce the report's findings to the policy community, the general public and Washington elites via national, regional and international earned media, as well as online. GPG also developed and implemented a strategy to engage wavering members of Congress to support climate legislation through Congressional visits by the admirals and generals on the project's Military Advisory Board. This effort also included outreach to the Bush Administration, the Pentagon, environmental groups, and the major Presidential campaigns.

Results

The initial launch reached a large audience via NPR and Washington Post pieces on the morning of the report's release, as well as stories on broadcast networks, at the top of Google and Yahoo's search engines, and in regional, defense and environmental trade press. GPG found new angles to tell the story so that stories, editorials, op-eds and blogs continued to appear in national and regional print and broadcast and online months later.

Legislation to require one of the report's recommendations was introduced in committee and passed on the House floor in just one month. Key Senators who had been quiet on global warming publicly endorsed the report and supported global warming legislation. Even now, the NSCCP or "climate generals" are referred to as groundbreaking leaders on bridging the political gap over an issue traditionally overlooked by one side of the political spectrum.

The GPG Team

JOE LOCKHART

Joe Lockhart is a Founding Partner with The Glover Park Group who specializes in media relations and political strategy. Lockhart leads the Public Affairs/Corporate Communication division and advises a wide range of clients from Fortune 50 companies to Labor unions and non-profit organizations.

He has served as Chief Spokesman for President Clinton and the Clinton Administration from 1998-2000, where he conducted daily press conferences for White House journalists, briefed the President and senior members of his Administration on all press matters. He also coordinated the creation and dissemination of message for all departments within the administration.

From 1991 to 1995 he was Executive Vice-President at Bozell Sawyer Miller. In that capacity he advised a range of high-profile corporate and institutional clients, including Microsoft, Coca-Cola and the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities.

Lockhart is also a veteran of political campaigns. Before joining the White House in 1997, he was National Press Secretary for the Clinton/Gore '96 re-election campaign. He was the Deputy Press Secretary for the Dukakis/Bentsen '88 presidential campaign, traveling with the nominee. In 1984, he was Assistant Press Secretary for the Mondale/Ferraro campaign and during the 1980 Carter/Mondale campaign he was a Regional Press Coordinator.

An award-winning journalist, Lockhart has held key positions at SKY Television News of London, Cable News Network (CNN), and ABC Network News. At SKY Television News, Lockhart served as foreign producer for Europe's first 24-hour television direct broadcast news service and contributing reporter/producer to the International Business Report. As Deputy Assignment Manager for CNN, he tracked Washington-oriented news stories involving the White House, Congress, and Federal agencies. Lockhart was also an Assignment Editor for ABC Network News.

CARTER ESKEW

Carter Eskew is a Founding Partner who has over 20 years of experience in the most high profile corporate and political campaigns.

At The Glover Park Group, Eskew has formulated message strategy and advertising for a range of corporate and non-profit clients, including Verizon, The Alliance for Climate Protection, Pfizer, The Center for Audit Quality, DeBeers and United States Telecom Association.

Prior to GPG, he was Chief Strategist for the Gore 2000 presidential campaign, leading the message and creative team that helped Vice President Gore win every primary and caucus, secure the nomination, then make up a 20 point deficit in the polls to a victory in the popular vote.

In 1995, Eskew became a Partner in BSMG Worldwide, the nation's sixth largest public relations firm. He was President of the firm's Washington office and CEO of Bozell-Eskew, an advocacy-advertising group. He built that unit into the industry's leader,

handling image campaigns for such clients as Microsoft, Empire Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Prudential, the pharmaceutical industry, the life insurance industry and the cable television industry. These campaigns were groundbreaking efforts to convey these companies' and industries' values to opinion-leaders throughout the country.

Before concentrating on corporate communications and advertising, he was a leading Democratic political media adviser. With the firms of Squier-Eskew and Grunwald-Eskew-Donilon, Eskew crafted strategy and advertising for a host of Democratic Senators, including Joe Lieberman, Chris Dodd, Tom Harkin, Frank Lautenberg, Dale Bumpers and David Pryor.

Eskew graduated from Yale University and received an M.A. from Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism

JULIE ANBENDER

Julie Anbender is a Senior Vice President with The Glover Park Group, with more than 20 years of experience in building communications and media strategies around critical public policy issues.

At Glover Park, Anbender has managed and provided strategic counsel for many of the firm's environmental and coalition clients, including the Bring Back the Gulf Coalition, the National Security and Climate Change Project and a range of public-facing media efforts for the World Wildlife Fund.

Before joining The Glover Park Group, Anbender was Chief of Staff to PBS President Pat Mitchell. Prior to her work at PBS, Anbender served for six years as a Director in Burson-Marsteller's public affairs practice where she led the firm's work for PBS and played a key role with a variety of industry associations involved in federal and state regulatory efforts. This included the Cruise Industry Association, which was under attack and was building visibility for its responsible waste management practices.

During the Clinton Administration, Anbender worked as Deputy Director of Public Affairs at the US Department of Justice, managing communications efforts around major legislative initiatives and cases. Anbender also served as Counselor to the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and as Director of Public Affairs at the agency. Before joining the Department of Justice, she was Press Secretary to Florida Governor Lawton Chiles.

ARIK BEN-ZVI

A Senior Vice President at GPG, Arik Ben-Zvi is a communications strategist with extensive experience developing and managing integrated campaigns, including national corporate and industry reputation efforts, targeted legislative and regulatory advocacy initiatives and national election campaigns. Ben-Zvi is an experienced speech writer, having written major addresses for heads of state, CEOs and leaders of some of the world's largest NGOs.

Ben-Zvi has played a leading role in the implementation of major multi-year campaigns for clients across a variety of industries including financial services, telecommunications, pharmaceuticals and media. These campaigns have integrated researched-based messaging strategy with a wide spectrum of communications vehicles, such as advertising, media relations, grassroots mobilization and lobbying.

In addition to his work with corporate clients, Ben-Zvi has served as a senior advisor to election campaigns both in the United States and abroad. Most recently, Ben-Zvi has provided communications counsel on national and local elections in Israel, Bulgaria and the British Virgin Islands.

Prior to joining The Glover Park Group, Ben-Zvi worked on Vice President Al Gore's 2000 presidential campaign, working as Site Lead on the advance staff, designing and overseeing campaign events throughout the country. Prior to that, he worked as a Lead Site Advance for President Clinton, coordinating presidential events both domestically and abroad.

Ben-Zvi served in the Israeli Defense Forces and received his degree in History and Political Science from Tel Aviv University, graduating with honors.

JASON MINER

Jason Miner, a Vice President at GPG, offers more than a decade of experience in providing strategic communications counsel, message development and crisis management for corporations, political campaigns and non-profit organizations. At the Glover Park Group, Miner has helped develop communications strategies and supporting media tactics for *Fortune* 100 companies, as well as leading trade associations, industry groups and non-profits involved in legislative, regulatory, reputation and litigation related challenges.

Miner currently provides communications strategy and integrated campaign management for a number of clients. For example, he provides broad communications support for a leading financial services and insurance industry leader's public affairs activities. For "COMPETE," a coalition of more than 200 electricity stakeholders including generators, distributors and customers, Miner manages the public communications effort including media support, opinion research and a paid advertising campaign. He has extensive experience with energy and environmental issues as well as experience in the manufacturing and property / casualty insurance sectors.

Prior to joining Glover Park, Miner was the Research Director for the Democratic National Committee from 2001 to 2004. As Director, he oversaw the national opposition research effort for the Democratic Party. Miner was also a senior member of the Kerry/Edwards Rapid Response War Room. He helped create and run on-site response during the Republican and Democratic Conventions and the presidential and vice presidential debates. He was also responsible for creating and implementing media communications strategy for moving message and research materials, including targeting, timing, and delivery of hundreds of stories to television, print and radio reporters.

During the 2000 Presidential campaign, Miner served at the DNC, directing opposition research and coordinating the rapid response operation at the 2000 Republican Convention. Prior to joining the DNC, Miner worked on a number of statewide campaigns. Miner attended Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, NY.

RYAN CUNNINGHAM

Ryan Cunningham is a Director in the Public Affairs practice at The Glover Park Group.

Cunningham's client portfolio includes the bulk of the firm's rapidly expanding environmental practice. His current and past client work includes strategic communications counsel and execution for Environmental Defense's Climate and Oceans programs, the World Wildlife Fund, Verizon, the Alliance for Climate Protection, the International Conservation Partners and COMPETE.

Cunningham has developed and managed integrated communications strategies for association, non-profit and corporate clients. For the National Security and Climate Change Project he helped create and execute media outreach, messaging and campaign management. He plays a role in the day-to-day communications support for a range of corporate and coalition clients from the insurance industry to agriculture to international finance.

Prior to his work at The Glover Park Group, Cunningham was in the Public Affairs practice at Burson-Marsteller. At Burson, he developed corporate social responsibility reports, built third-party coalitions and conducted media outreach for a range of corporate and public affairs clients including USAID's Global Development Alliance, the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, VF Corporation and pharmaceutical giant AstraZeneca. In 2004, he served as Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Kerry-Edwards Transition Planning Team, a group of media, legal, campaign and political experts convened in advance of the 2004 presidential election.

Cunningham is a Member of the Board of Directors of Arlingtonians for a Clean Environment. He earned a BA in Government from the University of Texas at Austin and a Masters in Public Policy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

MEG LITTLE

Meg Little is a Senior Associate at the Glover Park Group, specializing in advocacy, political communications and media relations initiatives for non-profits, corporations, and coalitions.

Prior to joining the Glover Park Group, she was marketing and communications associate at Environmental Defense Fund, where she worked with other leading non-profits and corporations to find solutions to major environmental challenges including conservation, farm policy reform, and endangered species protection.

Meg has substantial experience in grassroots advocacy, media relations and political strategy through her work at EDF and prior to that at M+R Strategic Services and the Senate Democratic Communications Center. Her career began at Vermont Public Radio where she produced live public affairs programming and arts features.

Meg holds a Master's degree in Media and Public Affairs from the George Washington University.