



USC Program for Environmental  
& Regional Equity

# MAKING CHANGE: MOVEMENTS FOR THE NEXT AMERICA

05/08/2014

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# HEALTH EQUITY IN CALIFORNIA

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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



# HEALTH EQUITY IN CALIFORNIA . . .

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## The Hotel Worker:

**Named 2012 #1 Most Powerful Person in Long Beach**



From Long Beach Post, <http://lbpost.com/news/2000001424-the-10-most-powerful-people-in-long-beach-2012#>. Umlcc3c6L5A



**-- after coalition, broadened, in part, with new connections made through Long Beach BHC, successfully won a living wage for the city's hotel workers**



# HEALTH EQUITY IN CALIFORNIA . . .

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**Fresno City Council breaks from business-as-usual and approves a General Plan that prioritizes infill and urban redevelopment over sprawl**



Image from: <http://fresnoalliance.com/wordpress/?p=4905>



Image from: <http://fresnoalliance.com/wordpress/?p=4905>

- **an historic victory for the two year effort led by West Fresno BHC partners to organize and mobilize African American, Latino, and Asian residents**

# HEALTH EQUITY IN CALIFORNIA . . .

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**Statewide student defiance suspensions and expulsions drop dramatically between 2011-12 and 2012-23**



Image from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OOLOCvZlgdA>



Image from: <http://kgalb.org/tag/long-beach-unified-school-district>

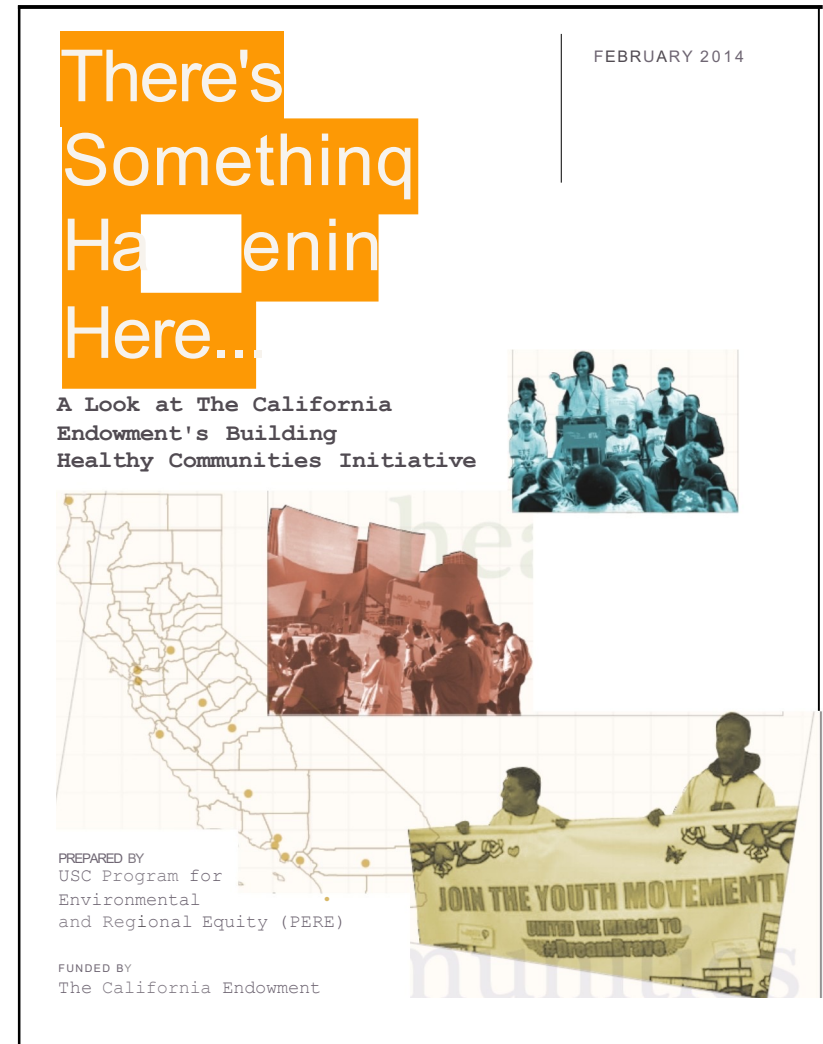
- as BHC youth and their allies across the state are organizing to reform school discipline policies locally and statewide

# THERE'S SOMETHING HAPPENING HERE...

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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





# FRAMING

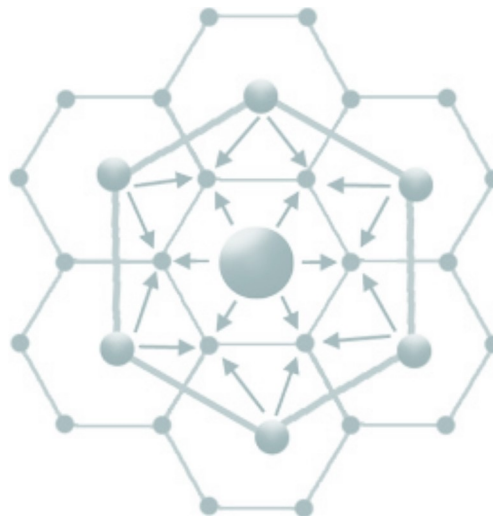
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## 3 Means of Change

**PROJECTS** show what's possible

**POLICY** makes new practices widespread

**POWER** makes policy happen



# FRAMING

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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**.



# FRAMING

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## SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DEFINED

### SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

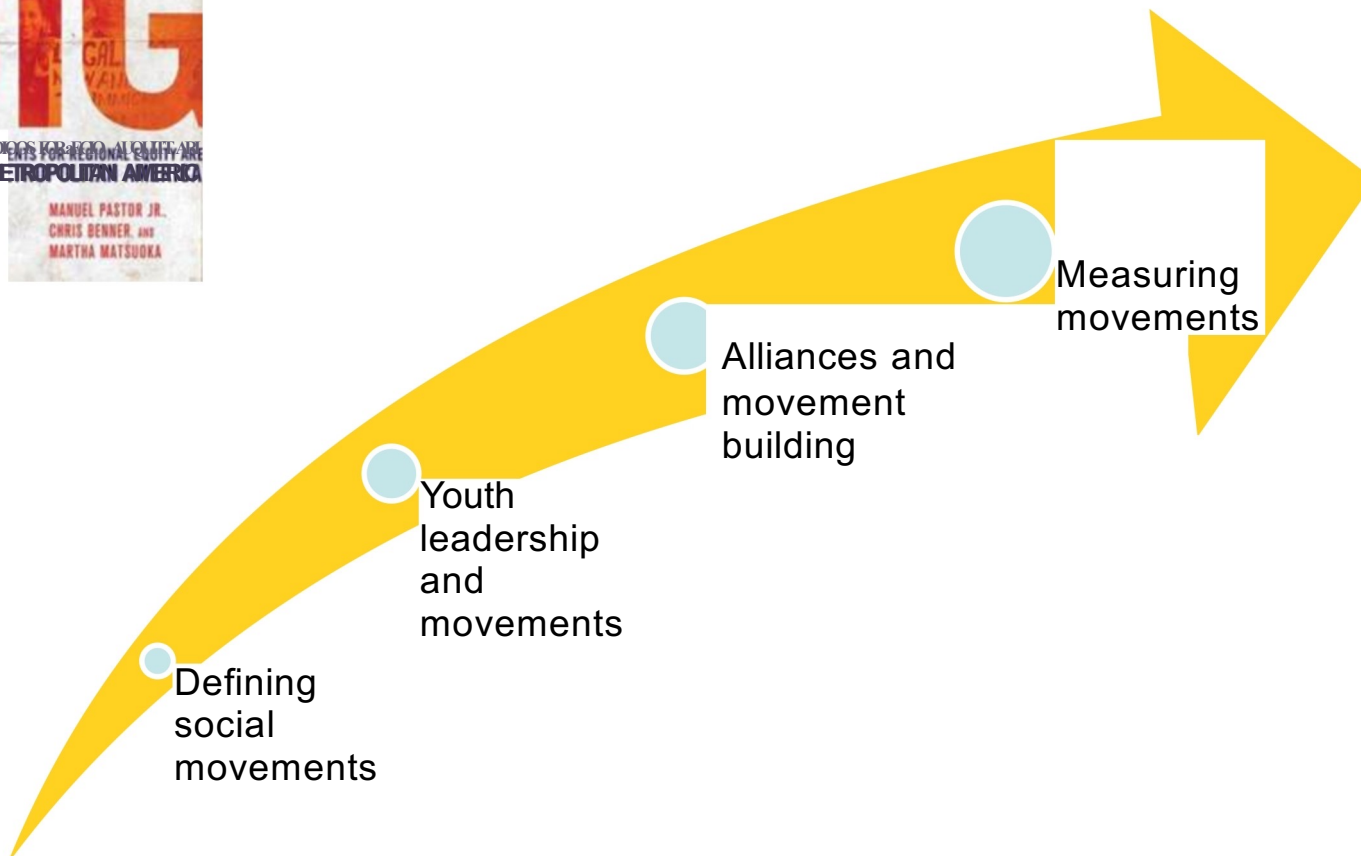
- Shift the nation's fundamental frame of reference
- Combine an authentic base with a compelling strategy for leveraging systemic change





# PERE'S ARC OF RESEARCH

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SC Program for Environmental  
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# PERE'S ARC OF RESEARCH



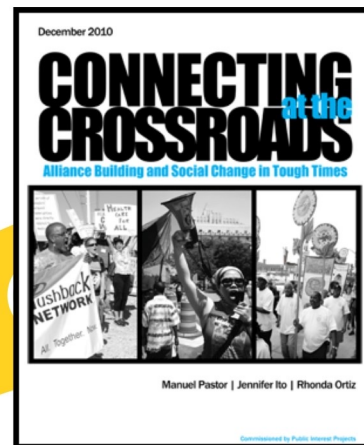
HOW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS FOR REGIONAL EQUITY ARE  
RESHAPING METROPOLITAN AMERICA

MANUEL PASTOR JR.  
CHRIS BENNER, AND  
MARTHA MATSUOKA



NOVEMBER 2010  
Manuel Pastor  
Rhonda Ortiz  
Jennifer Ito  
Veronica Serrano  
Yarema Carter  
Jennifer Tsui  
Teresa Chung

Inter ethnic  
Youth  
LEADERSHIP  
for the  
21st  
Century



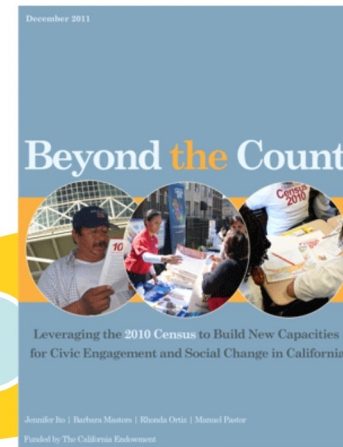
December 2010

**CONNECTING  
CROSSROADS**  
at the  
Alliance Building and Social Change in Tough Times



Manuel Pastor | Jennifer Ito | Rhonda Ortiz

Submitted by Public Interest Projects



December 2011

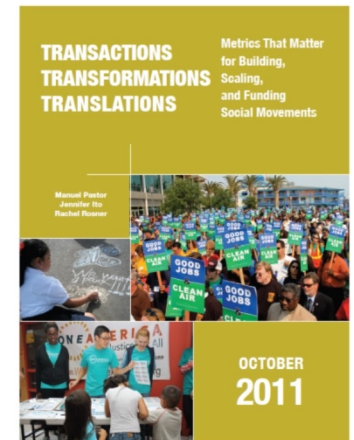
**Beyond the Count**



Leveraging the 2010 Census to Build New Capacities  
for Civic Engagement and Social Change in California

Jennifer Ito | Barbara Munton | Rhonda Ortiz | Manuel Pastor

Funded by The California Endowment



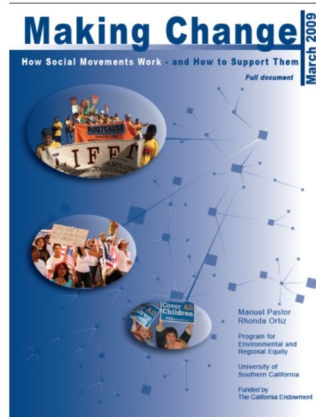
**TRANSACTIONS  
TRANSFORMATIONS  
TRANSLATIONS**

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

Manuel Pastor  
Jennifer Ito  
Rhonda Ortiz



OCTOBER  
2011



**Making Change**  
How Social Movements Work - and How to Support Them

Full document  
March 2009



Manuel Pastor  
Rhonda Ortiz  
Program for  
Environmental and  
Regional Equity  
University of  
Southern California  
Funded by  
The California Endowment



SC Program for Environmental  
& Regional Equity

# RESEARCH STRATEGIES

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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

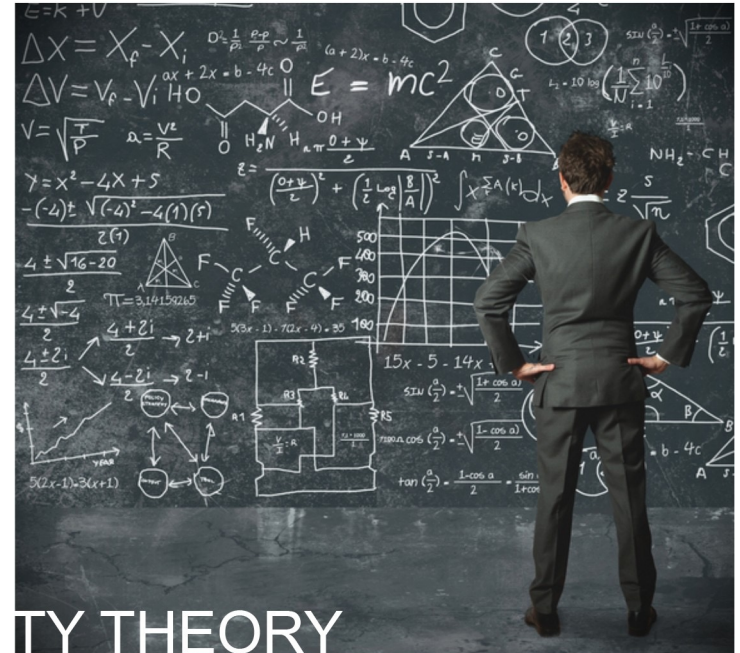




# MOVEMENT THEORY, MOVEMENT PRACTICE

## CATEGORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

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



# 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



# THE 10 ELEMENTS

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## 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

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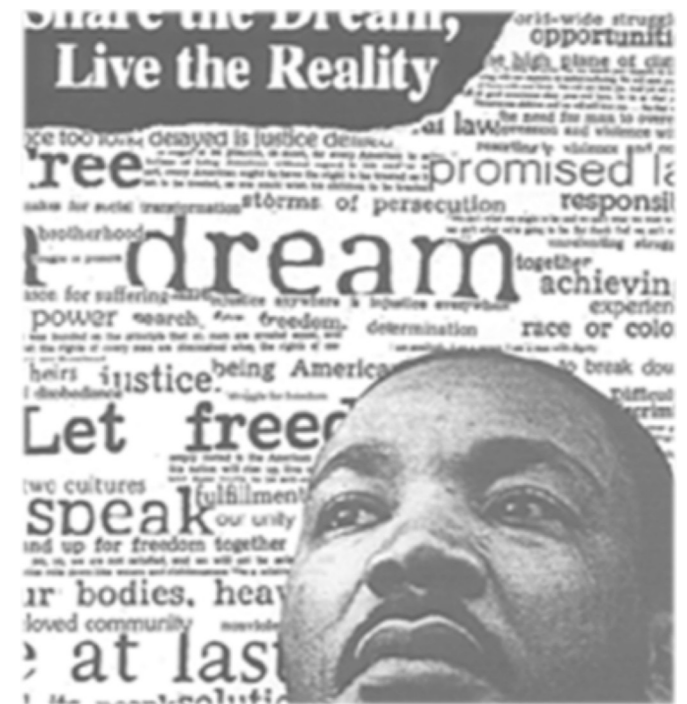
## ELEMENT 1: A vision and frame

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 & movements





# IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

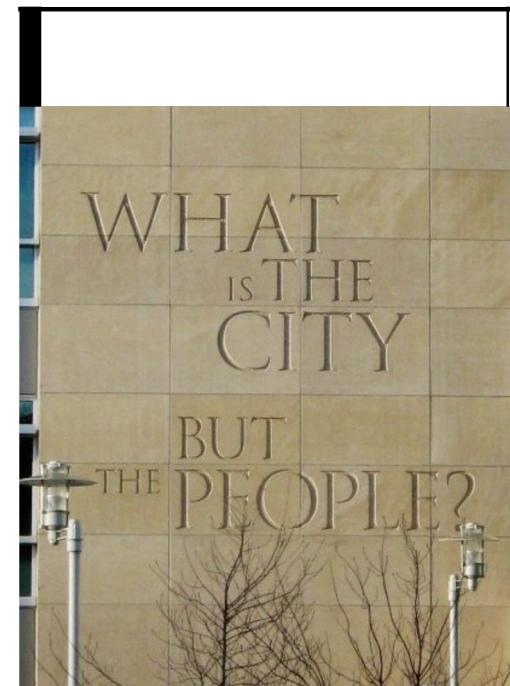
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## ELEMENT 5: A vision of government and governance

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



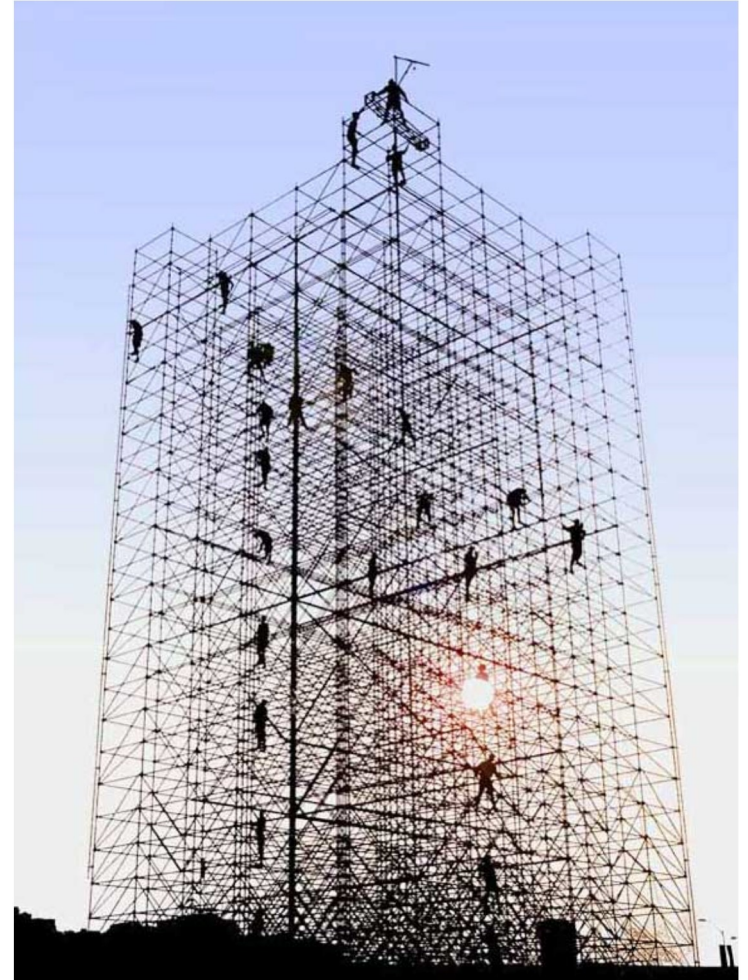
# IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

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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

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## 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**

# 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

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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

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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**





# WHY METRICS? WHY NOW? (originally)

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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



# WHY METRICS? WHY NOW? (thanks, field!)

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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**

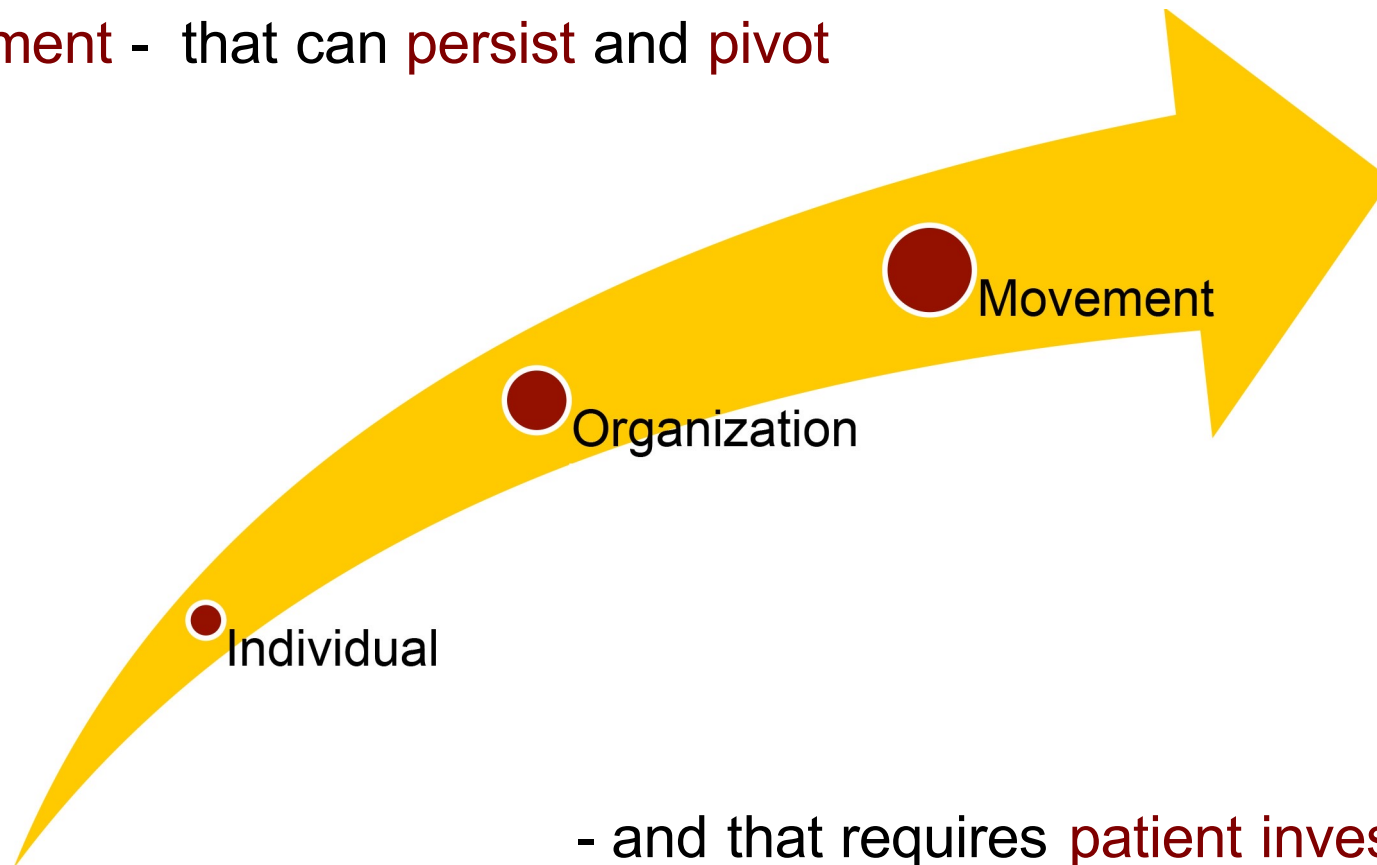
While there are **translation** gaps, they will be better bridged by funders and grantees **co-creating the new metrics of movement building**



# WHY METRICS? WHY NOW?

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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

# TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

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## A FRAMEWORK FOR METRICS THAT MATTER

### TRANSACTIONS

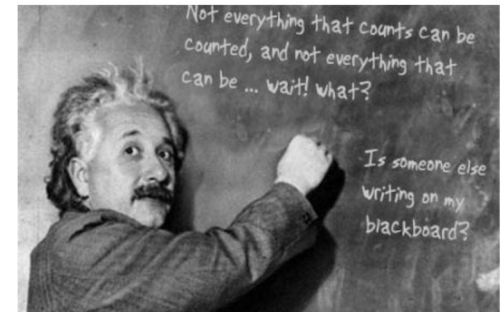
- What is easier to count that counts

### 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

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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

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## 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

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## 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

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

# TRANSLATIONS and TRANSLATORS

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*"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

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## 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

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- 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**



# LEADING THROUGH THE DIVIDE

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# FOR MORE ...

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

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