Social Theory for Social Change

RC SSci 301 / Sociology 313

Winter 2017

Ian Robinson

Email: eian@umich.edu **Tel**: 647-6713 (Soc)

Seminar Meeting: M/W 7-9pm, EQ 1507

Office Hours: MON 10-noon; WED 1-3pm (Soc Office: LSA 3214) or by appointment.

Introduction

Our society faces many pressing problems which, if they could be solved or ameliorated, would greatly improve the quality of life of current and future generations in this country and around the world. Often the root of these problems is not so much technical as political – that is, we do not lack good ideas about how to ameliorate this problem, based on the experience of other countries and/or our own history, but we lack the political power necessary to implement the appropriate policies. A lot of social science analysis aims to better understand the deeper causes of social problems, and to offer policy prescriptions for ameliorating them. Such research is valuable and we will draw on it in this course. It is, however, much rarer for social science to address the question: how we can build the political power necessary to implement the reforms that we believe to be in the public interest? In this course, we do all three things, but we put particular emphasis on this third, less travelled road. The course is divided into four parts.

Part One examines three case studies in which relatively small groups of people sought to address profound social problems: (1) the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project developed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); (2) the protection of approximately 5,000 Jewish child refugees by the villagers of Le Chambon, France, during the Nazi occupation; and (3) the Flint Sit-Down strike of the winter of 1936-7. Not all of these cases achieved large-scale social change: the villagers of Le Chambon saved 5,000 lives (and the lives of subsequent generations that came from them) that might otherwise have been lost to the Holocaust, but their example was not widely followed. But the Flint sit-down strike and Freedom Summer organizing had major impacts, contributing to important civil rights and labor movement victories across the country. We are interested in why such efforts succeed or fail, beginning with why the participants were willing to take the risks and pay the costs that they did, when the odds of success struck most observers as remote.

Part Two builds on the lessons drawn from our cases in Part One, looking at what several social science disciplines – economics, psychology, sociology and anthropology -- have to say about why people do and do not participate in risky collective action aimed at social change, and why they pursue certain types of social change but not others. We first focus on five factors that can inhibit resistance to unjust

authority: (1) failure to recognize a problem as morally significant and/or failure to act on such recognition; (2) economic incentives to "free ride" associated with public goods; (3) deference to authorities who champion and defend the *status quo*; (4) confusion and lack of leadership in identifying what is really happening and why; and (5) inequalities of power that result in pessimism about the prospects of successful challenge, compounded by fears about the high price to be paid for trying (e.g., being fired), or in a level of cultural control that convinces the oppressed of the legitimacy of their oppression. For each factor, we consider how these kinds of inhibitors can be overcome.

One of the *leitmotifs* emerging from our discussions in Part Two is the importance of moral commitments to act, and the long-standing "habit" of acting on them. But where do such commitments come from, how can we ensure that a sufficient number of people make them, and can people who make them be coordinated to pursue a strategy that has real potential for bringing about significant social change? These are the challenges of organizing for social change, the focus of the Part Three. We consider six elements of good organizing: (1) relationship building, (2) identifying and articulating shared interests, (3) developing a shared public narrative, (4) power analysis, (5) strategy and the organizational factors that affect strategic capacity, and (6) campaigns. The approach to organizing and the readings in this section draw heavily on the work of Marshall Ganz, long-time Director of Organizing of the United Farm Workers, who now teaches courses on organizing at Harvard University.

In Part Four, we apply the lessons of Parts One through Three to three contemporary U.S. social problems that you, collectively, identify as your most pressing concerns. For each problem addressed, we first examine its deeper causes; we next explore what policies seem most likely to ameliorate if not eliminate the problem; finally, we assess strategies for building the political power necessary to implement these policies. You identify the social problems that are most important to you through a survey conducted on the first day of class. The survey asks you to rank order a list of social problems, but leaves space for them to add one or more problems that they consider more important than those listed. The list will include: global climate change; the neoliberal model of economic globalization represented by trade deals such as NAFTA and the TPP; the growing influence of money in U.S. politics; the (possible) authoritarian drift of U.S. politics; police treatment of racial minorities, especially black men, in the United States; mass incarceration; the continued gender pay gap; challenges to women's reproductive rights; rising student debt and the impossibility of shedding it through bankruptcy; the declining share of "good jobs" available even to students with college degrees; economic polarization and the share of the gains from economic growth going to the one percent; and the continued vulnerability of the financial system to a meltdown of the sort that almost occurred in 2008.

Assignments and Grading

Your grade in this course will be based on three elements: class participation (40%), your annotated bibliography on the readings that you recommend for your Part Three social problem (25%), and a final paper, approved by me, applying the methods of analysis you have learned in this class to a social problem of your choosing that we have not considered in the class (35%).

1. Class Participation

This class will be run as a discussion seminar and it is vital that everyone do the readings, submit their weekly reading responses and participate in class discussion. A component of the grade is allocated to each of these activities: attendance (13%); weekly reading response (24%); and the quality of your contributions to our class discussions (3%).

Attendance: I will take attendance every day. Attendance counts for a lot in this class, because the quality of our discussions will get better IF they are based on common knowledge of a growing set of past discussions. We have 27 class meetings this term, so everyone can miss one class without an excuse. After that, you must document that you missed class for an acceptable reason (illness, family emergency or religious holiday) or you will lose 0.5 percentage points for each missed class.

Weekly Reading Responses (RRs): You are expected to do the readings for each day prior to our class. For purposes of the RRs, you will be assigned to the Monday or the Wednesday group based on the first letter of your last name. *Those whose last name begins with a letter ranging from A through K will do reading responses for the Monday readings. Those whose last name runs from L through Z will do responses for the Wednesday readings.*

Your responses are due by noon on the day of the class in which we will discuss the readings you're addressing. Please upload your responses to the Google shared file that I've created for you. Please name your files according to the following format, so that I can easily keep track of which files are which: your last name, response #, date of the assigned readings in the syllabus (e.g., Robinson, RR#4, Feb 4). Also, please put your name at the top of your RR so I can keep track of who wrote what when I print them out.

You will write a one-page (single-spaced) reading response to two or more of the questions posed in the syllabus for the readings that fall on your assigned day. Page references should be provided for important claims regarding the authors arguments or facts in support of those arguments. An excellent RR will (1) demonstrate detailed knowledge of the relevant assigned readings, (2) indicate which questions from the syllabus are being answered and offer clear, direct answers to those questions; (3) arrive by the deadline; and (4) be named in the way indicated in the previous paragraph.

An excellent response is worth 2 points, so to earn the full 24 percentage points allocated to the reading responses, you will need to write **twelve** excellent responses. Since there are 14 weeks in which you could write a reading response, this gives you two free weeks. An excellent late reading response is worth 1% point.

Quality of contribution to class discussion: The main criteria I'll use to assess quality are (1) whether you contribute regularly (but not so often that you negatively affect others' opportunities to contribute); and (2) whether those contributions demonstrate (a) careful listening to the other class members, so that you engage what they say; (b) a commitment to respectful discussion, as defined by the ground rules we develop in our first class; (c) a sense of what the main lines of inquiry are for the day, so that you are helping to keep our discussion focused and productive; and (d) a detailed knowledge of the readings. The quality of your contributions is more important than their quantity. Contributions to class discussion are very important, but only 3% points are assigned for this, in recognition that some students are much shyer than others, and my belief that they should not be penalized for this.

2. Annotated Bibliography

As noted in the Introduction, Part Three of this course will focus on three social problems chosen by you. This means that, together, we will need to identify the readings to be used to inform our analysis of each of these problems. Each of you will help to do that. The class will be divided into roughly equal

numbers to identify the best readings for each problem. As much as possible, you will be assigned to the social problem that you ranked highest among those that were chosen. You are not required to work as a team with the other students assigned to your social problem, but you are encouraged to do so. If you work as part of a team, you will still hand in individual reports, with the characteristics described in the next paragraph. However, I expect you to coordinate so that I do not get two or more bibliographies with overlapping articles. In recognition of the extra work entailed in coordinating with your teammates, those who work as a team will receive three bonus points.

Whether you work on your own or as part of a team, you are looking for three types of readings, so your annotated bibliography will be divided into three sections. In the first section, you will provide a full citation and a summary and critique of the main arguments (one paragraph for the summary and one for the critique) of TWO articles that offer different explanations of the roots of the problem being examined. In the second section, you will do the same thing for TWO articles offering recommendations for how best to address this problem in policy terms. In the third section, you will do the same thing for TWO articles that examine previous efforts to implement policy reforms of similar to those your articles recommend, with attention to the actors that supported the reform measures and the actors that opposed them. Since a paragraph will average half a page in length, your annotated bibliography should be about **six pages, double-spaced**, in length. **It is due by 5pm on the last day before the Spring Break, Friday, February 24th**, though you are welcome to turn it in before then. You will know what social problem you are assigned to research by Monday of Week 2. **Please upload your annotated bibliography to our shared Google folder.**

3. Final Paper

Your final paper requires you to apply the same kind of analysis used to explore the three social problems we discussed in Part Four to a social problem of your choosing that has not been an object of detailed study in our class. Your paper will state the problem and explain why it is important, then consider (1) the underlying causes of the problem; (2) policy and/or institutional reforms that would significantly ameliorate if not completely solve the problem; and (3) strategies for building enough political power to implement the policy reforms you advocate. You should consider at least three readings bearing on each of these themes (causes, reforms and strategy), so you bibliography should include at least nine citations. High quality journalistic articles from magazines and newspapers may be used for up to three of these citations, but the rest should be from articles published in scholarly journals or from books published by academic presses. The final paper, worth 30% of your final grade, should be **10-12 pages**, double-spaced, clearly labeled and uploaded to your shared Google folder by **5pm on Monday, April 24th**.

It is important to get started on your research for this paper well before the end of term. To encourage this, a **1-2 paper proposal is due in class by Monday, March 20th**. The paper proposal, worth 5% points, should include a clear statement of the social problem that interests you, and at least two readings that you propose to use in each of the paper's three sections. I will give you comments on your proposals within a week, so that you know you are approved to go forward on this topic.

Notes

Creating an atmosphere in which everyone participates respectfully: You will be discussing a number of sensitive issues (such as discrimination, power, and privilege). Please listen to your peers with care and sympathy before disagreeing with them (if you do), and disagree with people's ideas or behavior rather than personalizing it. No personal attacks or offensive or demeaning behavior will be tolerated. The things you share with one another in your section meetings (or in any other course-related context, such as a drive to site) should be treated as confidential.

Academic Integrity: Plagiarism is the failure to attribute words or ideas that are not your own to those from whom you took them. Submitting plagiarized work will automatically result in a failing grade for the given assignment. Acts of plagiarism will also be reported to the LSA Student Affairs Office. If you are unclear about what constitutes plagiarism, go to: http://www.las.umich.edu/english/undergraduate/plag.htm.

Accommodations: If you have any special needs or would like to request accommodations, please let your GSI and your PF know within the first three weeks of classes so that appropriate arrangements can be made. If you think you may need an accommodation for a disability, please let me know at the beginning of the term. Next, you should contact the Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) office. Once your eligibility for an accommodation has been determined, you will be issued a Verified Individual Services Accommodation (VISA) form and we can arrange for your accommodation. Any information you provide is private and confidential and will be treated as such. If you already have a VISA form from SSD, please present this form to me at the beginning of the term.

Student Mental Health and Wellbeing: The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available. For help, contact **Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)** at (734) 764-8312 and https://caps.umich.edu/ during and after hours, on weekends and holidays, or through its counselors physically located in schools on both North and Central Campus. You may also consult **University Health Service (UHS)** at (734) 764-8320 and https://www.uhs.umich.edu/mentalhealthsvcs, or for alcohol or drug concerns, see www.uhs.umich.edu/aodresources. For a listing of other mental health resources available on and off campus, visit: http://umich.edu/~mhealth/.

Student Sexual Misconduct Policy Title IX prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, which includes sexual misconduct — including harassment, domestic and dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. We understand that sexual violence can undermine students' academic success and we encourage anyone dealing with sexual misconduct to talk to someone about their experience, so they can get the support they need. Confidential support and academic advocacy can be found with the Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center (SAPAC) on their 24-hour crisis line, (734) 936-3333 and at sapac.umich.edu. Alleged violations can be non-confidentially reported to the Office for Institutional Equity (OIE) at institutional.equity@umich.edu

CLASS SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNED READINGS

PART ONE: Three Successful Challenges to Unjust Authority

Wk 1, W (Jan 4): Introduction

- Review syllabus and explain new design of the course
- Introduce one another
- Free write, then pair and share on the question of sacrifice
- Develop ground rules for our discussions
- Discuss listed social problems that could be our focus in Part Four and consider additions to list
- Fill out short form to determine which social problems we'll focus on in Part Four

Wk 2, M (Jan 9): Mississippi Freedom Summer (1964)

Readings:

1. Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 1-15, 77-111.
2. Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 24-41, 50-55, 62-5. [cut section on applicants who don't go and how diff from those who do]

Film: "Freedom on My Mind"

Questions:

1. What, according to Payne, is the difference between the community "organizing" and "mobilizing" traditions within the civil rights movement? How were they related to each other?
2. Why did SNCC activists decide to work in Mississippi, starting in 1961, when the rest of the civil rights movement thought that was much too dangerous?
3. What motivated white students from elite colleges to join SNCC staffers and local volunteers in Mississippi as Freedom Summer volunteers in 1964?

Wk 2, W (Jan 11): Freedom Summer (con't)

Readings:

1. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom* (1995), pp. 192-201, 236-48, 256-64.
2. McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (1998), pp. 161-98.

Questions:

1. How were black residents of Mississippi organized into the movement? Why were they – arguably the most vulnerable of all the volunteers involved in the effort – willing to take the risks associated with becoming a movement activist?

2. How did participation in Freedom Summer – and the movement more generally – alter the staff, the local people, and the white FS volunteers?
3. How – and why -- did the Freedom Summer volunteers go on to play such important roles in the formation and leadership of other social movements of the 1960s and 1970s?

Wk 3, M (Jan 16): MLK Day – No class

Wk 3, W (Jan 18): Le Chambon (1940-44)

Readings:

1. Philip Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood be Shed* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1985), pp. xiii-xxi, 1-12, 15-32, 42-54, 77-93, 119-28, 139-45.

Film: "Weapons of the Spirit"

Questions:

1. What did Pastor Trocme contribute to the resistance of Le Chambon? And Edouard Theis?
2. Why were the villagers of Le Chambon willing to follow Trocme and Theis? Did the villagers share Trocme's commitment to pacifism when he arrived in Le Chambon?
3. Why was Trocme willing to play the role he did despite the fact that it put his family and the villagers, as well as himself, at risk? Do you have any sympathy for the Mayor of Le Chambon's response to Magda Trocme's request that he help her to get papers for Jewish refugees?

Wk 4, M (Jan 23): Flint Sit-Down Strike (1936-37)

Readings:

1. Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!* (San Francisco, CA: Straight Arrow Books, 1972), pp. 177-216. [next time, reduce number of pages]
2. [Next time] Henry Kraus, *The Many and the Few* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985, 2nd Ed, Revised), pp. xx-yy.
3. [Next time] Wikipedia, "The Ludlow Massacre" (1914) -- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludlow_Massacre

Film: "With Babies and Banners"

Questions:

1. Who led the Flint sit-down strike? Did these leaders have qualities and/or contribute to the movement in ways similar to those we found in Pastor Trocme or Edouard Theis, Bob Moses or Ella Baker?
2. What role did women play in the victory of the sit-downers? In what rorganization(s) relevant to the outcome of the struggle did they play an important leadership role?

3. What impact did the victory in Flint have on the new industrial labor movement, and in particular, on the willingness of workers in other cities and industries to engage in their own sit-down strikes?

PART TWO: Theories & Evidence re. Barriers to Collective Action for Social Justice

Wk 4, W (Jan 25): The Difficulty of Challenging Authority

Readings:

1. Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* (New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 1969), pp. xi-xiii, 1-12, 27-31, 73-88, 123-64, 169-78.

Handout: Table summarizing results of experimental permutations (pp. 29, 30)

Film: Excerpts from "Obedience" -- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ek4pWJ0_XNo

Questions:

1. How do you understand Prozi's unsuccessful struggle to resist hurting the "learner"? Does his behavior seem consistent with Milgram's theory that obedient subjects shift into an "agentic state"?
2. What are the main "binding factors" that Milgram believes keep someone in an agentic state once they get there? Have you ever felt the force of one or more of these binding factors inducing you to continue doing something you didn't want to be doing?
3. Can you think of a variation in the experiment that you think Milgram should have tried? What would this variation test that you think is important? What would you expect to happen?

Wk 5, M (Jan 30): Leadership, Framing and Group Dynamics

Readings:

1. Milgram, *Obedience to Authority*, pp. 89-122, 179-89, 203-5, 207, 210-11.
2. William Gamson, et.al., *Encounters with Unjust Authority*, pp. 1-23, 42-7, 59-70, 138-55.

Handout: tables summarizing results of additional experimental permutations (pp. 60-1, 119)

Questions:

1. What changes in Milgram's baseline experimental design have the biggest impact on obedience to authority? Why are these factors so powerful?
2. What do Gamson and his colleagues see as the main limitation of the Milgram experiment? Do you agree?
3. What are the factors that contribute to what Gamson et.al. call a successful protest "career"? How important is the sequence in which different kinds of actions occur? How important is luck?

Wk 5, W (Feb 1): Public Goods and Free Riders

Readings:

1. Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 5-22, 33-43, 60-65, 66-76, 84-87.
2. Ernst Fehr & Herbert Gintis, "Human Motivation and Social Cooperation: Experimental and Analytical Foundations," 33 *Annual Review of Sociology* (2007), pp. 43-64.

Questions:

1. What is a "public good" as understood by economists like Olson? Is a strike a public good? What about a just social order?
2. Why, if I am rational, self-interested and individualistic, as conventional economic theory assumes, must I respond to public goods that require the cooperation of large numbers of people by "free riding"? Have you seen examples of this kind of free riding in your interactions with others?
3. What, according to Fehr & Gintis, is wrong with the model of human motivation that underpins conventional economic analyses like Olson's?
4. How do institutions – and, in particular, whether or not they permit free riders to be punished for free riding -- impact the stability of cooperation within groups?

Wk 6, M (Feb 6): Moral Development and Identity

Readings:

1. Anne Colby, et.al., *Educating Citizens: Preparing America's Undergraduates for Lives of Moral and Civic Responsibility* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2003), pp. 96-130. (Ch 4: The Multiple Dimensions of Moral and Civic Development) [next time reduce pages]
2. Craig Calhoun, "The Problem of Identity in Collective Action," in Joan Huber, ed., *Macro- Micro Linkages in Sociology* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1991), pp. 51-70.

Questions:

1. Milgram (1969: 205) found that differences in levels of formal education did not have a statistically significant impact on subjects' willingness to go all the way to the end of the shock box. Do the findings reported by Colby et.al. help us to understand why that might be so?
2. What, according to the authors, is the relationship between personal identity and the propensity to act on one's moral convictions? Do you find this account convincing?
3. Why, according to Colby et.al., do some people place moral or political principles and actions at the heart of their personal identity, while others do not?
4. How does Calhoun's discussion of honor as a motive for collective action relate to Colby's discussion of moral motives? How does he think social struggles transform identities, fueling more intense commitments and correspondingly higher levels of collective action?

Film: Excerpts from "Tank Man" (PBS Frontline)

Wk 6, W (Feb 8): Unequal Power and Hegemony

Readings:

1. John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980), pp. v-x, 1, 3-32, 84-121.

Questions:

1. What is the third dimension of power as Lukes defines it? How is it related to the idea of "hegemony"?
2. What would a third dimension of power analysis of the Jim Crow system in the South look like?
3. What, according to Gaventa, were the most important factors maintaining "quiescence" in the Kentucky coalfields before 1930? Do these factors contribute to second dimension or third dimension exercises of power?
4. How did union organizing efforts overcome the forces that previously fostered quiescence, at least for a period of time? How was it subsequently re-established?

PART THREE: The Practice of Organizing

Wk 7, M (Feb 13): Relationship Building and Recruiting

Readings:

1. Marshall Ganz, "Relationships," in *Organizing Notes* (2015), pp. 50-64.
2. Ian Simmons, "On One-to-Ones," *The Next Steps of Organizing* (1998), pp. 149-52.
3. Kris Rondeau, "Women's Ways of Organizing," 1(18) *Labor Research Review* (1991), pp. 45-59.
4. Kim Bobo, et.al., *Organizing for Social Change* (Santa Ana, CA: Seven Locks Press, 1996), pp. 78-85. (Ch 10: Recruiting)

Questions:

1. What, according to Ganz, is the difference between a "public relationship" and a typical friendship? Do you have a public relationship with anyone? If so, how did it develop?
2. Why does Ganz think "one-to-one" conversations are so important to building public relationships? Have you ever participated in a one-to-one?
3. How does Ganz's approach to organizing compare with Rondeau's? Do you think it makes sense to build public relationships with women and men in different ways?
4. What does Bobo's discussion of the nuts and bolts of recruitment add to what you have already learned from Ganz and Rondeau?

Wk 7, W (Feb 15): Identifying Common Values and Interests

Readings:

1. Marshall Ganz, "Notes on Mapping the Social World: Actors, Values and Interests," *Organizing Notes*, pp. 11-17.

2. Jeffrey Stout, *Blessed are the Organized: Grassroots Democracy in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 210-21.
3. Karen Brodkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America* (Rutgers, NJ: University of Rutgers Press, 1998), pp. 1-7, 103-37.

Questions:

1. People have many different values and interests, often in tension with one another. What determines which of these they are prepared to put time and energy into advancing, by participating in organizations and campaigns?
2. Find out what people hold sacred, Stout tells us, and you will have a reliable answer to Q1. This is true, he thinks, whether or not people are religious in a conventional sense (e.g., believe in God, say certain prayers at certain times / places). Do you agree? Why / why not? Can you think of examples or counter-examples from your experience that bear on Stout's claim?
3. Brodkin's ethnography of three generations of a Jewish family in America (her own) helps us to see the evolving connections between a particular strand of an ethno-religious identity and the moral vision and politics that flow from that identity. Could you construct a similar account for your family? If you did, would "understanding where you are coming from" help others (and maybe even you) to better understand the ethnic and religious roots of your political beliefs and commitments? Why / why not?

Wk 8, M (Feb 20): Developing a Public Narrative

Readings:

1. Marshall Ganz, "What is Public Narrative?" *Organizing Notes*, pp. 32-50.
2. William Gamson, *Talking Politics* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 6-8.
3. Jerome Barber, "Two Modes of Thought," *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986 2nd Ed.), pp. 11-25.
4. David Gold, "Data-Driven Campaigns are Killing the Democratic Party," *Politico* (Feb 9, 2017). http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/02/data-driven-campaigns-democrats-need-message-214759

Film: Barack Obama, Keynote address to the DNC (July 27, 2004). (first 7 minutes)

Questions:

1. What does Ganz mean by a "public narrative"? What are its essential components? How is it different from a logical, evidence-based argument?
2. What is the relationship between "framing" – as Gamson uses the term – and public narratives? Do public narratives have to fit within existing, widely accepted frames? Or can public narratives be a means to change widely held frames?
3. What is the connection between narrative and emotion? And between emotion and action? Are Barber's answers to these questions consistent with Stout's arguments?
4. Is Gold's critique of data-driven campaigns consistent with the data and analyses put forward by today's other authors? What might a winning Democratic (public) narrative include?

Wk 8, W (Feb 22): Analyzing Power

Readings:

1. Marshall Ganz, "Power: Theories of Change," *Organizing Notes*, pp. 18-24.
2. Francis Fox Piven, *Challenging Authority* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), pp. 19-35. (CH 2: The Nature of Disruptive Power)
3. Jane McAlevey, *Raising Expectations and Raising Hell* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2012), pp. 27-59.

Questions:

1. We have already seen how Gaventa analyses power relationships, and how Lukes' three dimensions of power apply to union organizing in Appalachia. All of this is about what Ganz calls "power over" (i.e., A's power over B). But Ganz distinguishes between organizing by B to reduce A's "power over" B, and organizing by B to build B's community's "power to" advance common interests through higher levels of coordination and cooperation among community members. Can you think of an example of increased community "power to" drawn from your own experience?
2. Does Piven's concept of "disruptive power" pertain mainly to "power over" or "power to" relationships? What are the most important forms of disruptive power wielded by the labor movement? The civil rights movement? The women's movement?
3. What does McAlevey mean by a "power analysis"? Is such an analysis mainly about "power to" or "power over" relationships, or can both be important? In the case of the power analysis that the Union Cities campaign did in Stamford, CT, what did they hope to gain from it? What kind of information do need to do it? Who had this information? What were the most important results of the Stamford power analysis?

***** SPRING BREAK! *****

Wk 9, M (March 6): Strategizing and Strategic Capacity

Readings:

1. *Book of Samuel*, Chapter 17, Verses 4-49 (3 pp).
2. Marshall Ganz, "Strategizing," *Organizing Notes*, pp. 80-95.
3. Marshall Ganz, *Why David Sometimes Wins* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3-21 (Ch1: Introduction), 53-94 (Ch 3: New Opportunities, New Initiatives, 1959-62).

Questions:

1. Did David have a strategy that he believed could succeed before he decided to take on Goliath? How crazy was that? Is strategy something that you must figure out – and then stick to -- before you go into action, or is it something that evolves in tandem with action?
2. What does Ganz mean by "strategic capacity"? What factors increase or decrease the strategic capacity of a group or organization?

3. Ganz argues that Cesar Chavez's Farm Workers Association (later renamed the United Farm Workers), was able to organize farm workers and win collective agreements in California, where the much better financed efforts of the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters failed, because the FWA's strategy and tactics were much better. Find a couple of important examples of this superiority in Chapter 3. Does Ganz think that the FWA's superior strategic capacity was a function of Cesar Chavez's charisma? His brilliance as an organizer? Both? Neither? Explain.

Wk 9, W (March 8): Action Programs and Campaigns: A Case Study

Readings:

1. Marshall Ganz, "Action," *Organizing Notes*, pp. 97-110.
2. Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, pp. 48-54. (Ch 7: Designing Actions)
3. Daniel Hunter, *Strategy and Soul: A Campaigner's Tale of Fighting Billionaires, Corrupt Officials, and Philadelphia Casinos* (self-published: 2013), pp. 1-45, 153-66, 306-30.

Websites: For more on the campaign, visit www.strategyandsoul.org.

Questions:

1. How did Daniel Hunter's group frame the issue of building casinos in Philadelphia neighborhoods? Why did they decide to frame it that way? Within that frame, what was their public narrative?
2. How did Hunter's group seize the initiative, so that they were no longer just reacting to the timetable and actions of the pro-casino forces?
3. Why did Hunter's group vow never to do a conventional demonstration / rally? What kinds of actions did they do instead? What were their criteria for deciding whether a tactic was worth trying? Would Bobo agree with those criteria? Why / not?
4. What lessons does Hunter draw from the overall arc and results of their campaign?

PART FOUR: Contemporary Social Problems

Wk 10, M (March 13) – Wk 11, M (March 20): Denial of Women's Reproductive Rights
Students working on this topic: Shiloh, Lakyrra, Marlee, Briahna, and Madeleine

Wk 11, W (March 22) – Wk 13, M (April 3): Police Treatment of Racial Minorities
Students working on this topic: Sarah, Brittany, Jason, John Fisher, Drew, and Hunter

****** *No class on Monday, March 27* ******

Wk 13, W (April 5) – Wk 14, W (April 12): Mass Incarceration
Students working on this topic: Cameron, Jasen, Leah, Noah, and John Kistler

Wk 15, M (April 17): Last Class: where do we go from here?

- What are your most important take-aways from this class?
- How will you apply them going forward?
- How can I improve the next iteration of this course?
- Fill out RC student evaluations in class and LSA evaluations on-line