MAKING CHANGE:
MOVEMENTS FOR THE NEXT AMERICA

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BUILDING HEALTHY COMMUNITIES:

To achieve the change that can build healthy neighborhoods where all children can live, play, and be ready to learn

- 10-Year Strategic Investment in 14 Places
- Place-based Comprehensive Change
- Policy and Systems Change
The Hotel Worker:

Named 2012 #1 Most Powerful Person in Long Beach

-- after coalition, broadened, in part, with new connections made through Long Beach BHC, successfully won a living wage for the city’s hotel workers
Fresno City Council breaks from business-as-usual and approves a General Plan that prioritizes infill and urban redevelopment over sprawl

– an historic victory for the two-year effort led by West Fresno BHC partners to organize and mobilize African American, Latino, and Asian residents
Statewide student defiance suspensions and expulsions drop dramatically between 2011-12 and 2012-23 – as BHC youth and their allies across the state are organizing to reform school discipline policies locally and statewide.
THERE’S SOMETHING HAPPENING HERE...

But what is it?

It’s a model that takes the issue of movement-building as central to achieving the policies that will enhance health – and creating community efficacy both associated with health and promoting of health.
## 3 Means of Change

<table>
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<th>Projects</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Power</th>
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<td>shows what’s possible</td>
<td>makes new practices widespread</td>
<td>makes policy happen</td>
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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.
FRAMING

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

Defining social movements

Youth leadership and movements

Alliances and movement-building

Measuring movements
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 300+ 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
THE ROLE OF GEOGRAPHY:

- Constituting community and community interest
- Neighborhoods and regions as “natural” economic and political scales
## 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
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 & 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
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
ELEMENT 7: A pragmatic policy package

Social movements develop practical policies that have the potential to address 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.
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
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
Philanthropy is changing: Funders are looking for the evidence to make the case that movements matter.

There is a problem of translation – the work that organizers do is not as easily measured and needs new metrics.

To do this, we need to design metric that capture transformations, not just transactions, changes in consciousness as well as who shows up.
Organizers are eager for a common language and framework for metrics for movement building.

We need a metrics that really captures movement-building, that looks at the ecosystem and not just organizational effectiveness.

While there are translation gaps, they will be better bridged by funders and grantees co-creating the new metrics of movement building.
We need a movement to match the moment – that can persist and pivot

- and that requires patient investment in long-term base building that builds capacity at three levels
**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
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
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
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
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
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?

<table>
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<th>TRANSACTIONS</th>
<th>TRANSFORMATIONS</th>
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<tr>
<td>• # of reports and briefs</td>
<td>• Ability to translate research into organizing strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Members and allies involved in research</td>
<td>• Responsiveness and agility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Areas of expertise developed</td>
<td>• Ability to innovate</td>
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# TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

## SCALING UP

Alliance Building – Movement Building

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<td>• # and diversity of partnering groups</td>
<td>• Take on others’ issues as one’s own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ally contributions</td>
<td>• Cross-movement relationship building</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Scale of reach – regional, state, national</td>
<td>• Ability to scale up impact</td>
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“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*
COMMUNITIES UNITED: PROTECTING CALIFORNIA’S CLIMATE CHANGE LEGISLATION

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

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

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

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

Burt Lauderdale
Kentuckians for the Commonwealth
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
A FEW LAST THOUGHTS

- 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

- Stay positive *and* anticipate the reaction
- Understand multi-generational change and build leadership
- Practice a new sort of leadership
LEADING THROUGH THE DIVIDE
FOR MORE . . .

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

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