



MAKING CHANGE: MOVEMENTS FOR THE NEXT AMERICA

05/08/2014

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HEALTH EQUITY IN CALIFORNIA

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 . . .

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 . . .

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 . . .

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



Image from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O0LOCvZlgdA>



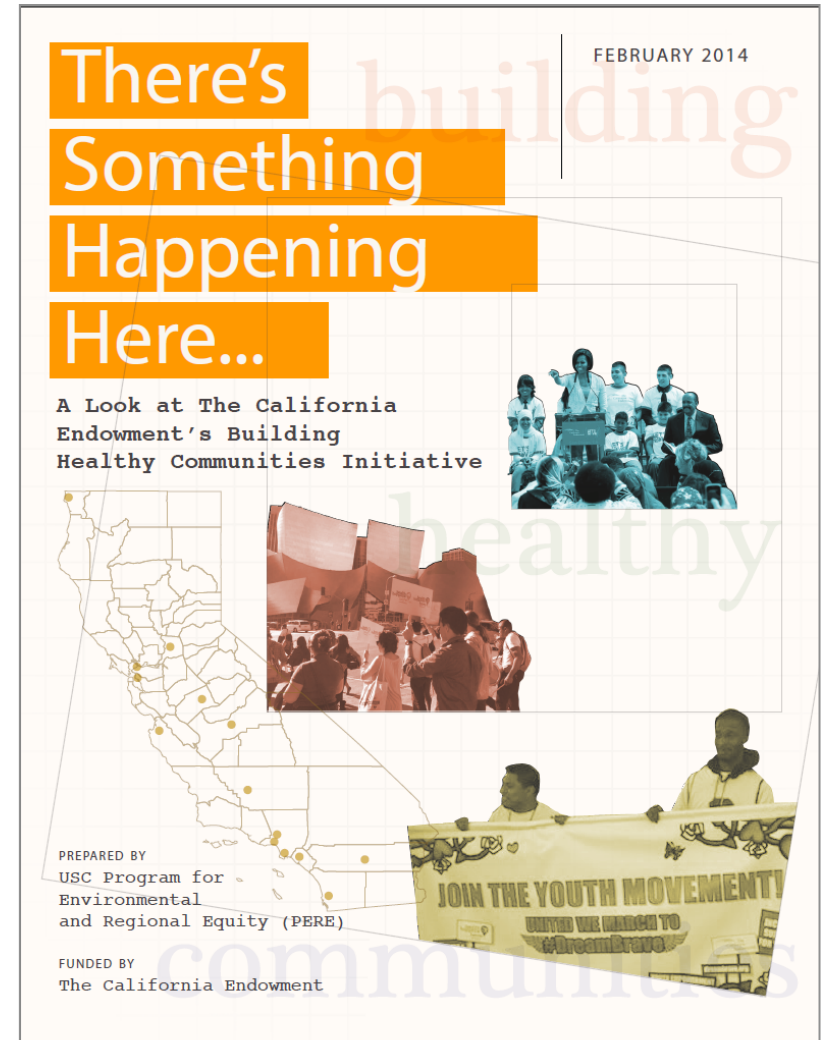
Image from: <http://kgalb.org/tag/long-beach-unified-school-district/>

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

THERE'S SOMETHING HAPPENING HERE...

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

3 Means of Change

PROJECTS show what's possible

POLICY makes new practices widespread

POWER makes policy happen



FRAMING

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

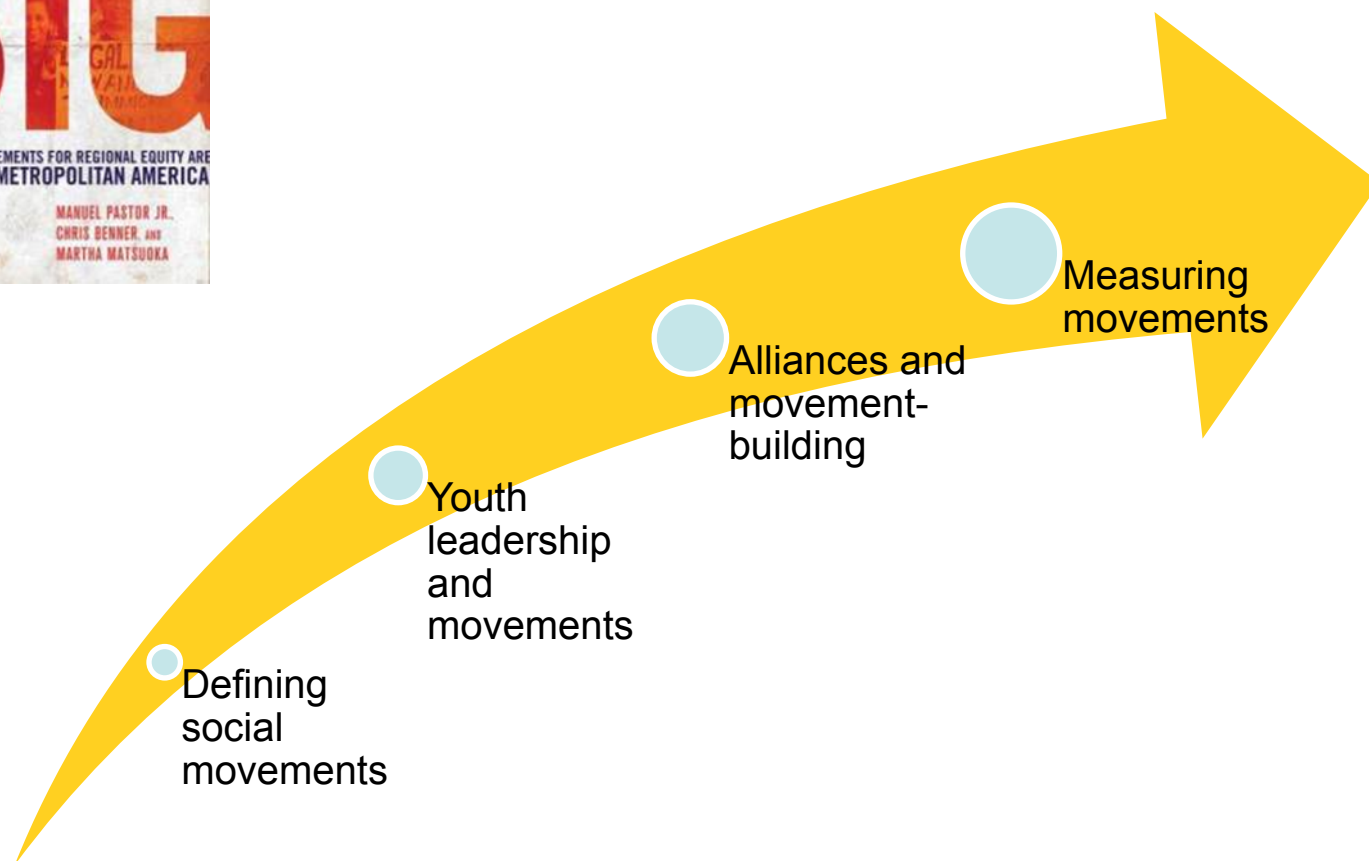
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DEFINED

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

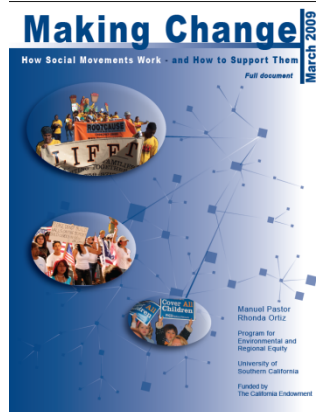
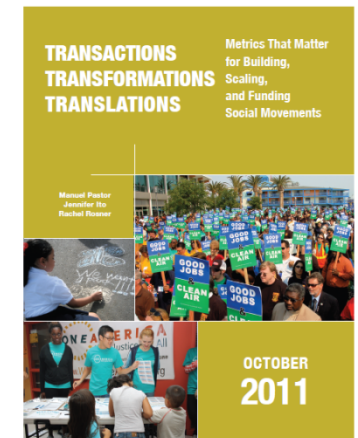
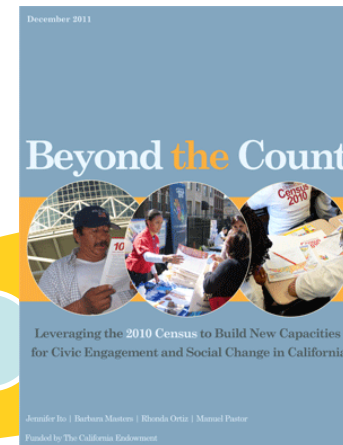
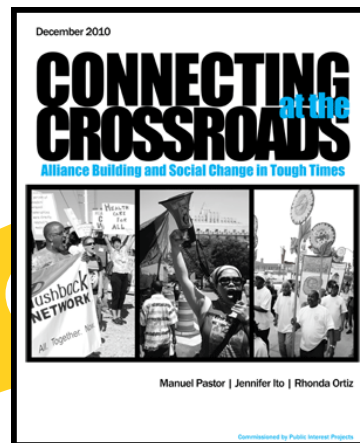
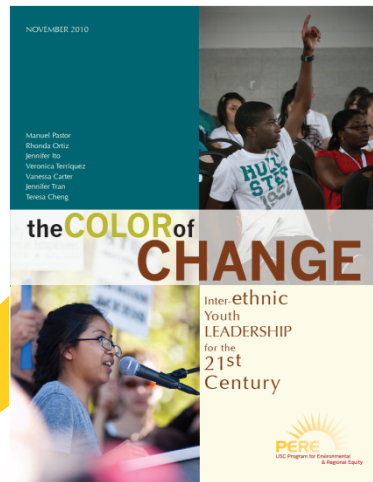
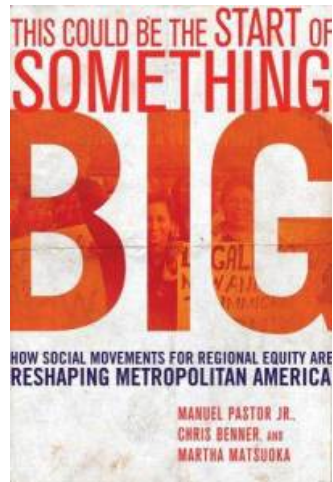
- Shift the nation's fundamental frame of reference
- Combine an authentic base with a compelling strategy for leveraging systemic change



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 300+ over course of projects)

4) CONVENING mid-way in project to get feedback and new directions

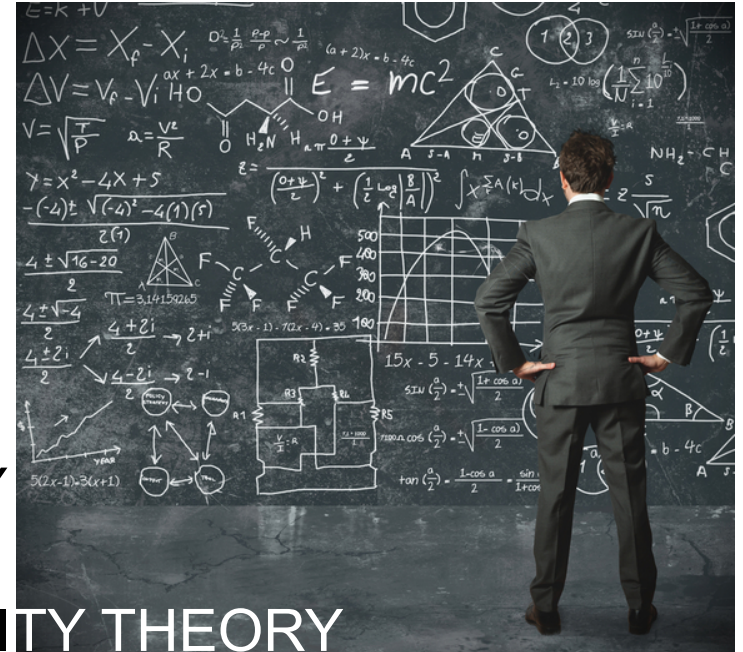
5) PRESENTATION with commentary from social movement leaders



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

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

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

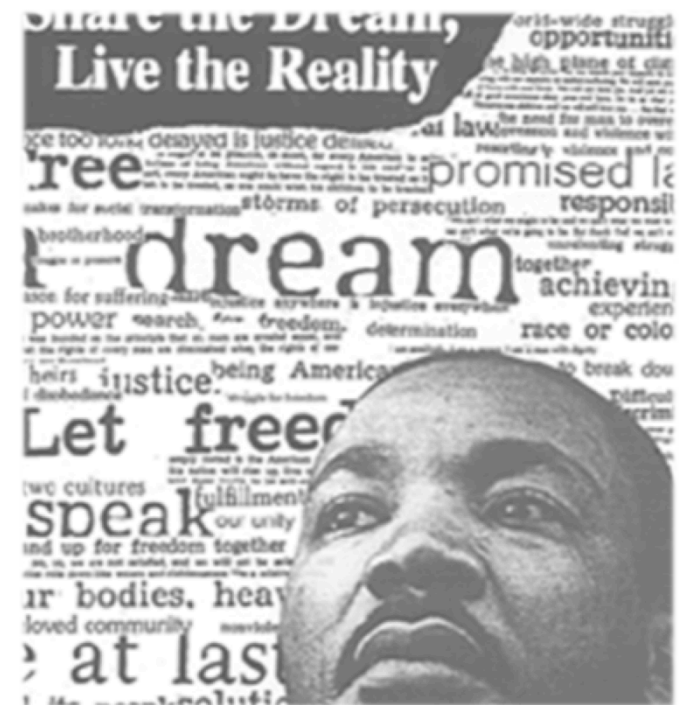
ELEMENT 1: A vision and frame

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 & movements



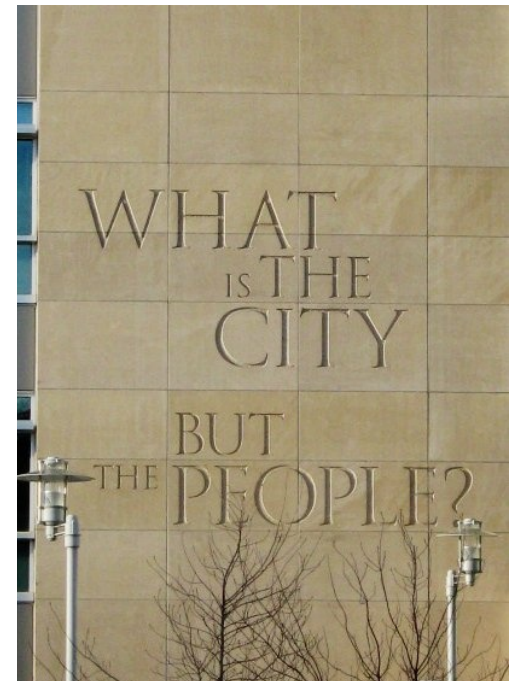
IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

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

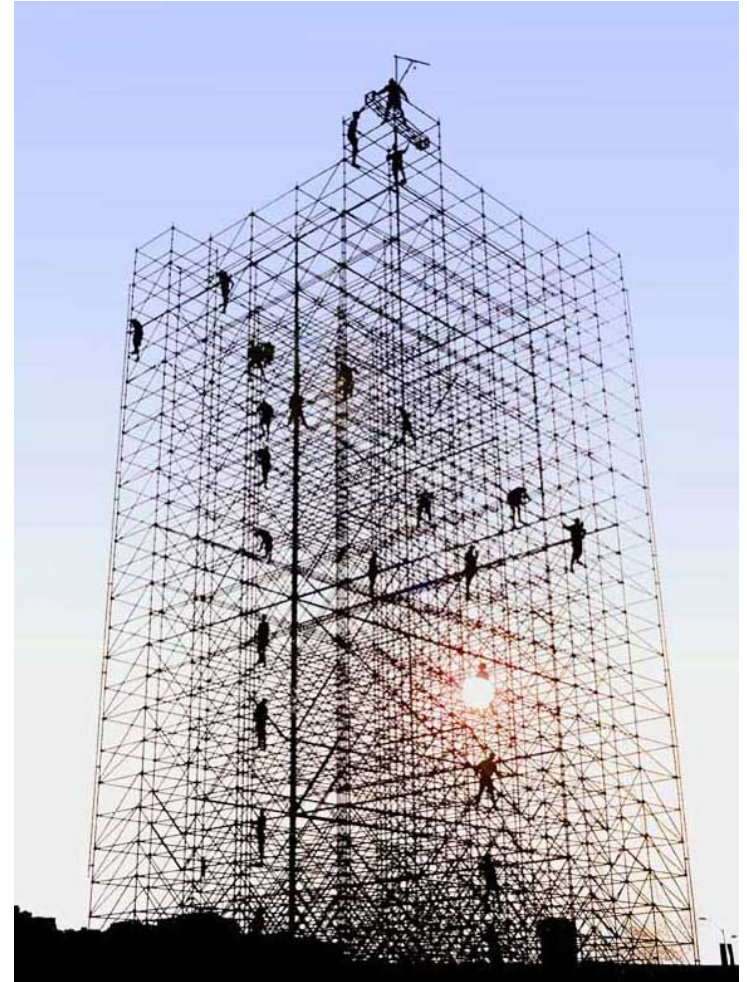


IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

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 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

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**



WHY METRICS? WHY NOW? (originally)

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!)

Organizers are eager for a **common language and framework** for metrics for movement building

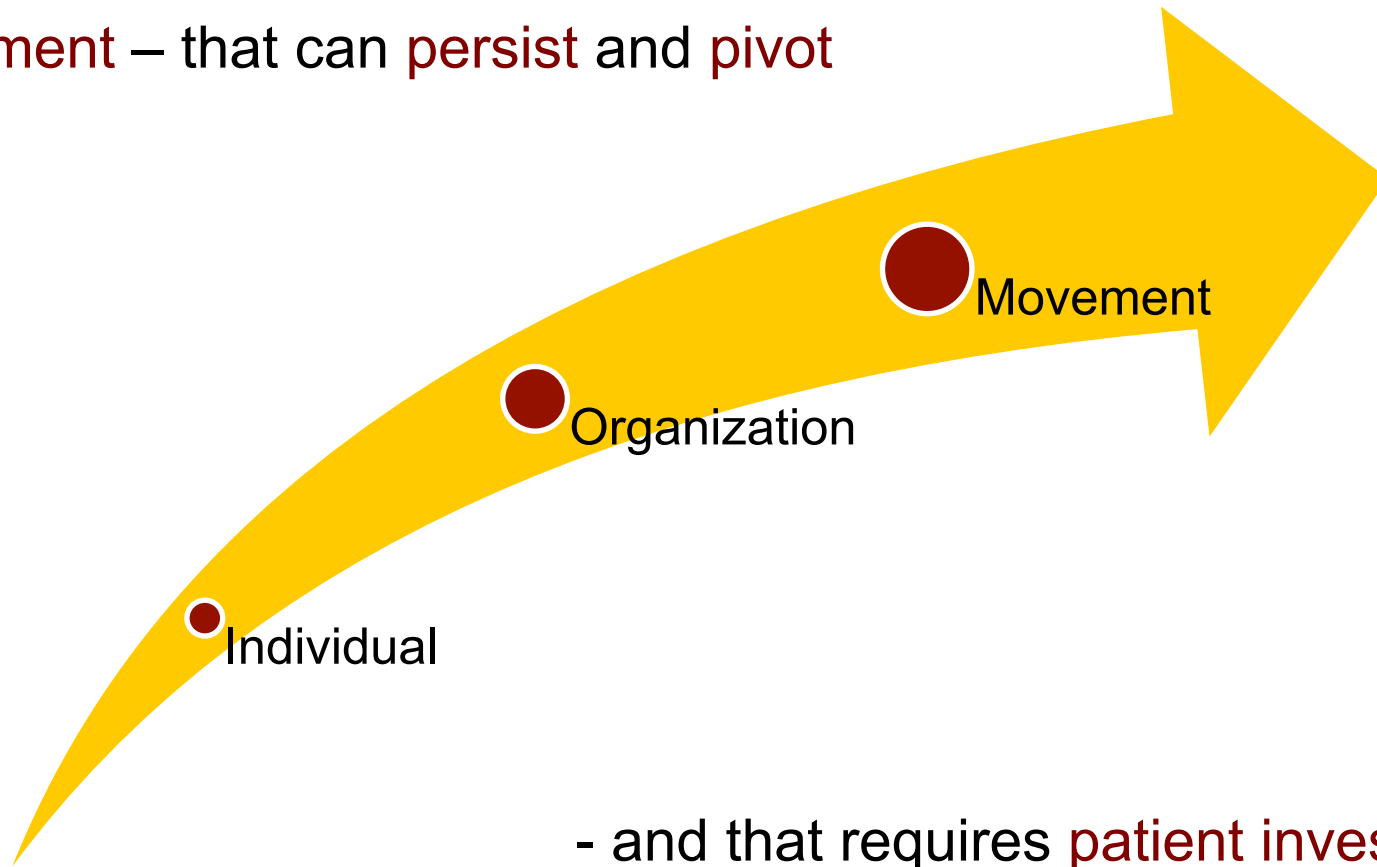
We need a **metrics** that really captures movement-building, that looks at the **ecosystem** and not just **organizational effectiveness**

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?

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

A FRAMEWORK FOR METRICS THAT MATTER

TRANSACTIONS

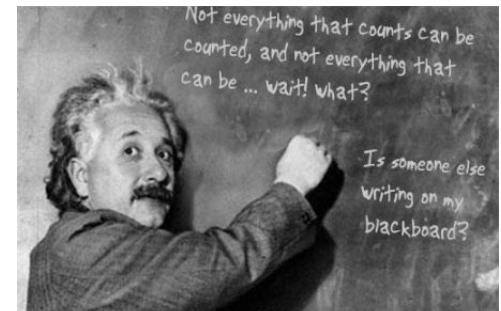
- What is easier to count that counts

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

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

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

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

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

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



- 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



FOR MORE . . .



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