Organizing for Social Change 37:575:359:01, Spring 2013 Wednesdays 10:55 AM - 1:55 PM Ruth Adams Building, Room 207 Professor Janice Fine (fine@work.rutgers.edu) Office hours: Wednesdays 3-5 or by appointment

Teaching Assistants: Ellen Taraschi etaraschi@gmail.com Abigail Garner <u>abigail.garner@rutgers.edu</u>, Natalie Sowinski natsowin@gmail.com, Joel Salvino salvinojoel@gmail.com Spencer Klein spklein@eden.rutgers.edu TA Office hours: TBA

Course Overview

Our democracy is imperfect as long as the rewards that accrue to those who organize are so dramatically skewed by class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexual preference. Classics of American politics from Tocqueville to Truman have celebrated the nation's tradition of pluralism, interest group formation and grassroots participation but as Schattschneider famously opined: "The flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent..."

This course examines the history, theory, art and practice of community organizing.

Organizing is how individuals come together to pursue their interests. It is a life skill that students will need no matter the field they end up pursuing or the community in which they end up settling.

How do students, low and moderate income people, immigrants, people of color, women, or LGBT people come together to form organizations and take action to win on the issues they care about? How do organizations build power? How do they develop winning strategies?

The curriculum and examples are drawn from my twenty-plus years working as an organizer and trainer before entering academia and from classics of political science, sociology, urban studies, economics, public policy and anthropology that shed light on key ideas. The course will cover the building blocks of organizing including:

- Building the organization
- Power
- Research
- Strategy Development
- Effective Actions and Turnout

We will read both practical and scholarly work in these topics and explore them through class discussions, exercises and role plays.

The Learning Objectives of This Course Are To:

- 1) Examine critically the theory and practice of organizing
- 2) Learn a set of concrete organizing skills
- 3) Analyze the role of community organizing as an empowerment strategy in disadvantaged and marginalized communities, especially communities of color and think about its relationship to broader movements for social change.
- 4) Engage in dialogue and debate around issues of power, inequality, organizing and politics
- 5) Understand different theoretical perspectives on concepts related to organizing drawn from political science, sociology, history, anthropology, urban planning and political theory
- 6) Write an essay that puts forward an argument

Course Requirements

Weekly Discussion Questions: In order to help prepare for discussions during class, students must submit written responses on the readings each week through the sakai drop-box.

- Homework cannot be handwritten.
- You have the option to skip TWO weeks of your choice.
- I will be grading the homework: one check means you must re-do it, two checks means it is acceptable, three checks means it is good and four means it is excellent.
- Occasionally, I will throw out extra credit questions that you can hand in the following week.

Finally, I will expect these questions on the day they are due. If they are more than one week late I will deduct one check from the grade and will not accept any homework after it is more than two weeks late.

Organizing Practicum: Each student must choose a campus organizing organization or off-campus organizing organization and actively participate in it over the course of the semester **including organizing and participating in one direct action**. Students will submit one paragraph per week about their organizational experiences. Teaching Assistants are available to help with matching students to organizations.

Essays: Students will write two 6-8 page essays based upon their reflections on the main issues and themes that emerged in the readings, lectures, role plays and class discussions. Please remember that you MUST substantively refer to **several** different class readings pertaining to the question (this means you cannot just mention the article, you must engage with it).

Essay #1: What is power? What is the relationship between power and social change? DUE: February 27, 2013

Essay #2: What is organizing? What is the relationship between organizing and social

change?

DUE: April 17, 2013

Group Assignment

Strategy Chart: Over the course of the second half of the semester, student groups of 5 students per group will collectively choose an issue and then meet weekly to work on each column of the strategy chart. Students will need to work on the chart and conduct research on the issue and the components of the chart outside of class and by the final day of class must present a power point of a full strategy chart, timeline and written campaign plan to be handed in lieu of a final exam. To ensure that all group participants are contributing, students will be asked to grade their peers.

DUE: Draft: Goals, Organizational Considerations, Preliminary Research: March 14, 2013

DUE: Draft: Allies, Constituents and Opponents: April 10, 2013

DUE: Draft: Targets, Tactics and Message: April 18, 2013

FINAL FULL ASSIGNMENT DUE: May 8, 2012

Attendance: Class meets only once a week and attendance is mandatory. You should have no unexcused absences. After the second unexcused absence, you will be marked down one letter grade per unexcused absence. This means that if you are at a B+ you would receive a B. You must also arrive at class on time. Students arriving more than ten minutes late will be penalized.

One-on-Ones and Class Discussions:

- The richness of our larger conversations about the reading will be totally dependent upon having done the reading ahead of time and bringing thoughts and ideas to the larger discussion. I will be keeping track of who is participating.
- Each week at the start of class, students will engage in a one-on-one conversation with each other.
- Most weeks students will also meet in small groups to plan role plays and exercises, discuss the reading assignments or work on strategy development. You must pull your weight in the group.

Readings

- 1. All of the required articles are available on the web through Sakai. Go to http://sakai.rutgers.edu
- 2. Enter your Rutgers ID and password in the upper right corner
- 3. Click on the tab that says 37 575 359
- 4. Click on "Resources" at the left
- 5. Click on the folder titled "S10 Resources"

Click on the folder for the week you want, then the file you want to download. Many of the readings are in Adobe Acrobat format. If your computer doesn't have it, you can download the reader for free at http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html

Grading

Discussion Questions	20%
Organizational Practicum	20%
Essay One	20%
Essay Two	20%
Group Assignment	20%

Week 1: January 23

Introduction to Organizing: This class will begin by asking students to think about their own beliefs and passions. It will go on to provide students with an understanding of what organizing is, what it entails and what the work life of an organizer looks like.

Why Organize? First One-on-ones Organizing and Power Hungry Person Exercise Carey Daniels diary Choosing An Issue Exercise Some Basics on Power and other handouts

Invited Special Guest: Professor Angus Johnston, the Role of Student Movements in the United States

***See if you can download and read prior to the first class:

Barack Obama. 1990. "Why organize? Problems and promise in the inner city." In Peg Knoepfle (ed.). After Alinsky: Community Organizing in Illinois. Springfield, IL: Illinois Issues, University of Illinois at Springfield.

Readings for Week 2:

Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals: TBA

Michael Gecan, Going Public: Preface: Why Organize? xi-xix Introduction: 1-16

Kim Bobo, Kendall and Max Organizing for Social Change: 6-13

Rinku Sen, Stirring it Up Introduction: Community Organizing-Yesterday and Today

Optional additional reading on these topics:

Gary Delgado, *Organizing the Movement* Chapter Two: The Sixties Movements: Roots of Community Organization 13-38 and *Beyond the Politics of Place: New Directions in Community Organizing in the 1990's*

Week 2: January 30

Relations of Power: What is power? The next two classes will provide students with an understanding of the nature of power and the use and sources of power in organizing for social change. Readings and class lecture will provide an overall conceptual framework for thinking about power and in particular the systemic power of business in advanced industrial societies.

Readings for Week 3:

John Gaventa: Power and Powerlessness, Power and Participation 1-32

Richard Healey and Sandra Hinson:

http://www.strategicpractice.org/system/files/power_and_social_change.pdf

Ed Chambers, Roots for Radicals: Organizing for Power, Action and Justice pp. 27-31 Jennifer Jihye Chun, *Organizing at the Margins: the Symbolic Politics of Labor in South Korea and the United States*, pp. 13-19

Choose 1:

Gary Rivlin, Which Bank is the Worst?

http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/10/25/why-occupy-wall-street-hates-the-big-banks.print.html

Lawrence Lessig, Republic, Lost: How Money Corrupts Congress-and a Plan to Stop It, pp. 67-86.

Optional additional readings on power:

Lawrence Goodwyn The Populist Moment, Introduction

E.E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People

Bernard Loomer "Two Conceptions of Power" *Process Studies*, pp. 5-32, Vol. 6, Number 1, Spring 1976.

Week 3: February 6

Relations of Power, continued

Readings for week 4:

Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years: 1954-1963*, Chapter Five: The Montgomery Bus Boycott 120-196

November 30, 2012 "Young Immigrants Say It's Obama's Time to Act" JULIA

PRESTON<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/p/julia_preston/index.ht

Additional reading:

Doug McAdam *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, 1930-1970, pp. 125-142.

Aldon D. Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change, chapters 3, 6 and 7

Week 4: February 13

Strategy and Designing Campaigns: The essence of effective organizing is strategy and planning campaigns that accurately identify and concentrate power on specific targets for the achievement of specific goals. This class will lay out a key tool from the Midwest Academy called the Strategy chart which will form the basis for the semester-long group assignment.

Movements and Organizations: What is the difference between movements and organizations and how should we think about the relationships between them? We will explore a bit the relationship between the civil rights movement and black civic organizations

Brief training and Role Play on how to run a meeting

Handouts:

Bobo, Kendall and Max, *Organizing for Social Change* "Developing a Strategy" 20-34, Strategy Chart and Blank strategy charts
Bobo, Kendall and Max, "Planning and Running Meetings" 95-102

Readings for Week Five:

Rinku Sen, Picking the Good Fight, in *Stirring It Up*, 48-78 Marshall Ganz, *Why David Sometimes Wins*, Chapter One, Introduction: How David Beat Goliath 3-21

Week 5 February 20

(TA's note: Campaign scenarios due for presentation in class today)

More on Campaign Strategy Development: In this class we will further explore strategy. Students will also choose the issue they will develop into a full-blown strategy chart.

Handout: Campaign Strategy Exercise: Sludge Incinerators in Providence, Rhode Island

Reading for week 6:

Michal Gecan, *Going Public*, The Habit of Action, 49-99
Bobo, Kendall and Max: Designing Actions, 34-40, 48-54, 56-69
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/zack-exley/organizing-matters-the-l_b_82337.html

Week 6: February 27

Organizer's Math, Tactics, Actions and Accountability Sessions
This session will instruct students in the basics of preparing for (including doing systematic turnout), executing and evaluating actions.

Action Role Play

Due: Allies, Constituents and Opponents Write-up

Group Work on Targets and Tactics column of the strategy chart

Readings for week 7:

Janice Fine, *Community Unions: Beyond the Politics of Particularism*, "Climbing Jacob's Ladder: Solidarity and Baltimore" pp. 201-247 Albert O. Hirschman The Rhetoric of Reaction: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy, pp. 1-10

Week 7: March 6

Actions continued

Readings for Week 8:

Need a reading about burnout in organizing and also Seven Habits of Highly Effective People...

Week 8: March 13

Organizing for the Long Haul: Wellness and Burnout Invited: Stosh Cotler, Executive Vice President, Bend the Arc

First meeting of small groups: Working on the Goals column of the strategy chart

Readings for Week 9

Michael Gecan, *Going Public*: Part I. The Habit of Relating: 19-32, 33-46 and Part III. The Habit of Organization 129-166

Week 9 March 27

Building the Organization: The essence of all effective organizing is recruitment and leadership development. Drawing upon ideas and exercises from Northeast Action and the IAF the next two classes will focus on the analyses, strategic approaches and concrete skills necessary to recruiting participants to an organization and involving them in building and leading it. This week we will hear from Mike Gecan, IAF National Organizer and author of *Going Public*.

Handout: "Effective Organizing for Congregational Renewal" Mike Gecan, Industrial Areas Foundation

Readings for Week 10:

Malcolm Gladwell "Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg" the New Yorker Jan. 11, 1999 52-63 Marshall Ganz, "The Power of Story in Social Movements", American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, 2001, 16 pp.

Week 10: April 3

Building the Organization continued

Relational Organizing: One-on-ones

Special guest: Matt Cordeiro on "the story of me, the story of us and the story of now"

Second meeting of small groups: Working on the Goals and Organizational Considerations columns of the strategy chart

Readings for Week 11:

G. William Domhoff, "Basics of Studying Power" pp. 1-6

-----"Power at the Local Level: Growth Coalition Theory" pp. 1-22

----"The Four Networks Theory of Power: A Theoretical Home for Power Structure Research" pp. 1-3

----"How to do Power Structure Research"

(All the Domhoff readings can be found at: WhoRulesAmerica.net)

Choose one:

Peter Dreier, John Mollenkopf and Todd Swanstrom, *Place Matters: Metropolitics for the Twenty-first Century*, Chapter 4: 92-132 The Road Not Taken: How Federal Policy Promoted Economic Segregation and Suburban Sprawl.

Beryl Satter, Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America, TBA

IMPORTANT: Go and mess around on the site:

"Who Rules: An Internet Guide to Power Structure Research"

http://pages.uoregon.edu/vburris/whorules/search.htm

Additional reading:

Clarence Stone, Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta 1946-1988 pp. 1-12, 219-233.

G. William Domhoff, "Alternative Theoretical Views"

Theda Skocpol, "A Brief Response to G. William Domhoff" Politics&Society 1986, Vol. 1.

http://www2.binghamton.edu/continuing-education/documents/CommunityPowerCEANY.pdf

Week 11: April 10

Community power analysis/the Power matrix: This class will instruct students in a concrete method developed by AGENDA for thinking carefully and critically about the distribution of economic and political power in a specific geographic community. Readings and class lecture will unpack the forces that have traditionally shaped urban and regional planning, the role played by local elites in these processes and the debates political scientists, sociologists and others have engaged in about the existence of a cohesive power elite.

Who Rules Rutgers? An in-class research exercise

Due: Goals and Organizational Considerations portions of the Strategy Chart

Readings for Week 12

Bobo, Kendall and Max: *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 20 "Tactical Investigations" 162-192 (read the first ten pages and skim the rest)

Peter Dreier, unpublished article, "When Is Business Bluffing? Progressives' Dilemma Over Capital Mobility"

Charles E. Lindblom_*Politics and Markets: The World's Political and Economic Systems* Chapter 13, "The Privileged Position of Business" pp. 170-188

David Vogel, "Why Businessmen Distrust Their State: The Political Consciousness of American Corporate Executives" *British Journal of Political Science*, 1978 pp. 45-78.

Week 12: April 17

Movement Research: This class will introduce students to the art and science of "tactical investigations" for organizing campaigns. We will hear from movement researchers: Jonathan Werberg, Research Director SEIU 1199 NY, Nick Rudikoff, Change to Win, Jason Rowe, Catholic Charities.

Exercise: the power of research

Groups work on Allies/Constituents and Opponents column of the strategy chart:

Readings for Week 13:

Bobo, Kendall, Max Organizing for Social Change, 14-19, 117-122

Charlotte Ryan, Prime Time Activism: Media Strategies for Grassroots Organizing

Chapter Three, Getting Framed: The Media Shape Reality: 53-92

Mattathias Schwartz, "Pre-Occupied: The Origins and Future of the Occupy Wall Street Movement" Nov. 28, 2011.

Matt Sledge, "Reawakening the Radical Imagination: The Origins of Occupy Wall Street" Huffington Post, November 10, 2011

Peter Dreier, "Occupy Wall Street: Changing the Topic, 11/1/11

Malcolm Gladwell, "Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted" The New Yorker, October 4, 2010.

"We are the 99% Creators Revelated" Mother Jones

http://motherjones.com/politics/2011/10/we-are-the-99-percent-creators

Additional Reading:

Andrew Boyd, TRUTH IS A VIRUS: Meme Warfare and the Billionaires for Bush (or Gore)

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, Chapter Seven: Framing Contention, 106-122, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Week 13: April 24

Media Relations 101, "Cutting" an Issue, and Messaging/Framing: We will hear from David Donnelly, National Campaigns Director, Public Campaign, one of the most successful "media organizers" and political strategists.

Culture Jamming and On-line Organizing: We will discuss the Occupy Wall Street phenomenon, debate the role and value of on-line organizing and consider the art of culture jamming and reinterpreting messages and ideas in popular culture to support organizing campaigns. We will hear from Andrew Boyd, agit-pop.com, culture-jammer and meme generator extraordinaire.

Group Work on Targets, Tactics columns of the strategy chart

Readings for week 14:

Cesar Chavez, "On Money and Organizing"

Michael Brown, "Mobilizing Resources: Raising Money" 243-261 in *Building Powerful Community Organizations: A Personal Guide to Creating Groups that Can Solve Problems and Change the World*

Kim Klein, "The Ten Most Important Things You Can Know About Fundraising" and "Getting Over the Fear of Asking"

Marjorie Fine and the Linchpin Campaign, "Untapped: How Community Organizers Can Develop and Deepen Relationships with Major Donors and Raise Big Money"

Week 14: May 1

Fundraising: If you ain't go the dough-re-me boys, you can't support your organization! This week we will look at strategies for funding organizations. Marjorie Fine, veteran fundraiser, foundation executive and trainer extraordinaire will lead the training session.

Fundraising Exercise

Group work on Targets, Tactics, Message and Research columns of the strategy chart

Readings for week 15:

Dreier, Peter "Community Organizing for What? Progressive Politics and Movement Building in America" in *Transforming the City: Community Organizing and the Challenge of Political Change*, Marion Orr, editor.

Dreier, Peter "Organizing in the Obama Years: A Progressive Movement or a New Progressive Era?" COMM-ORG Papers

Group work on Targets, Tactics, Message and Research columns of the strategy chart

Week 15: May 8th Final Strategy Chart Presentations