



MOVEMENTS AND REFORM

6.05.14

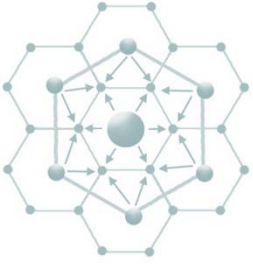
MANUEL PASTOR  @Prof\_MPastor

## INTRODUCTION

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3 Means of Change

- PROJECTS show what's possible
- POLICY makes new practices widespread
- POWER makes policy happen



## INTRODUCTION

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### 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

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### 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





## 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

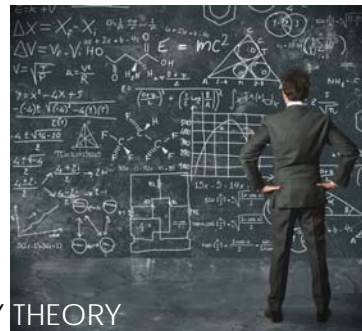
5) **PRESENTATION** with commentary from social movement leaders



## 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

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### 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

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#### 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

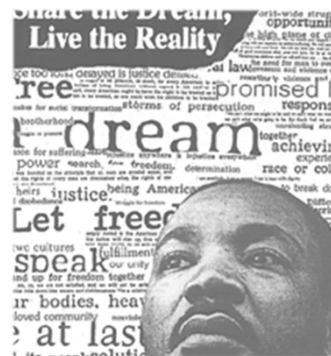
ELEMENT 1: A vision and frame

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

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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

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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

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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

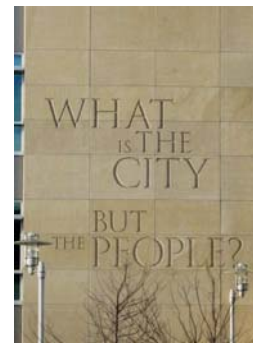
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ELEMENT 5: A vision of government and governance

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**



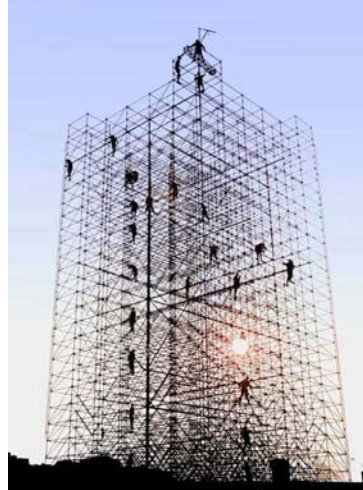


## IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

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

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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

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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:

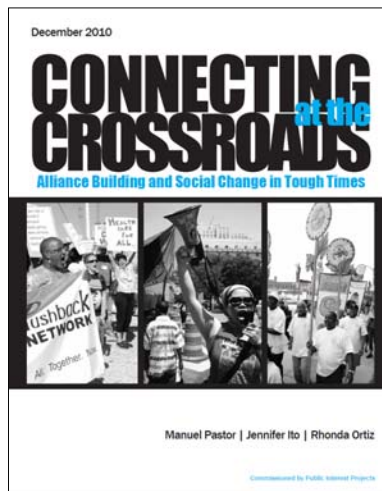
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1. Understand **network-to-network building** to sustain success
2. Develop **metrics of movements** to measure success
3. Understand the **relationship** of movements to traditional politics



### NETWORK-TO-NETWORK BUILDING

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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?

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The field is changing: Organizers are eager for a **common language and framework** for metrics for movement building

Philanthropy is changing: Funders are looking for the **evidence to make the case** that movements matter

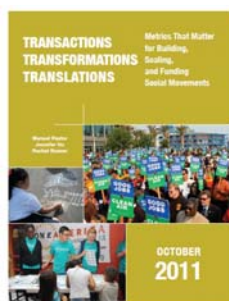
Translation not enough: While there are gaps to bridge and better communications could help, **co-creating the new metrics of movement building** is needed



## MEASURING WHAT WE MEAN

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### WHAT WE OFFER:



- 1) A **framework for metrics** that captures **transactions and transformations** with examples for ten strategies
- 2) Recommendations for a **new approach to metrics** that goes beyond **organizational effectiveness** to gauge movement effectiveness
- 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

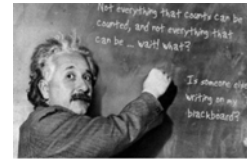
- What is easier to count that counts

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- 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

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### SIGNING UP

Organizing – Civic Engagement

#### TRANSACTIONS

- # and diversity of membership base
- # and diversity of people mobilized
- Voter registration and turnout

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- 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

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### SIGNING UP

Leadership Development – Campaigns

#### TRANSACTIONS

- #, diversity, and capacity of leaders
- # involved in campaign activities
- Demands and policies won

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- 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

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### SKILLING UP

Communications and Framing – Traditional and New Media

#### TRANSACTIONS

- Stories collected
- Audiences reached
- # of op eds and articles
- # of blog contributors and clicks

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- 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

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### SKILLING UP

Research and Policy Analysis –Organizational Development

#### TRANSACTIONS

- # of reports and briefs
- Members and allies involved in research
- Areas of expertise developed

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- 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

- # and diversity of partnering groups
- Ally contributions
- Scale of reach – regional, state, national

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- 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/4544045061/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

## 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

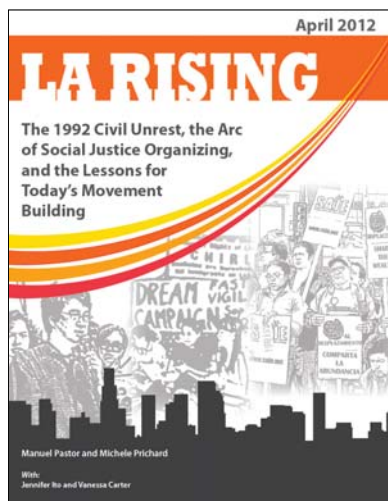
## TRANSLATIONS and TRANSLATORS

### 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



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



April 29, 2009

### 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 54 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/ulac071008729.jpg>; Black Men <http://politic365.com/2012/10/31/inside-the-early-vote-numbers-african-americans/>; Voting Sign <http://cdn.journalism.cuny.edu/boq.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 . . .



## THE THEORY (AND PRACTICE IN SOME PLACES)

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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, 2011  
www.flickr.com/photos/newmajority/3022179532/new/1769photostream

## INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

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*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**



Solidarity & Unity, Florida New Majority, March 8, 2012  
www.flickr.com/photos/newmajority/6821892528/new/1769photostream

Photo Sources: FNM

## INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

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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

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**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

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**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

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**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: Covering Florida Now Mapping www.flcnr.com/photos/newmagnify/

## I'VE LOOKED AT LIFE FROM BOTH SIDES NOW

### WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INSIDERS & OUTSIDERS?



Photo by People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights

- 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**

## A FEW LAST THOUGHTS



- Stay **positive** \*and\* anticipate the reaction
- Understand **multi-generational change** and build leadership
- Practice a **new** sort of leadership

- Balance the **inside** game and the **outside** game
- Stress that **equity & inclusion** are **fundamental** not add-on's
- Build movements that can **persist** and **pivot**



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