MOVEMENTS AND REFORM

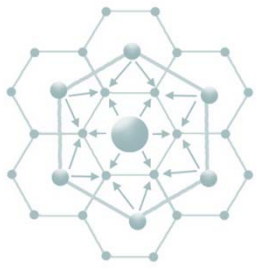5.28.13   MANUEL PASTOR

INTRODUCTION

3 Means of Change

PROJECTS show what's possible

POLICY makes new practices widespread

POWER makes policy happen

INTRODUCTION

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DEFINED

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS are:

Sustained groupings that develop a frame or narrative based on shared values, that maintain a link with a real and broad base in the community, and that build for a long-term transformation in systems of power.

INTRODUCTION

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DEFINED

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- Shift the nation's fundamental frame of reference
- Combine an authentic base with a compelling strategy for leveraging systemic change

PERE'S ARC OF RESEARCH

PERE'S ARC OF RESEARCH

RESEARCH STRATEGIES

WHAT WE DO, HOW WE DO IT:

1) **LITERATURE REVIEW:**
- Academic literature on social movements, organizing, and outcomes
- Reports and tools from the fields of evaluation, philanthropy, and organizing

2) **CONFERENCE CALLS** with social movement leaders and funders to get early input

3) **INTERVIEWS** with social movement leaders (now 150+ over course of projects

4) **CONVENING** mid-way in project to get feedback and new directions
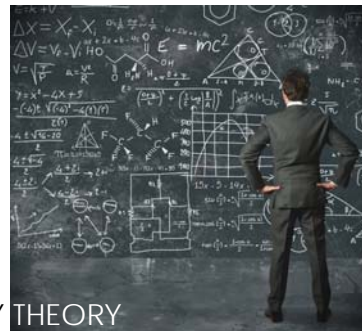
5) **PRESENTATION** with commentary from social movement leaders

MOVEMENT THEORY, MOVEMENT PRACTICE

CATEGORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

- DEPRIVATION THEORY
- ECONOMIC THEORY
- RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY
- POLITICAL PROCESS & OPPORTUNITY THEORY
- NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY
- FRAMING THEORY

SCALING UP

THE SCALE & GEOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

THE ROLE OF GEOGRAPHY:

- Constituting community
and community interest

- Neighborhoods and regions
as "natural" economic and
political scales

KEEPING IT REAL

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS must

- Produce practical policy ideas and wins
- Connect the issues of the day with a viable policy platform while not having themselves defined simply by a series of policy planks
- Have a sense of timing
- Be complex in functions and rich in skills
- Have "anchor" organizations

THE 10 ELEMENTS

FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS:	1. A Vision & Frame
	2. An Authentic Base in Key Constituencies
	3. A Commitment to the Long-Haul
IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS:	4. An Underlying & Viable Economic Model
	5. A Vision of Government & Governance
	6. A Scaffold of Solid Research
	7. A Pragmatic Policy Package
SCALE:	8. A Recognition of the Need for Scale
	9. A Strategy for Scaling Up
	10. A Willingness to Network with Other Movements

FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS
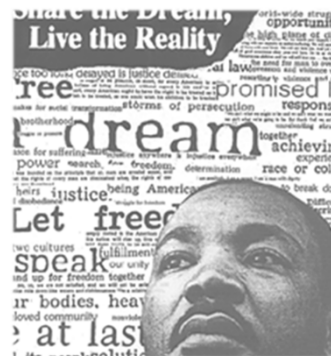
ELEMENT 1: A vision and frame

Movements are based on visions, frames and values

- A VISION sets the goal

- A FRAME sets the terms of the debate

- The POLICY PACKAGE describes how interests might be met

"Martin Luther King famously proclaimed 'I have a dream,'" not "I have an issue."
-Van Jones (2007)

FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS

ELEMENT 2: An authentic base in key constituencies

Movements have a membership base that is engaged or is being organized to be engaged

The role of the organizer is to help build leadership within the community

FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS

ELEMENT 3: A commitment to the long-haul

Social movements are not episodic or coalitional

It involves a strategy to build power to effect broader change and focuses on building a strong membership for the long-haul

IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 4: An underlying and viable economic model

Social movements are about the redistribution of resources but they also have a viable growth strategy

An analysis [economic, political, and policy] is a critical groundwork for moving agendas, organizations and movements

IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 5: A vision of government and governance

Social movements have

- A theory of the state
- A way to show how the role of the state is a full expression of democracy

Government is one of the most important tools of change

IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 6: A scaffold of solid research

Social movement organizations have [internal and external] analytical and research capacity

Research has become increasingly important for analyzing problems and suggesting solutions

IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 7: A pragmatic policy package

Social movements develop practical policies that has the potential to address the specific problems

For long-term systemic change, organizations need to:

- Direct efforts towards strategic targets,
- Focus on large-scale and long-term positive impact,
- And push for fundamental changes in decision-making structures and allocation of resources

SCALE

ELEMENT 8: A recognition of the need for scale

- Moving power requires organizations that are at a scale sufficient to challenge concentrations of existing power

- The 2 elements of size:
    1. Organizational
    2. Movement

SCALE

ELEMENT 9: A strategy for scaling up

- Successful social movement organizations have a theory of the geography of change

- There is no single geographic approach – it can depend on the constituency and the issue area

- There are two variants of building scale:
    1. Building on the basis of like organizations
    2. Building with organizations that are distinct but are united by their frame and general politics

SCALE

ELEMENT 10: A willingness to network with other movements

Bridging gaps between networks which will eventually build streams of social movements that comes into a river of change

THE 6 CAPACITIES

1. The ability to organize a base constituency

2. The capacity to research, frame & communicate

3. The ability to strategically assess power

4. The capacity to manage large & growing organizations

5. The ability to refresh organizational vision and organizational leadership

6. The capacity to engage & network with others – to build alliances
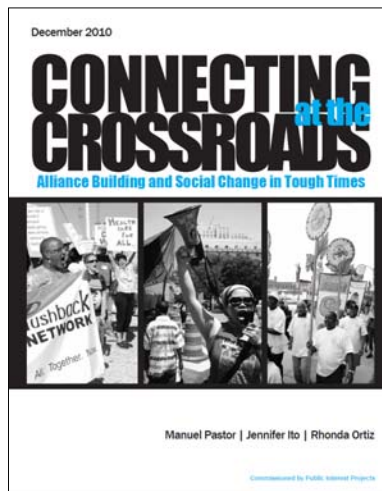
3 KEY DIRECTIONS OF OUR RESEARCH:

1. Understand network-to-network building to sustain success

2. Develop metrics of movements to measure success

3. Understand the relationship of movements to traditional politics

NETWORK-TO-NETWORK BUILDING

December 2010

CONNECTING at the CROSSROADS

Alliance Building and Social Change in Tough Times

Manuel Pastor | Jennifer Ito | Rhonda Ortiz

Provides a framework for understanding grassroots-led, social movement alliances

Highlights three key roles that alliances play and why they are important now

Offers relevant directions for funders and alliances about investments that can help to build the field.

WHY METRICS? WHY NOW?

The <u>field</u> is changing: Organizers are eager for a common language and framework for metrics for movement building

<u>Philanthropy</u> is changing: Funders are looking for the evidence to make the case that movements matter
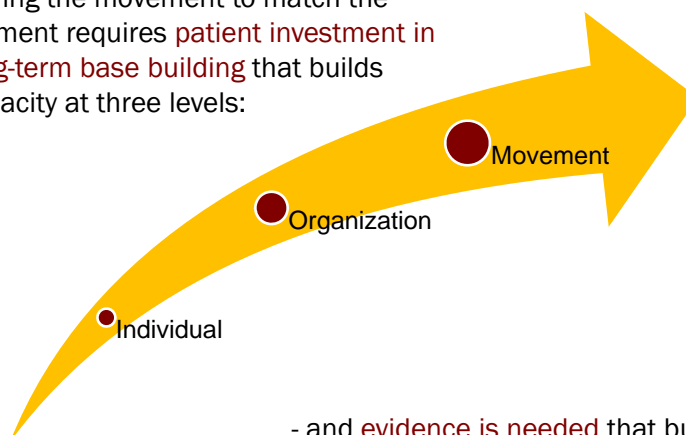
<u>Translation</u> not enough: While there are gaps to bridge and better communications could help, co-creating the new metrics of movement building is needed

WHY METRICS? WHY NOW?

Having the movement to match the moment requires patient investment in long-term base building that builds capacity at three levels:

Movement

Organization

Individual

- and evidence is needed that building a base and forging a movement makes a difference.

WHY METRICS? WHY NOW?

A viable set of movement metrics needs to capture activities and outcomes at three levels:

Movement

What relationships are we strengthening that pivot to new issues and a broader frame?

Organization

What knowledge, systems, and experience to achieve large-scale change are we building?

Individual

What leadership skills and roles are grassroots communities gaining?

MEASURING WHAT WE MEAN

WHAT WE OFFER:

TRANSACTIONS
TRANSFORMATIONS
TRANSLATIONS

Metrics That Matter for Building, Scaling, and Funding Social Movements

OCTOBER 2011

1) A framework for metrics that captures transactions and transformations with examples for ten strategies

2) Recommendations for a new approach to metrics that transcends organizations and drives towards movement building

3) Suggestions for a new relationship between movement builders and funders to develop a common language to reach common goals

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS
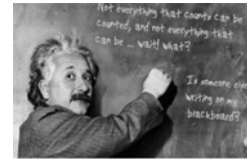
A FRAMEWORK FOR METRICS THAT MATTER

TRANSACTIONS	TRANSFORMATIONS
• What is easier to count that counts	• What is harder to count yet counts

Not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be counted counts.

Albert Einstein

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

SAMPLE METRICS for 10 commonly-used strategies:

SIGNING UP:
- Organizing
- Civic Engagement
- Leadership Development
- Campaigns

SKILLING UP:
- Communications and Framing
- Traditional and New Media
- Research and Policy Analysis
- Organizational Development

SCALING UP:
- Alliance Building
- Movement Building

Photo by PICO National Network

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

SIGNING UP
Organizing – Civic Engagement

TRANSACTIONS	TRANSFORMATIONS
• # and diversity of membership base • # and diversity of people mobilized • Voter registration and turnout	• Sense of ownership, community, and trust • Empowered to speak up and take action • New formations (e.g. 501(c)4)

The New Deal wasn't won by economic experts. It was won by ordinary people who organized to create a sense of crisis and mandate for change.

Jean Hardisty and Deepak Bhargava, 2005
"Wrong about the Right" in *The Nation*

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

SIGNING UP
Leadership Development – Campaigns

TRANSACTIONS	TRANSFORMATIONS
• #, diversity, and capacity of leaders • # involved in campaign activities • Demands and policies won	• Leaders' ability to take up new issues • Ability to put forth bigger demands • Capacity built for future campaigns

We need to balance campaign numbers with the real transformations that are harder to measure. How do you quantify a leader's world view? Or you can win a policy but that's not adequate to change society.

Kalila Barnett
Alternatives for Community and Environment

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

SKILLING UP

Communications and Framing – Traditional and New Media

TRANSACTIONS	TRANSFORMATIONS
• Stories collected • Audiences reached • # of op eds and articles • # of blog contributors and clicks	• Members participate in and influence the public debate • Seen as legitimate experts • Shift in public opinion

In terms of messaging, we need to be careful not to move the debate farther to the right. Need to speak to the hearts and minds of those who are fearful but could change if they see positive actions.

Pablo Alvarado
National Day Laborer Organizing Network

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

SKILLING UP

Research and Policy Analysis –Organizational Development

TRANSACTIONS	TRANSFORMATIONS
• # of reports and briefs • Members and allies involved in research • Areas of expertise developed	• Ability to translate research into organizing strategies • Responsiveness and agility • Ability to innovate

So far our focus has been on building metrics for measuring changes in individuals and organizations, but how do we know if we are building movement scale?

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

SCALING UP
Alliance Building – Movement Building

TRANSACTIONS	TRANSFORMATIONS
• # and diversity of partnering groups • Ally contributions • Scale of reach – regional, state, national	• Take on others' issues as one's own • Cross-movement relationship building • Ability to scale up impact

"Are we making progress in building unity and a strategic agenda across difference that is more than a laundry list?"

Anthony Thigpenn
Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education

Social movements also change the people who participate in them, educating as well as mobilizing activists, and thereby promoting ongoing awareness and action that extends beyond the boundaries of one movement or campaign

David Meyer, 2003
"How Social Movements Matter" in *Contexts*

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

Communities United: Protecting California's climate change legislation

Source: Ella Baker Center,
http://www.flickr.com/photos/ellabakercenter/454404506
1/in/set-72157623912657174

TRANSACTIONS

- # and % of contacts, supporters & votes
- # of individuals and organizations mobilized
- Vote results (62% vs. 38%)
- % of people who considering themselves environmentalists

TRANSFORMATIONS

- Climate justice framing that resonates with new constituencies
- Communities of color emerging as the new face of the environmental movement
- Collaborations between EJ and mainstream environmental organizations lay foundation for future pro-active work

TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

Caring Across Generations Campaign

Source: Caring Across Generations,
http://www.flickr.com/photos/caringacrossgenerations

TRANSACTIONS

- # and diversity of coalition partners
- Turnout and participation at coalition events and convenings
- # and diversity of workers trained and provide public testimony
- # and diversity of individuals mobilized through coordinated campaign actions

TRANSFORMATIONS

- Previously-isolated workers feeling connected and empowered to speak up on multiple issues - from job quality and social security to immigration reform
- Communities of color and new organizational forms reviving the labor movement

TRANSLATIONS and TRANSLATORS

*"The real question is: What will it take to create real, lasting social change in this country?*

Burt Lauderdale
Kentuckians for the
Commonwealth

- Movement building is NOT about finding and replicating one model, network, or place

- Metrics are NOT the movement but the measure of the movement

- This is NOT an argument for complicated logic models or a cottage industry of evaluators

- Measuring the part is NOT the same as measuring the whole – and keeping eyes on the prize

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TRANSLATIONS and TRANSLATORS

ADDRESSING THE TRANSLATION GAP
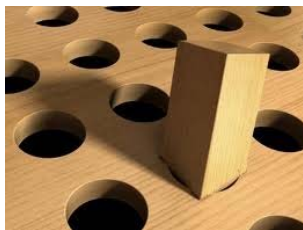
- Build the movement metrics toolbox - Progressive Technology Project, Alliance for Justice

- Invest in movement capacity to develop and use metrics - Partnership for Working Families, ISAIAH, PICO

- Nurture leadership and leadership pathways - Community Coalition, Working Partnerships USA

- Link policy outcomes with broader social change – New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice, Kentuckians For The Commonwealth, National People's Action

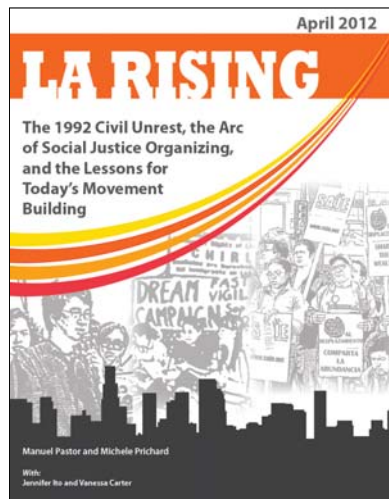- Communicate transformational shifts – Social Justice Leadership, National Domestic Workers Alliance

TRANSLATIONS and TRANSLATORS

CO-CREATE THE METRICS FOR MOVEMENT BUILDING

- Support and capture innovation and experimentation

- Create space for organizations to work together towards a common framework

- Adopt a movement frame for visioning and evaluation

- Forge a new type of relationship between funders and movement builders – and more generally . . .

MOVEMENTS AND POLITICS

April 2012

LA RISING

The 1992 Civil Unrest, the Arc of Social Justice Organizing, and the Lessons for Today's Movement Building

Manuel Pastor and Michele Prichard

With:
Jennifer Ito and Vanessa Carter

Looks at twenty years of long-term movement building in what was considered difficult terrain

Considers waves and stages of movement-building, laying out a temporal vision

Highlights the role of inside-outside strategies that combine movement pressure with electoral work and governance issues

MOVEMENTS, MOMENTS, MOMENTUM

Youth Vote in 2008 Election Ranked Among the Highest Ever, Data Show

About two million more young people voted for president last November 4 than in the 2004 election, raising the percentage of people under the age of 30 who voted to 51 percent, according to a new report by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.

Image Sources: http://www.gwu.edu/~action/2008/photos08/lulac071008729.jpg; Black Men:http://politic365.com/2012/10/31/inside-the-early-vote-numbers-african-americans/ Voting Sigh: http://cdn.journalism.cuny.edu/blogs.dir/389/files/2012/11/VoteHere-300x225.jpg; http://chronicle.com/article/Youth-Vote-in-2008-Election/42822/

MISTAKING A MOMENT FOR A MOVEMENT

- The 2008 election was indeed momentous, but did not build a movement

- Attention turned to Washington and federal policy opportunities, instead of to the grassroots base

- The hope of 2008 didn't translate into sustained civic participation to support a broader vision of social justice

MISTAKING A MOMENT FOR A MOVEMENT

In response, state-based community organizing groups decided to do 2012 differently.

THE 2012 STORY

2012's story was not the glitter of something new but resolve to protect something old . . .

Photo Sources: FNM, Huffington Post, Dan Reed (www.flickr.com/photos/thecourtyard/30033994)

THE THEORY (AND PRACTICE IN SOME PLACES)

State-based Integrated Voter Engagement (IVE)

Seeking to Link Moments with Movements

With All the Implicit Tensions and Tightropes

Photo Source: Free the Vote, Florida New Majority. 2013.
www.flickr.com/photos/flnewmajority/8532379532/sizes/l/in/photostream/

INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

WHAT IS IVE?

IVE employs classic election cycle tactics—canvassing, mailers, phone banking—but views elections themselves as but one tool for building broader, lasting, social movements.

There is a strategic intent to convert campaign infrastructure into long-term base-building to build voter mobilization over multiple election cycles & grow long-term leadership

Photo Source: FNM

Solidarity & Unity. Florida New Majority. March 8, 2012.
www.flickr.com/photos/flnewmajority/6821892528/in/photostream

INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

Action. Florida New Majority. March 8, 2012.
Flickr.com

WHAT CAN IVE DO?

IVE has been documented to:

1. Increase voter registration and turnout

2. Heighten awareness of election issues

3. Move "unlikely voters" to the polls

4. Mitigate voter suppression efforts

5. Develop authentic community leaders

(Funders' Committee on Civic Participation, 2009)

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES

Mobilizing   IVE   Organizing

MAIN TENSION: Breadth v. Depth of Outreach

SOLUTIONS: One-the-phone and at-the-door questionnaires that incorporate electoral and base-building concerns, predictive dialing technology, maintain both volunteer organizing and paid door-to-door

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES

MAIN TENSION: Training Canvassers v. Developing Leaders

SOLUTIONS: Transformative leadership development that builds organizing capacity as well as tapping into their deepest sense of purpose, Maintaining a few electoral organizers to help pivot to base-building work

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES

MAIN TENSION: Electoral goals v. Social change principles

SOLUTIONS: Align long-term and short-term goals—e.g. the Florida Freedom Charter— before the thick of the electoral organizing sets in

COMING TO (THE NEW) AMERICA?

Source: Canvassing, Florida New Majority www.flickr.com/photos/flnewmajority/
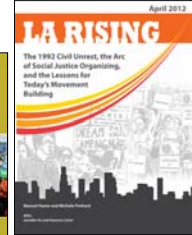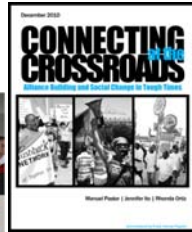
I'VE LOOKED AT LIFE FROM BOTH SIDES NOW

WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INSIDERS & OUTSIDERS?

- Work to build capacity of grassroots organizations

- Understand that more information and more participation is always better than less

- Go beyond the lowest common denominator to the highest uncommon common ground

- Don't worry when it doesn't always work – collaboration is not supposed to be easy but rather principled conflict

Photo by People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights

MORE FROM **PERE**

Visit us at:
http://dornsife.usc.edu/pere