ADVOCACY TOOLKIT:
Lobbying and Political Action

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The National Trust for Historic Preservation and Main Street America advocate for effective policies for historic preservation and community revitalization through training, technical assistance, and promotion of effective advocacy tools. The Advocacy Toolkit, including this chapter, was initially published through the generous support of the Jessie Ball duPont Fund. To connect with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, visit savingplaces.org or email forum@savingplaces.org. To connect with Main Street America, visit mainstreet.org or email mainstreet@savingplaces.org
Introduction

Elected officials have a responsibility to represent their constituents in federal, state, and/or local government. The constituents who elected them also have a responsibility to ensure they provide their elected officials with the most up-to-date information so their officials craft responsible, forward-thinking legislative policies.

As a historic preservation and community revitalization advocate, you are the voice of historic preservation, planning and economic growth to elected officials, and lobbying is your means for reaching them. Lobbying is a critical component of effective advocacy. It helps to educate legislators about your community’s concerns and encourages them to promote the protection of historic properties and reinvestment in Main Streets.

Contrary to what many people believe, tax-exempt organizations under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code can lobby without losing their tax-exempt status. Such organizations must abide by certain restrictions established by federal tax laws. (Note that there may be additional state restrictions on tax-exempt organizations.) While 501(c)(3) organizations may lobby within the limitations noted below, they are strictly prohibited from engaging in “political activity” (that is, activity to influence the election campaign of a candidate for public office). The lobbying limitations and political activity prohibition applies at the federal, state, and local levels.
Lobbying Limitations

In general, 501(c)(3) organizations are limited in lobbying by the requirement that “no substantial part of the activities be used for carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.” Because this vague rule was difficult to interpret and apply, Congress modified the tax code in 1976 to permit certain 501(c)(3) organizations to “elect” to lobby under prescribed limits, providing a “safe harbor” for the lobbying activities of 501(c)(3) organizations. “Safe harbor” means that a 501(c)(3) organization can participate in lobbying activities without losing its tax exempt status, but must adhere to specific limitations which are discussed below. An organization that chooses not to elect to follow the safe harbor limits of the tax code can still lobby, but only if lobbying does not constitute a substantial part of the activities of the organization. There is no definition for “substantial,” thus the organization should be cautious if it decides not to elect the safe harbor option.

If an organization elects to participate in lobbying activities under the safe harbor provisions of the tax code, it must file Form 5768 with the Internal Revenue Service. The organization is then subject to specific expenditure limits for lobbying activities rather than the more vague “no substantial part” rule. The expenditure limits under the election rules are graduated beginning at 20 percent of the first $500,000 of the organization’s annual expenditures for “exempt purposes,” plus 15 percent of the second $500,000 of “exempt purposes,” plus 10 percent of the third $500,000, plus 5 percent of any additional expenditures, subject to a maximum of $1,000,000 for total lobbying expenditures in any one year. “Exempt purpose expenditures” include the total of an organization’s annual amount paid or incurred to accomplish its stated mission, such as administrative expenses, but excludes amounts paid or incurred to or for an organization’s separate fundraising unit. Expenditure limits differ depending on whether the lobbying activity is direct or indirect (“grassroots”). (See What Activities Constitute Lobbying?) Organizations that exceed these expenditure limits will be subject to a 25 percent excise tax based on the lobbying expenditures for the year in question.

A 501(c)(3) organization that elects to participate in lobbying activities must include the following types of expenditures as contributing to the calculated limit:

- Compensation of employees engaged in lobbying, based on the percentage of time devoted to lobbying.
- Costs associated with communication intended to influence legislation—
printing, postage, telephone calls, etc. This must also include the staff and facility costs to prepare lobbying communications and materials.

- Overhead expenses proportionate to the percentage of an employee’s time spent lobbying.
- Payment to another organization to do lobbying on its behalf.

In addition to federal regulations, regulations on lobbying activities to state elected officials vary from state to state. Some states look at the number of hours spent and some states look at the amount of money spent so if you are lobbying in your state capitol, be sure to check those rules as well.

**What Activities Constitute Lobbying?**

It is important to understand which actions constitute “lobbying.” Lobbying activities are those that seek to influence specific legislation. Any action by Congress, state legislature, local council, or similar governing body, or by the public in a referendum, initiative, constitutional amendment, or similar procedure is considered “legislation.” An “action” by Congress refers to the introduction, amendment, enactment, defeat, or repeal of acts, bills, resolutions, or similar items. Influencing legislation is deemed to be “(a) any attempt ... to affect the opinions of the general public or any segment thereof, and (b) any attempt ... to communicate with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of the legislation.” 26 U.S.C. § 4911(c)(d)(1)(A)-(B).

The Internal Revenue Code recognizes two forms of lobbying: direct lobbying and indirect

**Examples of Activities**

**LOBBYSING:**
- Encouraging your organization’s members to contact the member’s legislators regarding pending legislation.
- Advocating that a city council with the authority to adopt comprehensive zoning ordinances repeal a zoning variance.
- Encouraging the general public to contact elected officials regarding the support of or opposition to pending legislation (grassroots).

**NOT LOBBYING:**
- Communications with your members with respect to legislation of direct interest to the organization that does not directly encourage members to communicate with a legislative body regarding specific legislation or attempt to influence the general public.
- Advocating that a historic preservation review board deny a demolition permit.
- Mass media communication opposing specific legislation, as long as it does not encourage the general public to take action on the legislation.
- Providing technical advice or assistance to a governmental body or a committee or other subdivision thereof in response to a written request.
- Making results of nonpartisan analysis, study, or research available.
- Appearance before, or communications to, any governmental body with respect to a possible decision of such body that might affect the existence of the organization, its powers and duties, tax-exempt status, or the deduction of contributions to the organization.
lobbying (“grassroots” lobbying). Direct lobbying includes contacting members and employees of legislative bodies, such as members of Congress, senators, state legislators, city council members, their staffs, or others who formulate legislation. To constitute direct lobbying, the organization’s communication must refer to specific legislation and express an opinion about the legislation.

Grassroots lobbying, by comparison, is an attempt to influence the general public on specific legislative matters. Communication with the general public constitutes grassroots lobbying if it references specific legislation, reflects a view of the legislation, and encourages the general public to take action regarding the legislation. Within the limits on lobbying expenditures, a separate limitation is placed on “grassroots” lobbying. Only 25 percent of the permitted lobbying expenditures may be made on “grassroots” lobbying.

A 501(c)(3) organization’s public policy activities are not always considered lobbying. For example, an organization may provide nonpartisan analysis, study, or research regarding legislation as long as it is intended to be educational; it is available to the public, governmental bodies, officials, and employees; and it does not attempt to influence legislation or advocate the adoption or rejection of legislation. An organization may also advocate for actions by executive, judicial, or administrative bodies that do not fall within the definition of legislation, and, thus, are not considered lobbying. Of course, it depends on what the organization is asking of an executive or administrative body. For example, if a 501(c)(3) organization is asking an executive or administrative body to support or oppose legislation, then the activity constitutes lobbying.

Is Participation in “Political Activity” Prohibited?

It is critical for nonprofit organizations to understand the distinction between “lobbying” and “political activity.” While 501(c)(3) organizations may lobby within the limitations noted above, they are prohibited from engaging in political activity and may lose their tax-exempt status if they do so. Political activity is defined as participating in or intervening in any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office. This is true at the federal, state, and local levels.

A 501(c)(3) organization may participate in certain activities as long as the participation is nonpartisan and could not be perceived as intervening in support of or in opposition to a candidate. Whether an organization’s activity constitutes participation or intervening in any political campaign supporting or opposing a
candidate is dependent on the facts and circumstances of the activity. A 501(c)(3) organization can have some involvement in political activities under specific circumstances and with strict limitations. A 501(c)(3) organization cannot work directly for or advertise support of the election of a single political candidate, but such an organization can provide candidates and/or elected officials with information about its position on policy issues and urge candidates and/or elected official to support or oppose certain issues. The executive director of a 501(c)(3) organization cannot make partisan comments in official organization publications or at the organization’s functions but can make partisan comments at a non-organizational function as long as he or she is not speaking as a representative of the organization. (See IRS, Rev. Ruling 2007-41 at www.irs.gov/pub/irs-drop/rr-07-41.pdf [June 1, 2007] for additional information on what does and does not constitute political activities.)

**Distinction Between a 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) Organization**

501(c)(3) organizations are “[c]orporations, and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary or educational purposes, ... or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals.” 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3). 501(c)(4) organizations are “[c]ivic leagues or organizations not organized for profit but operated exclusively for the promotion of social welfare, or local associations of employees, the membership of

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**Lobbying Nontaxable Amounts**

The lobbying nontaxable amount for any organization for any taxable year is the lesser of (a) $1,000,000; or (b) the amount determined under the following table from 26 U.S.C. § 4911(c)(2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the exempt purpose expenditures are:</th>
<th>The lobbying non-taxable amount is:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not over $500,000</td>
<td>20 percent of the exempt purpose expenditures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $500,000 but not over $1,000,000</td>
<td>$100,000 plus 15 percent of the excess of the exempt purpose expenditures over $500,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $1,000,000 but not over $1,500,000</td>
<td>$175,000 plus 10 percent of the excess of the exempt purpose expenditures over $1,000,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $1,500,000</td>
<td>$225,000 plus 5 percent of the excess of the exempt purpose expenditures over $1,500,000.</td>
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Grassroots (indirect) lobbying nontaxable amount for any organization for any taxable year is 25 percent of the lobbying nontaxable amount established by the above chart.
which is limited to the employees of a
designated person or persons in a particular
municipality, and the net earnings of which
are devoted exclusively to charitable,
educational, or recreational purposes.” 26

501(c)(4) organizations, unlike 501(c)(3)
organizations, may lobby without limits and
may participate in political activities, but will
be taxed on expenditures for political
activities. One practical distinction is that
donations to 501(c)(4) organizations are not
tax deductible for the donor as a charitable
contribution. Additionally, a qualifying
501(c)(4) must operate for the promotion of
social welfare by promoting the common good
and general welfare of the people of the
community; i.e., it may not carry on a business
with the general public similar to a for-profit
operation as its primary activity. By
comparison, a 501(c)(3) can operate like a for-
profit as long as its primary purpose is to raise
funds for charity.

It is possible for a 501(c)(3) organization to
incorporate a separate 501(c)(4) entity for the
purpose of carrying on the organization’s
lobbying. However, this can be tricky for many
reasons, including (1) charitable contributions
from the 501(c)(3) organization cannot be
used by or comingled with the 501(c)(4)
entity, and (2) the organization must pay taxes
on all expenditures considered to be political
activities. See IRS, Rev. Ruling 2004-6 at
26, 2004). A 501(c)(3) organization seeking to
incorporate a separate 501(c)(4) entity should
seek the advice of a knowledgeable tax
attorney.

In Summary

• A 501(c)(3) organization can lobby.

• Whether a 501(c)(3) organization should
consider filing Form 5768 with the IRS
will depend on whether and how much it
plans to lobby. If the organization chooses
not to elect to lobby, it must keep its
lobbying activities to a minimum.

• An election to lobby will require the
organization to do close accounting of
expenditures that support the lobbying
activities and be cognizant of the
expenditure limits.

• An organization must segregate its
lobbying expenditures into direct or
grassroots.

• Participation in political activity by a
501(c)(3) organization is strictly
prohibited. A 501(c)(3) organization
should carefully consider whether or not
its activities constitute a political activity.

Resources

A Blueprint for Lobbying by Susan West
Montgomery, National Trust for Historic
Preservation

Tax Information for Charities and Other
Nonprofits, Internal Revenue Service

The Nonprofit Lobbying Guide by Bob
Smucker, Independent Sector

IRS, Rev. Ruling 2007-41 (June 1, 2007)
provides examples of what does and
does not constitute political activities.

The Lobbying and Advocacy Handbook for
Nonprofit Organizations: Shaping Public
Policy at the State and Local Level by Marcia
Avner
Main Street America has been helping revitalize older and historic commercial districts for 40 years. Today it is a network of more than 1,600 neighborhoods and communities, rural and urban, who share both a commitment to place and to building stronger communities through preservation-based economic development. Main Street America is a program of the nonprofit National Main Street Center, Inc., a subsidiary of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.