Organizing for Social Change 37:575:359:01/38:578:559:01
Spring 2018
Wednesdays 3:55-6:55 pm Labor Education Center, Auditorium
Professor Janice Fine (fine@work.rutgers.edu)
Office hours: Wednesdays 10-1 pm or by appointment

Teaching Assistants:
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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:

In order to receive full credit for this course (4 credits) you 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 1st and begin working with the group from that week on. You will submit one paragraph per week along with your homework, beginning February 8th, 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, Cosecha, Take Back the Tap, Food and Water Watch, Planned Parenthood, New Labor, Work Environment Council, Unity Square, Black Lives Matter, New Jersey Communities United, New Jersey Organizing Project, Wind of the Spirit, Make the Road, New Jersey Working Families,
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: February 28, 2018

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 11, 2018

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 7th
DUE: Draft: Allies, Constituents and Opponents and Actual Research: March 28th
DUE: Draft: Targets, Tactics and Message: April 18th
FINAL FULL ASSIGNMENT DUE: May 2nd

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 20%
Essay Two 20%
Group Assignment 10%

Week 1: January 17, 2018

***See if you can download and read prior to the first class:
Issues, University of Illinois at Springfield.
http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/11/opinion/sunday/when-will-the-north-face-its-
racism.html
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
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
http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/03/14/where-is-black-lives-matter-headed

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 24, 2018**

*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 for Week 3:**
John Gaventa: *Power and Powerlessness*, Power and Participation 1-32
Cultural Hegemony, Beautiful Trouble, 222-223
Ed Chambers, *Roots for Radicals: Organizing for Power, Action and Justice* pp. 27-31
Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas*, Signaling Power and Signaling to Power, 189-222

Optional additional readings on power:
Richard Healey and Sandra Hinson:
http://www.strategicpractice.org/system/files/power_and_social_change.pdf
Lawrence Goodwyn *The Populist Moment*, Introduction
https://ratical.org/corporations/PMSHAGAintro.html
Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, “Rulemaking, Rulebreaking and Power” 1-44.

Week 3: January 31, 2018

Relations of Power, continued

Readings for week 4:

Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years: 1954-1965, Chapter Five: The Montgomery Bus Boycott 120-196
Mark Engler and Paul Engler, The Strategic Turn, pp 1-27
Zaynep Tufekci, Twitter and Tear Gas, A Networked Public, 3-27

Additional reading:

Aldon D. Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change, chapters 3, 6 and 7
November 30, 2012 “Young Immigrants Say It’s Obama’s Time to Act” Julia Preston,

Week 4: February 7, 2018

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: TA’s

Handouts:
Bobo, Kendall and Max, Organizing for Social Change “Developing a Strategy” 20-34,
Fine Revised 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
Engler and Engler, Structure and Movement in *This is an Uprising*, 31-56
Andrew Boyd and Joshua Kahn Russell, “Action Logic” pp 208-209 *Beautiful Trouble*
Shift the Spectrum of Allies, *Beautiful Trouble*, 172-173

**Week 5 February 14, 2018**

*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?

Special guests: Zachary Lerner, Director of Labor Organizing, New York Communities For Change, Analilia Mejia, New Jersey Working Families, a speaker from Cosecha

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 21, 2018**

*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:
Choose 2:
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

Additional Reading:
Douglas Rushkoff, “Removing Humans from the Equation”, Throwing Rocks at the Google Bus, pp. 13-44

Week 7: February 28, 2018
FIRST ESSAY DUE

Actions continued
Amanda Devecka-Rinear, New Jersey Organizing Project
Sara Cullinane, Make the Road New Jersey

Readings for Week 8:
Zeynep Tufekci, Twitter and Tear Gas, Movement Cultures. 83-112
Sanford F. Schram, “Middle-Class Melancholia” The Return of Ordinary Capitalism: Neoliberalism, Precarity, Occupy, 32-44
Jane McAlvey, “What #MeToo Can Teach the Labor Movement”
https://www.commondreams.org/views/2017/12/28/what-metoo-can-teach-labor-movement
Ed Chambers, Roots for Radicals, “The World As It Is and the World As It Should Be” 21-43

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:
Week 8: March 7, 2018

Emotional and Psychological Dimensions of Organizing Self-Care for Organizers

Guest presenter: JM Smucker, veteran organizer and strategist, author of Hegemony How To
TA’s present: On Self-Care, “The World as it Is and the World As It Should Be” and Collective Liberation

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
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
Hahrie Han, Chapter 3: “Choosing Strategies for Building Power” How Organizations Develop Activists, 62-88
Hahrie Han, Chapter Four: “Organizing” in How Organizations Develop Activists, 89-123

NO CLASS MARCH 14, 2018

Week 9: March 21, 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 Gans 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.

Guest presenter: Mike Gecan, Co-Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) and author, Going Public
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:

Mike Gecan, Going Public Part III. The Habit of Organization 129-166
Janice Fine, Jill Hurst and Allison Porter “Solving for Growth” 1-15
McKenna and Han, Groundbreakers, Creating a Structure to Share Responsibility: Neighborhood Teams, 130-152
Han, Chapter Five: Mobilizing, 123-151

Additional Optional Reading:

Week 10: March 28, 2018

Building the Organization continued

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

Readings for Week 11:

Malcolm Gladwell “Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg” the New Yorker Jan. 11, 1999 52-63
Marshall Ganz and the New Organizing Institute, “Creating Shared Story: Story of Self,” “Story of Us” and “Story of Now”.
Week 11:

*Building the Organization* continued
Relational Organizing: Telling our stories

Matt Cordeiro: “the story of me, the story of us and the story of now”

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

Additional optional reading:

Week 12: April 11
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 Erica Smiley, Campaigns Director of Jobs with Justice as well as Ahmer Qadeer, Strategic Researcher

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
Albert O. Hirschman *The Rhetoric of Reaction*: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy, pp. 1-10
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
David Karpf, *Analytic Activism*, “‘Analytic Audiences”*, 93-122

Additional Reading:
Andrew Boyd, TRUTH IS A VIRUS: Meme Warfare and the Billionaires for Bush (or Gore)
“We are the 99% Creators Revealed” Mother Jones

**Week 13: April 18**

*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 25**

*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 2nd Final Strategy Chart Presentations and Evaluation