

Organizing for Social Change 37:575:359:01/38:578:559:01  
Spring 2017

Wednesdays 3:55-5:55 pm Labor Education Center, Auditorium

Professor Janice Fine (fine@work.rutgers.edu)

Office hours: Wednesdays 10-1 pm or by appointment

Teaching Assistants:

Mariah Painter [mlp222@scarletmail.rutgers.edu](mailto:mlp222@scarletmail.rutgers.edu)

Mariah Wood

Christian Berk [christian.r.berk@gmail.com](mailto:christian.r.berk@gmail.com)

### Course Overview

Organizing is how people come together to pursue their collective interests. Organizing is moving people into Relationship, Reflection, Story-telling, Leadership and Action in order to:

- Build their collective power
- Take greater control over their own lives
- Achieve shared goals

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 people come together and take action to win on the issues they care about? How do organizations build power and 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 organizing, 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:

- Recruitment and Building the Organization
- Forms of Power
- Strategic Research and Power Analysis
- Strategy
- Effective Actions and Turnout

We will read both practical and scholarly work on 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 direct action organizing as an empowerment strategy in disadvantaged and marginalized communities 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 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 Reaction Papers:***

In order to help prepare for discussions during class, students must submit one page written reactions to the readings and class discussions each week through the sakai drop-box.

- Homework cannot be handwritten.
- You have the option to skip TWO weeks of your choice.
- These papers must be handed in on the day they are due.
- More than a day late, ten points off
- More than two weeks late will not be accepted
- Please direct any questions about HW assignments to TA's

### ***Organizing Practicum:***

Students are strongly encouraged to sign up for an additional credit for the 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 planning, organizing and participating in at least one direct action or conducting ten one-on-one meetings for the purposes of recruitment. Teaching Assistants are available to help with matching students to organizations. Students must choose an organization and notify me of their choice by February 4<sup>th</sup> and begin working with the group from that week on. You will submit one paragraph per week along with your homework, beginning February 11<sup>th</sup>, about your organizational experiences.

*Please note: I strongly support doing community service but for the purposes of the class, the practicum **must** be with an organization engaged in organizing. Examples include: AFT/AAUP, URA, USAS, Rutgers One Coalition, Fossil Fuel Divestment, Food and Water Watch, New Labor, Unity Square, Black Lives Matter, New Jersey Communities United, New Jersey Organizing Project, Wind of the Spirit, Make the Road, New Jersey Working Families, New Jersey Citizen Action, CWA, NJ AFL-CIO other gender, racial, environmental and social justice 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? Where does it come from? What is the relationship between power and social change?

DUE: March 1, 2017

Essay #2: What is organizing? What are the most essential elements of building an organization? What is the difference between organizing and mobilizing? What is the relationship between organizing and social change?

DUE: April 12, 2017

### ***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 during finals week **must present a power point of a full strategy chart, along with a timeline and written 6-12 page campaign plan** 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 List: March 8th**

**DUE: Draft: Allies, Constituents and Opponents and Actual Research: March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2017**

**DUE: Draft: Targets, Tactics and Message: April 19th, 2017**

**FINAL FULL ASSIGNMENT DUE: May 3, 2017**

**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 “ S14 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

Reaction Papers	30%
Organizational Practicum	20%
Essay One	15%
Essay Two	15%
Group Assignment	20%

## Week 1: January 18, 2017

**\*\*\*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.

Isabel Wilkerson, “When Will the North Face its Racism?” NY Times, Jan. 10, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/11/opinion/sunday/when-will-the-north-face-its-racism.html>

Ben Austen “The Death and Life of Chicago” NYTimes, May 29, 2013

[http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/magazine/how-chicagos-housing-crisis-ignited-a-new-form-of-activism.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=1&](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/02/magazine/how-chicagos-housing-crisis-ignited-a-new-form-of-activism.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&)

*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.

Readings for Week 2:

Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter One: What is a Radical? 3-23  
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  
Yvonne Bynoe, Still We Rise: Student Activism on a Global Scale, in *Stand and Deliver: Political Activism, Leadership, and Hip Hop Culture*, 133-144  
Jelani Cobb, The Matter of Black Lives: A New Kind of Movement Found Its Moment, What Will It's Future Be?, March 14, 2016 *New Yorker*

Optional additional reading on these topics:

Gary Delgado, *Organizing the Movement* Chapter Two: The Sixties Movements: Roots of Community Organization 13-38

**Week 2: January 25, 2017**

*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.

Erica Smiley, Jobs with Justice

Readings for Week 3:

Cultural Hegemony, Beautiful Trouble, 222-223  
John Gaventa: *Power and Powerlessness*, Power and Participation 1-32  
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

Optional additional readings on power:

Peter Dreier (2003) The Future of Community Reinvestment: Challenges and Opportunities in a Changing Environment, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 69:4, 341-353, DOI: 10.1080/01944360308976323  
Richard Healey and Sandra Hinson:  
[http://www.strategicpractice.org/system/files/power\\_and\\_social\\_change.pdf](http://www.strategicpractice.org/system/files/power_and_social_change.pdf)  
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 1, 2017**

*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  
Mark Engler and Paul Engler, *The Strategic Turn*, pp 1-27

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

Janice Fine and Rachel Meyer, "Grassroots Citizenship at Multiple Scales: Rethinking Immigrant Civic Participation"

Nell Irvin Painter, "Mother of the Movement" NYT Book Review, March 31, 2013.

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](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/p/julia_preston/index.ht)

**Week 4: February 8, 2017**

*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.

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

Rinku Sen "Movement Moments" <http://www.colorlines.com/articles/occupying-organizing-and-movements-demand-both>

Engler and Engler, Structure and Movement in *This is an Uprising*, 31-56

Marshall Ganz, *Why David Sometimes Wins*, Chapter One, Introduction: How David Beat Goliath 3-21

Andrew Boyd and Joshua Kahn Russell, "Action Logic" pp 208-209 *Beautiful Trouble*  
Shift the Spectrum of Allies, *Beautiful Trouble*, 172-173

John Harwood, "A Sea Change in Less Than 50 Years As Gay Rights Gained Momentum" NYT March 26, 2013, A16.

### **Week 5 February 15, 2017**

*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.

*Movements and Organizations:* What is the difference between movements and organizations and how should we think about the relationships between them?

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

Show, Don't Tell, *Beautiful Trouble*, 174-175

Put Your Target in a Decision Dilemma, *Beautiful Trouble*, 166-167

### **Week 6: February 22, 2017**

*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

Group Work on Goals, Organizational Considerations and Research Needs column of the strategy chart

#### Readings for week 7:

Cristina Jimenez and Peter Dreier, "How Undocumented Youth Moved the Immigrant Rights Movement" Gettysburg Case Study, Spring 2015

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

Additional Reading:

Douglas Rushkoff, "Removing Humans from the Equation", *Throwing Rocks at the Google Bus*, pp. 13-44

**Week 7: March 1, 2017**  
**FIRST ESSAY DUE**

Actions continued

Readings for Week 8:

JM Smucker, "Life of the Oppositional Group", *Hegemony How-To*, 46-62  
Sanford F. Schram, "Middle-Class Melancholia", *The Return of Ordinary Capitalism: Neoliberalism, Precarity, Occupy*, 32-44  
Elizabeth McKenna and Hahrie Hahn, Chapter Four: Building Depth by Investing in Relationships, in *Groundbreakers: How Obama's 2.2 Million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*, 89-129

Self-care:

"Pace Yourself", in *Beautiful Trouble*, 158-159

Lisa M. Gerry "10 Signs You're Burning Out and What to Do About It", *Forbes*, 4/01/2013.

Eric Mann, *Organizing Upgrade*, Self and Community Care

*Sustainability Documents* from Selah/Jewish Funds for Justice including:

Monthly Tool: Personal Ecology

Energy and Wellness Index Parts 1 and 2

Time Management Matrix

Urgency Index

Also:

<http://shamelessmag.com/stories/2012/11/self-care-diy-how-just-you/1/>

<http://www.organizingupgrade.com/index.php/modules-menu/community-care/item/766-self-care-organizational-care-and-movement-building?tmpl=component&print=1>

**Week 8: March 8, 2017**

Emotional and Psychological Dimensions of Organizing  
Self-Care for Organizers

*Organizing for the Long Haul: Wellness and Burnout*

*Feminist Forms of Leadership*

*The University Administrator's Playbook: The Art of Negotiation*

*Collective Liberation*

*Learning from Our Losses*

**DUE: Group Work on Goals, Organizational Considerations and Research Needs  
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

Hahrie Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, Chapter 3: “Choosing Strategies for Building Power”, 62-88

Hahrie Han, Chapter Four: “Organizing” in *How Organizations Develop Activists*, 89-123

Charles M. Payne “Give Light and the People Will Find a Way: The Roots of an Organizing Tradition” in *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, University of California Press.

## **NO CLASS MARCH 15, 2017**

### **Week 9: March 22, 2017**

*Building the Organization*: The essence of all effective organizing is recruitment and leadership development. Drawing upon ideas and exercises from Northeast Action, the IAF, Marshall Ganz and others, 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.

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

Group Work on: Constituents, Allies and Opponents and Actual Research

## Readings for Week 10:

Malcolm Gladwell “Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg” *the New Yorker* Jan. 11, 1999 52-63

McKenna and Han, *Groundbreakers*, Creating a Structure to Share Responsibility: Neighborhood Teams, pp. 130-152

Han, Chapter Five: Mobilizing, 123-151.

Marshall Ganz, “The Power of Story in Social Movements”, *American Sociological Association Annual Meeting*, 2001, 16 pp.

Additional Optional Reading:

James M. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography and Creativity in Social Movements*, University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp. 69-99.

Marshall Ganz and the New Organizing Institute, “Creating Shared Story: Story of Self,” “Story of Us” and “Story of Now”.

### **Week 10: March 29**

*Building the Organization* continued

Relational Organizing: One-on-ones and telling our stories  
Matt Cordeiro: “the story of me, the story of us and the story of now”

***Due: Write up of: Constituents, Allies and Opponents and Actual Research***

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)

Nancy Scola, “Exposing ALEC: How Conservative-Backed State Laws Are All Connected”  
April 14, 2012

<http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/04/exposing-alec-how-conservative-backed-state-laws-are-all-connected/255869/>

IMPORTANT: Go and mess around on the site:

“Who Rules: An Internet Guide to Power Structure Research”

<http://pages.uoregon.edu/vbarris/whorules/search.htm>

Additional Optional reading:

Ta Nehisi-Coates, The Case for Reparations, in *the Atlantic*, 1-48

<http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/05/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>

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

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

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

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 5**

*Community power analysis/the Power matrix:* This class will instruct students in a concrete method for thinking carefully and critically about the distribution of economic and political power in a specific geographic community. Readings explore 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 New Brunswick?* Jason Rowe  
*Who Rules Rutgers?*

Group Work on: Targets, Tactics and Message

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  
Naomi Klein, “The Right is Right” *This Changes Everything*, pp 32-63  
Narrative Power Analysis, *Beautiful Trouble*, 244-245

Additional optional reading:

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 12**  
**SECOND ESSAY DUE**

*Movement Research*: This class will introduce students to the art and science of “tactical investigations” for organizing campaigns and why it is different than academic research. We will hear from movement researchers: Ahmer Qadeer, Strategic Researcher, Jonathan Werberg, NY Attorney General’s Office

**GROUP WORK ON TARGETS, TACTICS AND MESSAGE**

Readings for Week 13:

Hashtag Politics, *Beautiful Trouble*, 238-239  
Memes, *Beautiful Trouble*, 242-243  
Think Narratively, *Beautiful Trouble* and the “Battle of the Story” Worksheet from the *Center for Story-Based Strategy*  
Play to the Audience that Isn’t There, *Beautiful Trouble*, 160-161  
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  
[Kalle Lasn, Culture Jam, Introduction and Part Four “Summer”](#)  
[library.uniteddiversity.coop/Media\\_and\\_Free\\_Culture/Culture\\_Jam.pdf](http://library.uniteddiversity.coop/Media_and_Free_Culture/Culture_Jam.pdf)  
Charles Heckscher, “Transient Solidarities”

Additional Reading:

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

[Anat Shenker-Osorio, Preface and Chapter 1: Once Upon Our Economy, in Don't Buy It: The Trouble with Talking Nonsense about the Economy, ix-xxv, and 1-25.](#)

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

“We are the 99% Creators Revealed” *Mother Jones*

<http://motherjones.com/politics/2011/10/we-are-the-99-percent-creators>”Pre-Occupied: The origins and future of Occupy Wall Street) November 28, 2011, Mattathias Schwartz

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

### **Week 13: April 19**

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

*Making Beautiful Trouble:* We will hear from Andrew Boyd, agit-pop.com, culture-jammer and meme generator extraordinaire.

### **Due: Group Work on Targets, Tactics and Message**

#### Readings for week 14:

Cesar Chavez, “On Money and Organizing”

Rose Fernandez, Fundraising Lessons from the United Farm Workers Movement

Janice Fine, “On Membership”

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: April 26**

*Fundraising:* If you ain't got 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.

### **FINAL: May 3<sup>rd</sup> Final Strategy Chart Presentations and Evaluation**

People to invite to class:

Mike Gecan

JM Smucker

Mark Engler

Erica Smiley

Amanda Deveckar

Giancarlo Tello and Jennifer Rodriguez

Jason Rowe to help me design a power analysis training (see if he is interested)

Andrew Boyd

David Donnelly

Matt Cordeiro

Beth Breslaw

Anna Barcy

Hannah Roe

Zach Lerner

Jonathan and Ahmer Qadeer