

**People, Power & Change**  
**MLD - 377 | A 612**  
**Spring 2021**

**INSTRUCTOR**

Marshall Ganz  
124 Mt. Auburn - Suite 200N-200  
617-495-3937  
Marshall\_Ganz@hks.harvard.edu

**COURSE INFO**

Tuesday/Thursday, 9:00-10:15am on Zoom (links on [Canvas](#))

Canvas site: <https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/86549>

Student Commitment Form:

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSe0UkI8jzoVio2BOqAqgOF-x61Ji7joi3Tplnowq8MUr7hLAg/viewform>

**OFFICE HOURS**

[Sign up online](#)

**FACULTY ASSISTANT**

Heather Adelman  
124 Mt. Auburn - Suite 200N-217B  
617-384-9637  
Heather\_adelman@hks.harvard.edu

**TEACHING FELLOWS**

**Head Teaching Fellow:**

Toni Kokenis  
tonikokenis@gmail.com

**Section 1:** Shivani Kumar  
shivani.narayanpandit@gmail.com

**Section 2:** Caleb Schwartz  
calebdschwartz@gmail.com

**Section 3:** Maggie Hughes  
mhughes4@media.mit.edu

**Section 4:** Salma Sameh  
salmasameh388@gmail.com

**Section 5:** Lizzie Stein  
stein.lizzie@gmail.com

*“In democratic countries, knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge; on its progress depends that of all the others.” — Alexis de Tocqueville*

## **A. OBJECTIVES**

Fulfilling the democratic promise of equity, accountability, and effectiveness requires the participation of an “organized” citizenry able to formulate, articulate, and assert its shared interests. Organizing, in turn, requires leadership: *accepting responsibility for enabling others to achieve shared purpose in the face of uncertainty.*

Organizers ask three questions: who are my people, what challenges do they face, and how can they turn their resources into the power they need to meet these challenges? Organizers identify, recruit, and develop leadership; build community around that leadership; and build power from the resources of that community.

In this course, students form leadership teams of 3 to 5 persons to organize people into a “constituency” able to work together to achieve real outcomes in pursuit of a shared purpose by the end of the semester. Students learn five core leadership practices: building public relationships, turning values into motivation through public narrative, turning resources into power by strategizing, turning intentions into effective action, and structuring organization to develop leadership, engage constituents, and achieve goals, distinguishing “mobilizing” from “organizing.” Students learn to coach others and to receive coaching in organizing practices.

## **B . PARTICIPANTS**

*This course is for students interested in learning how to exercise leadership to create social change through collective action.* There are no prerequisites. Students with and without “real world” organizing experience can find the class equally useful. Students with a strong commitment to the values on behalf of which they are working will be most successful. Because this is a course in practice, you will be asked to try new things, risk failure, and step outside your comfort zone. As reflective practitioners, students learn through critical analysis their experience, feedback, and coaching. This is not a course in comparative theories of organizing but, rather, a class in the actual practice of fundamental organizing practices: skills, concepts, and values. If you are not prepared for this kind of challenge, this class is not for you.

## C . REQUIREMENTS

1. **Organizing Project:** Students base class work on their participation in a leadership team responsible for launching a 6 week “organizing campaign.” Students form leadership teams of 3-5 with other members of the class. An “organizing campaign” requires recruiting people to form a constituency to join you in achieving a clear outcome in pursuit of a shared purpose by the end of the semester. This should require an average of **8 hours per week** in addition to class work, although it varies from week to week.
2. **Getting Started:** The course is front-loaded to offer students the opportunity to acquire basic skills useful in their organizing projects.
  - a. Students will meet one-to-one with their teaching fellow for **10 to 15 minutes in the fourth week of class** (Feb 15 – 19).
  - b. **Workshop Launching Teams:** On **Saturday, February 20<sup>th</sup> from 9:00 am to 2:00 pm** you are required to participate in a half-day Organizing Workshop to launch your leadership team.
  - c. **Workshop Launching Campaigns:** On **Saturday, March 6<sup>th</sup> from 9:00 am to 2:00 pm** you are required to participate in a half-day Organizing Workshop to define your strategy, draft your campaign plan, define campaign goals, design tactics, craft a 6 week campaign timeline for the rest of the semester.
3. **Readings:** Reading is assigned only for Tuesdays (except for the first and last weeks of the course). Readings draw on theory (T), practice (P), and history (H), and average 100 pages per week. An introductory paragraph places each week’s readings in context. Priority readings are designated with “▶”. My “*Organizing Notes*” explains our framework, contextualizes the readings, and explains the charts. Recommended readings are available on the course website for those who wish to pursue a topic more deeply.
4. **Lecture/ Discussion:** Class meets for 1 hour and 15 minutes, twice a week for 13 weeks. On Tuesdays lecture/discussions introduce concepts and cases. You are required to attend all classes, do all the reading, and take an active part in discussions.
5. **Sections:** On Thursdays, beginning in the second week of class, we meet in **sections** during class time. In sections, students practice skills, coach one another, and analyze their projects. Learning is based on critical reflection on your practice in the context of your project.
6. **Reflection Papers:** Beginning in the second week of class, students submit **reflection papers** of no more than 600 words in which they analyze their experience of their organizing project. Each week we pose questions to stimulate reflection. Papers are due on Saturday at 12 PM ET, except for your *story of self draft* and *team*

*workshop worksheets*, which are due on Wednesdays at 5 PM ET. There are 8 total reflection papers due: February 13, February 20, March 6, March 20, March 27, April 3, April 10, and April 24. The story of self draft is due February 3, and the team workshop worksheets are due February 24 and March 10.

Reflection papers are graded based on the following scale and criteria:

*Check Plus* – The student demonstrates strong understanding of the week’s material by diving deep in the concepts. Paper provides specific examples and moments from the project, with personal reflections on why the student is doing what they are doing, and/or what they can do better. Shares ah-ha moments, key learning and next steps.

*Check* – The student demonstrates good understanding of the week’s material by touching on key points, but doesn’t dive deep or ask themselves difficult questions. Does provide concrete examples and a general reflection.

*Check Minus* - The student does not demonstrate an understanding of the week’s material, instead providing either updates with no reflection, or reflections on the theory only with no specifics on the project. Evident that little effort and time was put into the paper.

7. **Presentations:** Each team prepares two 7-minute **presentations** for section during the semester. Students introduce themselves, their project, and reflect on how their project relates to the week’s topic.. Presentations conclude with questions to invite coaching. A presentation sign-up sheet will be distributed in sections.
8. **Midterm Paper:** On **Friday March 12<sup>th</sup>**, in lieu of a reflection paper for that week, students submit a 1,200 word **midterm analysis** of their project: why it is or is not working.
9. **Final Paper:** At the end of the term, on **Friday May 7<sup>th</sup>**, each student submits a 1,850 word **final paper in which they** analyze their learning based on their experience of their organizing project. Students are evaluated not on how successful their project is, but, rather, on their demonstrated ability to analyze what happened, how, and why.
10. **Final Grades** are based on class participation and weekly reflection papers (50%), the midterm progress report (20%), and the final paper (30%).

## D. MATERIALS

All **required** readings can be found online on the Canvas page:

<https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/86549>

You can access all required and recommended books at the [Harvard Coop](#).

### Required Books

- (1) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, New York: Vintage, 1989
- (2) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, New York: Vintage, 1989

**Recommended Books** (Required readings drawn from these books are also found on course website)

- (1) Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, New York: Addison-Wesley, 1989
- (2) Marshall Ganz, *Why David Sometimes Wins*, New York, Oxford, 2009
- (3) Liz McKenna and Hahrie Han, *Groundbreakers: How Obama's 2.2 million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*, Oxford University Press, 2015.
- (4) David Walls, *Community Organizing*, Polity Press, 2015.

## E . COURSE OUTLINE

The following is the schedule of class meetings and reading assignments. The approximate number of pages per week is indicated in italics beside the date. Special due dates are noted in italics. Letters to the right of each reading indicate whether the focus is theoretical (T), practical (P), or historical (H). Readings designated with “▶” are particularly important to focus on for class discussion.

### **INTRODUCTION TO ORGANIZING**

#### **WEEK 1 | OVERVIEW OF ORGANIZING | Tuesday, January 26 | 128 pp.**

Welcome. Today we get acquainted, discuss course goals, our strategy for achieving them, and requirements. We define **leadership as “accepting responsibility for enabling others to achieve shared purpose under conditions of uncertainty.”** The challenge of enabling others to lead is not new, as recounted in *Exodus 18*. Preaching on the “*Drum Major Instinct*” (listen to it) Dr. King addresses tensions we may feel between serving and leading. Burns explains the logic of understanding leadership and power in relational terms.

- ▶ *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 18 (H)
- ▶ King, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr. “*The Drum Major Instinct*,” Sermon Delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church (February 4, 1968), (p.259-67). <http://vimeo.com/77261262> (5:44) (P)
- Burns, James McGregor. “*Chapter 1, The Power of Leadership*,” *Leadership* in *Leadership*, (1978), (pp. 9-29)

“**What is Organizing**” introduces the framework that will scaffold our learning, explained more fully in “*Leading Change: Leadership, Organization, and Social Movements*.” **Organizers enable constituents** to work together on their own behalf, not by providing services to clients nor marketing products to customers, as McKnight, McAleve and my colleagues and I argue in our “*Social Enterprise in Not Social Change*” article. And as Alinsky and Giridharadas argue, **organizers create tension**, they do not avoid it. Without conflict, challenge, and change democracy doesn’t work. McAleve and Tufekci distinguish between “**mobilizing and “organizing.”** Do not be overwhelmed by the number of foundational readings, most of which are quite short. Many can usefully be referred back to throughout the entire semester.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: What is Organizing?*” (2018), (pp. 1-4). (T)
- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Leading Change: Leadership, Organization, and Social Movements*”, Chapter 19 in *Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice*, Nohria and Khurana; HBS Press, (2010), (pp. 1-45)(T).
- ► Ganz, Marshall; Kay, Tamara; and Spicer, Jason. “*Social Enterprise is not Social Change*” (2018), (pp 59-60)(T)
- ► McAleve, Jane. “*Table 1.1, Advocacy, Mobilizing, and Organizing*”, in *No Short Cuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*, (2016), (pp.9-12) (T)
- ► McKnight, John. “*Services are Bad for People, You’re either a Citizen or a Client*” (pp.41-44). (T)
- ► Alinsky, Saul. “*A Word About Words,*” in *Rules for Radicals*, (p.48-62).(P)
- Giridharadas, Anand. “*Real Change Requires Politics*”, *The New York Times*, Jul. 15, 2011.
- Tufekci, Zeynep. “*Preface*” in *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest,*” (2017), (ix-xx). (12 pages) (T)

**“On Organizing, Power, and People”:** In “*Speaking of Power*” I draw attention to its centrality in organizing, even as Alinsky comments on the word and Jean Baker Miller notes its meaning with respect to gender. Organizing plays a key role in “*Reclaiming Civil Society*” as Art Reyes and I argue. And in her introduction to “*How Organizations Create Activists*”, Hahrie Han shows that organizing is not only about short term “wins” but also building collective capacity and developing leadership. “*Understanding Impact*” explains why organizing campaigns have three measures of effectiveness, not just one: winning the campaign, empowering the community, and developing leadership.

- ► Marshall Ganz, “*Concepts of Power*”, Gettysburg Project, (2014), pp. 1-5.(T)
- Miller, Jean Baker “*Women’s Growth in Connection: Writings from the Stone Center*”, Chapter 11 in *Women and Power* (1991), (pp.197-205). (T)
- Ganz, Marshall; Reyes, Art, III. “*Reclaiming Civil Society*”, SSIR, 2020. (pp.6-9) (P)
- ► Han, Hahrie. “*Introduction*”, in *How Organizations Develop Activists*, (2014), (pp. 1-28). (T)
- ► Jovanovic, Vladica. “*Understanding Impact GA Serbia Notes*”, based on a talk by Marshall Ganz at the Global Affiliates Gathering in Serbia March 2015.

The “**Organizing in Action**” readings (optional) are snapshots of some recent examples of different ways in which organizing influences public life across diverse settings.

### **ORGANIZING IN ACTION (Optional)**

- Matthews, Mark K.; Bowlin, Nick; Hulac, Benjamin; E&E News Reporters. “*Inside the Sunrise Movement (it didn’t happen by accident)*” Dec. 3, 2018
- Dreier, Peter. “*Black Lives Matter joins a long line of protest movements that have shifted public opinion -- most recently, Occupy Wall Street*”, *Salon*, Aug.15, 2015.
- Han, Hahrie. “*Want Gun Control? Learn From the N.R.A.*”, *The New York Times*, Oct. 4, 2017.
- Schrantz, Doran. “*Building Power, Building Health*”, SSIR (2016).
- Deslandes, Ann. “*Despite the Coronavirus, Mexican Women Are Fighting Femicide*” In *Foreign Policy*, (May 20, 2020)
- Theoharis, Rev. Dr. Liz. “*Don’t Stop Organizing*” in *The Nation*, (Jun 5, 2020)

- Nowell, Cecelia. “*Argentina’s Decades-Long Fight to Legalize Abortion Ends in Victory*” in *The Nation*, (Jan. 1, 2020).
- Press, Alex N. “*Google’s New Union Will Put an Unconventional Organizing Model the the Test*” in *Jacobin*, (Jan 4, 2021)

**FOR FURTHER READING** (a lifetime reading list):

- Aristotle. “*Book 2, Chapter 1-2*” in *Politica* (pp.1127-1130). (T)
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*, “Chapters 2-6” in *Democracy in America*, Volume II, Part II, (2010), (pp.506-517). (H/T)
- Alinsky, Saul. “*Chapter 1*” *Reveille for Radicals*, (1989), (pp.3-23). (P)
- Schattschneider, EE. “*Introduction*” in *The Semisovereign People, A Realists View of Democracy in America*, (1975), (pp. xii-xvii). (T)
- Schattschneider, EE. “*The Contagiousness of Conflict*” in *The Semisovereign People, A Realists View of Democracy in America*(1975), (pp. 1-19). (T)
- Skocpol, Theda; Ganz, Marshall; Munson, Ziad. “*Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States*” in *American Political Science Review*, (September 2000). (H)
- Fischer, Louis. “*Chapter 31, Drama at the Seashore*” in *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, (pp.263-275). (H)
- Spodek, Howard. “*The Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) in India: Feminist, Gandhian Power in Development*”, *Economic Development and Cultural Change* Vol. 43, Oct 1994, (pp.193-202). (T)
- Chenoweth, Erica; Stephan, Maria J., “*Chapter One: The Success of Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns*” in *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (pp.3-29) (T/H)
- Walls, David. “*Chapter 2: Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation*” in *Community Organizing* (pp.20 – 54);
- Walls, David. “*Chapter 5: New Networks Innovate*” in *Community Organizing* (pp.92-113) (P)

**WEEK 1| LEARNING ORGANIZING | Thursday, January 28| 87 pp.**

**Because organizing is a practice, learning how requires organizing**, a point Kierkegaard makes. To learn new ways, we have to let go of old ways – a point on which Thich Nhat Hanh offers a wise parable and Langer offers wise advice. Dweck reminds us that failure in the service of learning is evidence of effort, not lack of talent, and urges us to adapt a “growth mindset” as opposed to a “fixed mindset.” Sitkin argues that short-term failure facilitates success, while fear of failure can ensure it. Coaching is one of the key leadership skills we will use, enabling students to enable each other’s learning, even as they learn to coach their leadership teams and others.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: Learning to Organize*” 2018, (pp. 5-9). (T)
- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: “People, Power, and Change*” 2018. (pp.10-40) (T)
- ► Kierkegaard, Soren. “*What it Means to Seek God [The Storm ois Knowledge Changed When It Is Applied?*” from *Thoughts on Crucial Situations in Human Life* (1941) (P)
- ► Hanh, Thich Nhat. “*The Raft is Not the Shore*” in *Thundering Silence: Sutra on Knowing the Better Way to Catch a Snake*, (pp.30-33). 2001 (T)
- ► Langer, Ellen. “*Mindful Learning*”, *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, Vol. 9, Number 6, (December 2000), (pp.220-223). (T)

- ► Dweck, Carol. “*The Mindset (Chapter 1)*”, in *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success* (2006), (pp.11-27) (P)
- Sitkin, Sim B. “*Learning through Failure: The Strategy of Small Losses*” Research in Organizational Behavior, Vol.14, 1992, (pp.231-256). (T)
- ► Ganz, Marshall; Wageman, Ruth “*Coaching as a Leadership Practice*”, (2014),(pp. 1-6) (P)
- ► Evans, Jonah. *Organizer’s Journey Handout*, 2012. (P)

#### **ORGANIZING TOOLS:**

- Australia Coaching Guide, “Coaching as a Leadership Practice,” (2020), (pp. 14-22).

#### **FOR FURTHER READING:**

- Langer, Ellen. “*Chapter 3: The Roots of Mindlessness*” in *Mindfulness*, 2014, (pp. 21-43). (P)
- Langer, Ellen. “*Chapter 4: The Cost of Mindlessness*” in *Mindfulness*, 2014, (pp. 45-59). (P)
- Langer, Ellen. “*Chapter 5: The Nature of Mindfulness*” in *Mindfulness*, 2014, (pp. 61-77). (P)
- Langer, Ellen. “*Chapter 7: Creative Uncertainty*” in *Mindfulness*, 2014, (pp. 115-129). (P)

### **LEADERSHIP PRACTICES: Public Narrative, Relationship Building, Structure, Action and Strategy**

#### **WEEK 2 | TELLING YOUR PUBLIC STORY | Tuesday, February 2 | 49 pp.**

Leadership requires enabling one’s people to **respond hopefully** to challenges to their shared values rather than **reacting fearfully** to them: to respond with agency. Public narrative can mobilize emotional resources enabling agency: hope over fear, solidarity over alienation, and self-worth over self-doubt. Urgent challenge can be communicated as a “*story of now*”, shared values enabling shared action as “*story of us*”: and why you care enough to accept responsibility to lead, as a “*story of self.*” Public Narrative is not messaging, branding, or public speaking. As Jayanti Ravi, MPA/MC 07 said, we use public narrative to bring out the “glow” from inside rather than a “gloss” from outside. In “What Is Public Narrative” and “Why Stories Matter” I explain our approach. Bruner grounds our work in cultural psychology. Marcus explains the neuroscience of anxiety, why we pay attention, on the one hand, and that of response, on the other. Nussbaum helps us understand how we experience the emotional content of our values, experience is essential for making choices. Bruner explains how we use narrative to construct our “selves”. The importance of the “*moment*” in narrative is illustrated by the comparative videos of Michelle Obama, who speaks in moments, and Hillary Clinton, who doesn’t, at the 2016 Democratic Convention. We view a video of James Croft’s story of self, us, and now. We view a video of Amal Beydoun and Vivek Murthy, former Surgeon General, telling their stories of self. The “Resistance School” video shows the do’s and don’ts of coaching public narrative.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: What Is Public Narrative?*” (2018), (pp. 41-58). (P)
- Ganz, Marshall. “*Why Stories Matter: The Art and Craft of Social Change*” *Sojourners*, Vol 38, Issue 3, (March 2009), (pp. 16-17,19-21).
- ► Bruner, Jerome. “*Chapter 2: Two Modes of Thought*”, in *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (1986), (pp.11–25). (T)

- Nussbaum, Martha. “*Chapter 1: Emotions and Judgments of Value*”, in *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, (2001), (pp. 19-33). (T)
- ► Bruner, Jerome. “*The Narrative Creation of Self*” in *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life*,(2002), (pp.63-76). (T)
- ► Videos of Michelle Obama and Hillary Clinton, Democratic National Convention, July 2016, 10:39
- ► Croft, James. “*6.12 Seconds*” (2010). (5:16)
- ► Beydoun, Amal. “*Story of Self*” (2012). (1:56)
- Story of Self: Vivek Murthy, Gold Foundation Golden Thread Gala, 2016. (4:33)
- ► Resistance School. “*Dos and Don'ts of Public Narrative: How to Coach Public Narrative Lesson 1*” (2017). (8:19)

#### **ORGANIZING TOOLS:**

- Advanced Leadership Initiative, *Public Narrative Participant Guide*, pp. 12 -20 (2020).
- Resistance School *Public Narrative Presentation and Resources Library*, Fall 2017.

#### **FOR FURTHER VIEWING and READING**

Chimamanda Adichie’s account of why living entirely within a single story can be very problematic, especially if it’s not your own. Marcus shows why democracy requires emotional understanding. Burns distinguishes transactional leadership from transformational (moral) leadership. For specific help coaching your story of self, this Resistance School video can be very useful. Linked 5 minute public narratives are shared by former students Daneila Jozic (HKS, 2017), Jacuinette Brown (EdLD, 2014), and Nandita Nair (HKS MPP 2022)

- Adichie, Chimamanda. “*TEDx Talks: The Danger of the Single Story*”, July 2009.
- Resistance School. “*Coaching Story of Self: How to Coach Public Narrative.*” 2017
- Marcus, George. “*Chapter 4, Becoming Reacquainted with Emotion*” in *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*, (2002),” (pp.49-78) (T)
- Burns, James McGregor. “*Chapter 2, The Structure of Moral Leadership*” in *Leadership*, (1978), (pp.29-46). (T)
- Linked Public Narrative: Daniela Jozic, Fall 2017
- Brown, Jacuinette. “*Jacquinettes Story:Linked Public Narrative*” (2014).
- Linked Public Narrative: Nandita Nair, Fall 2020

#### **WEEK 2 | Skills Section | PUBLIC NARRATIVE | Thursday, February 4**

*At your first section meeting this week, you will share your 2 minute story of self with your classmates and begin learning how to coach each other on your story.*

***Draft of Two Minute “Story of Self” due Wednesday February 3rd at 5:00 PM***

#### **WEEK 3 | MOBILIZING RELATIONSHIPS TO BUILD COMMUNITY | Tuesday, February 9| 72 pp.**

Organizers build relationships among constituents to enable commitment to a common purpose. We can come to experience shared values and understand common interests. Gladwell reports

on the power of relational networks in everyday life – with people “like us” and people “not like us.” Simmons, Rondeau, and Fleischer describe building relationships in action. Sifry reflects on the role of relation building - or not - in the recent election. Levy points to how relationship organizing can work in the era of Covid. McKenna and Han point to the role of relationship building in the 2008 Obama campaign. Here’s how “one on one” meetings can turn into “house meetings” from the 2008 Obama primary campaign in South Carolina, narrated by organizer Jeremy Bird and local leader Grace Cusack.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: Relationships*”, (2018), (pp. 59-73). (P)
- ► Gladwell, Malcolm. “*Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg*,” in *The New Yorker*, (January 11, 1999), (pp. 52-63). (T)
- ► Simmons, Ian. “*On One-to-Ones*,” in *The Next Steps of Organizing: Putting Theory into Action*, Sociology 91r Seminar, (1998), (pp. 12-15) (1998). (P)
- ► Rondeau, Kris; McKenzie, Gladys. “*A Woman’s Way of Organizing*” *Labor Research Review* #18, (1991), (pp. 45-59). (H/P)
- ► Fleisher, David. “*How We Can Reduce Prejudice with a Conversation*” TedX Midatlantic, (Jan. 25, 2017), (16:51)
- Sifry, Micah L. “*the Loneliness of the Resistance Protester*” in *The New Republic*, (Jan. 15, 2020)
- Levy, Pema. “*The Secret to Beating Trump Lies With You and Your Friends*” in *Mother Jones*, (November-December 2020)
- McKenna, Elizabeth; Han, Hahrie. “*Chapter 4, Building in Depth by Investing in Relationships*” in *Groundbreakers: How Obama’s 2.2 Million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America* (2015), pp. 89-129
- BarackObama.com. “*South Carolina House Meeting*”, youtube video, (2007)
- BarackObama.com. “*Reflections on a House Meeting*”, youtube video, (2007)

## **ORGANIZING TOOLS:**

- Australia Organizing Participant Guide. “*Creating Shared Commitment*” (pp. 35-41), (2020)

## **FOR FURTHER READING**

In optional readings, Blau explains relationships as exchanges while Goffman sees them as performances. Putnam shows relationships can become a resource as “social capital”; Granovetter explains the science of relational differences with people “like us” and people “not like us.”

- Blau, Peter M. “*Introduction*” in *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (1964), (pp. 1-11). (T)
- Alderfer, Clayton. “*Chapter 2, Theory*” *Existence, Relatedness and Growth*, (1972), (pp.6-13). (T)
- Bruner, Jerome. “*Chapter 1, The Proper Study of Man*” in *Acts of Meaning*, (1990), (pp.24-30). (T)
- Goffman, Erving. “*On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction*” in *Interpersonal Dynamics*,. (1955), (pp. 213-225, 229-231). (T)
- Gecan, Michael. “*Chapter 10, Three Public Cultures*”, in *Going Public*, (2004), (pp.151-166). (P)

- Granovetter, Mark. “*The Strength of Weak Ties*” *American Sociological Review*, 78:6 (2001), (pp. 1360-79). (T)
- Putnam, Robert D. “*Chapter 6: Social Capital and Institutional Success*” in *Making Democracy Work*, (1993), (pp. 163-185) (T)
- Gladwell, Malcolm. “*Small Change: Why The Revolution Will Not be Tweeted*”, in *The New Yorker*, October 4, 2010. (T/P)
- Brandzell, Ben. “*What Malcolm Gladwell Missed About Online Organizing and Creating Big Change*”, in *The Nation*, November 15, 2010. (T/P)
- LCN House Meeting Guide, 2020
- [Organizing Skills: One-on-Ones](#) May, 2009
- [Modeling of a One-to-One](#), 2014

### **WEEK 3 | Section Discussion | RELATIONSHIPS | Thursday, February 11**

*Relationships: Reflection #1 – due Saturday February 13 at 12:00 PM ET*

### **WEEK 4 | CREATING STRUCTURE: BUILDING LEADERSHIP TEAMS | Tuesday, February 16 | 88 pp.**

What is structure? If we work together with others, we need to agree how: how we make decisions, how we hold ourselves accountable, and how we honor our commitments. How can we structure our practice of leadership to enable us and our constituency to achieve our goals? Today we focus on how to structure the work of your leadership team as well as how each member can build their own leadership team to “snowflake” outward so as to richly develop leadership within your constituency. We build on Burns’ view of leadership as relational and Heifetz’s emphasis on adaptive leadership work. Freeman challenges assumptions about structure that can get in your way. Hackman and Wageman show how to structure leadership teams that can be more effective than relying on a single individual - and how to coach these teams. Alinsky argues the importance of constituency based leadership. Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor reflects on leadership and structure lessons in the Black Lives Matter movement. The Resistance school video offers an “in action” preview of what you will be asked to do on Saturday. In section this week you can lay the groundwork for launching your own leadership teams in the Saturday workshop.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: Structuring Leadership Teams*” (2019), (pp. 74-87).
- Heifetz, Ronald A. “*Chapter 1, Values in Leadership*”, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, (1994), (pp. 13- 27). (T/P)
- ► Freeman, Jo. “*The Tyranny of Structurelessness*,” in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, (1970), (pp.1-8). (P)
- ► Hackman, Richard; Wageman, Ruth. “*A Theory of Team Coaching*”, *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 30, No 2 (Apr. 2005), (pp. 269 – 287).
- Alinsky, Saul “*Chapter 5, Native Leadership*,” *Reveille for Radicals*, (1989), (pp.64-75). (T/P)
- Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta, “*Five Years Later, Do Black Lives Matter?*”, *Jacobin*, (Sep. 30, 2019).

- Resistance School. “*Session Three: How to Structure and Build Capacity for Action*,” Video, (2017). (50:00-1:32:19).
- Zaia, Sophia; Smith, Randall. “*Behind the scenes of Sunrise’s volunteer-led phone bank program*.” (2021)

### **ORGANIZING TOOLS:**

- Australia Coaching Guide, “*Building Leadership Teams*,” (2020), (pp. 42-49).
- Resistance School. [How to Build a Team Library](#) (2017).
- Rewa, Jeanne; Hunter, Daniel. “*Leading Groups Online*” (2020).

### **FOR FURTHER READING**

In the optional readings, McKenna and Han show how leadership teams were structured within the Obama Campaign. The Orpheus Chamber Orchestra Video shows how an orchestra can dispense with a conductor by governing themselves with leadership teams. Moreland underscores key elements in forming a strong team.

- McKenna, Liz; Han, Hahrie. “*Chapter 5, Creating a Structure to Share Responsibility*” Groundbreakers: How Obama’s 2.2 million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America, (pp.130 – 152). (T)
- Hackman, J. Richard. “*Nobody on the Podium: Lessons on Leadership from the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra*,” (Jan. 17, 2014) (P)
- Wageman, Ruth; Nunes, Debra A. et al. et al.. “*Chapter 9, What It Takes to Make Them Great*,” in *Senior Leadership Teams* (2008), (207-218). (T/P)
- Moreland, Richard L. “*The Formation of Small Groups*”, in *Group Processes*, edited by Kendrick, C. (1987), (pp. 80-105). (T/P)
- Christens, Brian D.; Tran Inzeo, Paula. “*Widening the view: situating collective impact among frameworks for community-led change*”, in *Community Development* Vol. 46, No. 4, (2015), (pp. 420-435).

### **WEEK 4 | Section Discussion | STRUCTURE | Thursday, February 18**

*Structure: Reflection #2 – due Saturday February 20 at 12:00 PM ET*

#### **ORGANIZING WORKSHOP: Launching Leadership Teams SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 9:00 AM - 2:00 PM**

*In this REQUIRED workshop you will launch your leadership team and learn to tell your “story of us” with coaching and support.*

Based on work that your team began to do in team launching workshop - and in lieu of a reflection paper - *each team submits a summary of your shared purpose, description of your constituency, and a 2-week plan for having # 1:1’s to get to know your constituency; how many, with whom, and by when. You will need the relationships you will build and the learning you will to develop your*

*campaign plan in the strategy workshop on March 6th. Your summary is due this Wednesday February 24th, at 5:00 PM ET*

**WEEK 5 | STRATEGIZING: TURNING RESOURCES INTO THE POWER TO ACHIEVE PURPOSE | Tuesday, February 23 | 163 pp.**

Strategy is how we turn what we have (resources) into what we need (power) to get what we want (change). It is a verb, something we do, not a noun, something we have. It is both analytic and imaginative as we figure out how we can use our resources to achieve the goals to which we aspire. Now that you've had the opportunity to have some one on one meetings with your constituents and determined your shared purpose, it's time to decide on the strategic goal of your 6 week campaign, how you will achieve it, and in what stages. Strategizing is an ongoing process of adapting tactics and strategy based on what you learn from the obstacles and opportunities your campaign encounters along the way..

Organizers ask three key questions: who are my people, what is their problem, and how can they turn resources they have into power they need to solve the problem? We begin learning to answer these in the context of the *Montgomery Bus Boycott*, a campaign that launched the American civil rights movement of the 1960's. **A thorough reading of this case is necessary to be able to participate in class discussion.** Review "Speaking of Power" to remind you how power works, and how to make it work for you. Gaventa shows us how to make invisible power visible, of which the Bus Boycott is an excellent example. Alinsky cautions us not to let the words get in the way of the understanding. Mintzberg's view of strategy is a "verb" is drawn from business while Kahn's view comes from organizing. You will learn the six questions you need to answer to develop your campaign plan: (1) clarity about who your **people** are, (2) why they have the **problem** they do, (3) on what **strategic goal** can they focus, (4) how they can turn resources they have into power they need to achieve that goal ("**theory of change**"), (5) what their **tactics** will be, and (6) how their campaign will unfold over **time**. Bobo offers a reasonable way to get started. This week we focus on the first four: people, problem, goal, theory of change. Next week we focus on tactics and timing. Finally "What Mutual Aid Can Do During a Pandemic" share the tradition of mutual aid, a "power with" approach, how it is being practiced now, and implications for the future.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. "*Organizing Notes: Notes on Strategy*", (2018), (pp. 102-113). (P)
- ► Reading Guide for the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- ► Branch, Taylor., "*Chapter 4, First Trombone*" in *Parting the Waters*, (1998), (pp.120-142) (H)
- ► Branch, Taylor. "*Chapter 5, The Montgomery Bus Boycott*," in *Parting the Waters* (1998), (pp.143 -205). (H)
- ► Ganz, Marshall. "*Concepts of Power*", Gettysburg Project, (2014), pp. 1-5.(T)
- Gaventa, John. "*Chapter 1, Power and Participation*" in *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, (pp.3-32). (T) 30
- Mintzberg, Henry. "Crafting Strategy," *Harvard Business Review*, (July 1987), (pp. 66-74). (T)
- ► Kahn, Si., "Chapter 8 "Strategy," in *Organizing* (1982), (pp.155-174). (P)
- Tolentino, Jia. "*What Mutual Aid Can Do During a Pandemic*", in *The New Yorker*, (May 11, 2020).
- *Strategizing Handout*, Jonah Evans, (2012)

## ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- Australia Coaching Guide, “*Creating Shared Strategy 1*” (2020), (pp. 58-72).

## FOR FURTHER READING

Emerson’s theory of power dependency is the foundation of the approach we take in the class. Bernard Loomer’s work is the source off the distinction of “power with” and “power over.” “Resources and Resourcefulness,” shows how the “strategic capacity” of the resource poor UFW bested its resource rich opponents. Chenoweth shows why non-violent power depends on constituent participation. Thucydides points out that right doesn’t make might any more than might makes right.

- Emerson, Richard. “*Power-Dependence Relations: Two Experiments*” in *Sociometry*, vol. 27, No. 3, (1964) (pp. 282-298). (T)
- Loomer, Bernard M. “*Two Kinds of Power*,” The D.R. Sharpe Lecture on Social Ethics, October 29, 1975, *Criterion*, Vol. 15, No.1, 1976 (pp.10-29). (T)
- Ganz, Marshall. “*Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966*”, in *American Journal of Sociology*, (January 2000), (pp.1003-1005; 1019-1044). (T/H)
- Chenoweth, Erica; Stephan, Maria J. “*Chapter Two: The Primacy of Participation in Nonviolent Resistance*” in *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflicts* (pp.30-61) (T/H)
- Thucydides, “*The Sixteenth Year – the Melian Dialogue*,” *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Book V, Chapter 7, (pp.400-408). (H)
- Nikolayenko, Oleana. “*Origins of the Movement’s Strategy: The Case of Serbia’s Otpor*” in *International Political Science Review* (2012) (pp. 1 -19) (T/H)

## WEEK 5 | Section Discussion | STRATEGY | Thursday, February 25

*No reflection paper due. Team worksheet to be submitted by Wednesday, February 24, at 5:00 PM ET.*

*Student Presentations.*

## WEEK 6 | TACTICS | Tuesday, March 2 | 160 pp

Tactics are the activities through which a theory of change can be made real. We begin by reflecting on a “classic” tale of strategy recounted in the Book of Samuel: the story of David and Goliath: how resourcefulness (and courage) can compensate for lack of resources. Alinsky, Sharp, and Bobo source traditional kinds of tactics. Karpf looks at tactics in our digital age. Sifry describes the way Color of Change has developed tactics that link online and offline organizing. The “Living Wage” case shows how Harvard students organized to win support for university service workers in the form of a living wage. McAlevy shows the value of tactics organizing to support negotiations, and negotiations to support organizing. Chavez uses “power with” tactics to organize farmworkers. In her interview, Hatch points out the importance of culture in developing creative organizing tactics. The Oprah and Obama video shows the tactical thinking behind a campaign rally. And the living wage case describes the tactics that students used to commit Harvard to paying living wages. Gersick and Hirschorn and May explain the critical role of

timing in any project and why we organize campaigns as campaigns. In Organizing Tools we share 6 robust websites where online and offline tactics can be resourced.

- Ganz, Marshall. "Organizing Notes: Notes on Tactics, Charts, Questions" (2021) (P)
- ● ► The Bible. "Book of Samuel, Chapter 17, Verses 4-49". (H)
- Alinsky, Saul. "*Rules for Radicals, Tactics*" (1989), (pp. 126-136, 148-155, 158-161). (P)
- Sharp, Gene. "*198 Methods of nonviolent Protest and Persuasion*", The Politics of Nonviolent Action, (1973).
- Bobo, Kim. "*Chapter 5, A Guide to Tactics*" in Organizing for Social Change, (1991), (pp.34-41), (p)
- Bobo, Kim. "*Chapter 7, Designing Actions*" in Organizing for Social Change, (1991), (pp.48-53) (P)
- Karpf, David . "*Chapter 1, Will the Revolution be A/B-Tested?*", Analytic Activism: Digital Listening and the New Political Strategy (2016), (pp. 1-26).
- Sifry, Micah "*From Textathons To Black Joy: How Color Of Change Is Re-imagining Organizing,*" in Civicist, Oct. 25, 2019 (9 pages)
- Levy, Jacques. "*Cesar Chavez, Prologue*" (2007), (pp. xxi-xxv). (H)
- McAlvey, Jane . "*Chapter 4, Round One*" in Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement, (2012), (pp.110-141). (H)
- ► Grant, Gabriel; Ahronowitz, Iris. "*The Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard*" (A) (10 pages), Kennedy School of Government, (2002). (H)
- ► Grant, Gabriel; Ahronowitz, Iris. "*The Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard*" (B) (18 pages); Kennedy School of Government, (2002). (H)
- Columbia, SC Rally, "Barack Obama and Oprah Winfrey Rally" Video, (2007).
- ► Gersick, Connie. "*Pacing Strategic Change: The Case of a New Venture,*" Academy of Management Journal, (February 1994), (pp.36-42). (T)
- Hirschhorn, Larry; May, Linda. "*The Campaign Approach to Change*", Change Magazine, (May/June 2000), pp. 30-37.

## ORGANIZING TOOLS

- The New Tactics in Human Rights Organization makes a very useful website of both online and offline tactical ideas available at <https://www.newtactics.org/toolkit/strategy-toolkit>
- The Commons Social Change Library. "Tactics in a time of physical distancing: Examples from around the world".
- Chenoweth, E.; Choi-Fitzpatrick, A.; Pressman, J.; Santos, F. G.; Ulfelder, J. "*Methods of Dissent & Collective Action Under COVID: A Crowdsourced List.*" Crowd Counting Consortium, crowdcounting.org. (2020)
- Swarthmore College "The Global Nonviolent Action Database" - <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu>
- Advocacy In Restricted Spaces: *A Toolkit For Civil Society Organizations, Lifeline*, 2020.
- For more international examples of organizing, you can browse news stories by world region: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/>

## FOR FURTHER READING AND VIEWING

- Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard, <https://vimeo.com/200170537> (42 mins)

**WEEK 6 | Section Discussion | TACTICS | Thursday, March 4**

*Tactics: Reflection #3 due Saturday March 6th at 12:00 PM ET*

*Student Presentations*

**ORGANIZING WORKSHOP: STRATEGY  
SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 9:00 AM - 2:00 PM**

*In this **REQUIRED** workshop, student teams will have the opportunity to develop a draft of your campaign plan, identify campaign goals and tactics, and craft a campaign timeline for the remainder of the semester. Based on their workshop experience, each team will submit a **first draft of their campaign plan by Wednesday, March 10 at 12pm.***

**WEEK 7 MOBILIZING RESOURCES: ACTION | Tuesday, March 9 | 79 pp.**

Organizers mobilize and deploy resources to take action by securing commitments from others and generating motivation by participating in action. Whose resources we mobilize - and whether time of money - influences how we can deploy them and vice-versa. But whatever the constraints, acting requires mobilizing others to commit time, money, energy, and, often, courage. *The Participant Guide* shows how to secure commitments of time and money using the “4 C’s”. McKenna and Han show why “counting” matters for efficacy and for learning - if counting the right things. Bobo and Bond and Exley focus on ways to generate funds from one’s own constituency. Hackman addresses motivation by showing the way we organize the action can itself enhance the capacity for further action — or the opposite. The 160,000 organizers piece describes the “relational” work of the Biden campaign. Sifry offers a direct critique in relational terms.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. “*Organizing Notes: Notes on Action*”, Charts and Questions, (202). (pp. 88-101) (P)
- Australia Coaching Guide, “*Mobilizing Shared Commitment: Action*” (2020), (pp. 76-83)
- McKenna, Liz; Han, Hahrie. “*Chapter 6, Using Metrics to Get to Scale*” in *Groundbreakers: How Obama’s 2.2 Million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*,” p.153 – 182. (T)
- Bobo, Kim. “*Chapter 19, Grassroots Fundraising*,” in *Organizing for Social Change*, (1991), (pp. 241-251). (P)
- Bond, Becky; Exley, Zack. “*Rule 7: The Revolution Will Be Funded - by Small Donations*”, in *Rules for Revolutionaries: How Big Organizing Can Change Everything*, (2016), pp 64 – 71.
- ► Hackman, Richard. “*Designing Work for Individuals and for Groups*”, adapted from J.R. Hackman, *Work Design in J.R. Hackman & J.L. Suttle (Eds.) Improving Life at work: Behavioral science approaches to organizational change*. Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishing Company, (1977). (pp. 242-255). (P) Please take special note of pages 242-244, and 248-250 and the Job Characteristics Model and how to use it.
- Rifkin, Nathaniel, “160,000 Organizers: *The 2020 Biden-Harris National Distributed Organizing Program*”, The Distro, Dec 15, 2020. <https://nathanrifkin.substack.com/p/160000-organizers>

- Sifry, Micah, “*Empowered or Entasked? Distributed Organizing’s Unfilled Potential*”, The Connector, Dec 22, 2020.

### **ORGANIZING TOOLS:**

- Leadership Development Project Participant Guide, “*LDP Coaching your Leadership Team*” Sierra Club, (2007)

### **FOR FURTHER READING**

- Oliver, Pameral E.; Marwell, Gerald. “*Chapter 11, Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action,*” *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, (pp 251-271). (T)

### **WEEK 7 | Section Discussion | ACTION | March 11**

*No reflection paper due. Team strategy worksheet to be submitted by Wednesday, March 10, at 5:00 PM ET.*

*Student Presentations*

**MIDTERM PAPER: in lieu of a reflection paper students submit a 1,200 word analysis of their project on Friday, March 12th at 5:00 pm.**

### **WEEK 8 | ACADEMIC WELLNESS DAY Tuesday, March 16**

### **WEEK 8 | Section Discussion | ACTION PLANNING | Thursday, March 18**

*Cases: Reflection #4 – due Saturday March 20th at 12:00 PM ET*  
*Student Presentations*

### **INTEGRATION: Projects and Cases**

### **WEEK 9 | COMMUNITIES IN ACTION: ORGANIZATION | Tuesday, March 23 | 77 pp.**

Successful campaigns can create new organizational capacity. Creating organizations that respond, change, and adapt requires managing dilemmas of unity and diversity, inclusion and exclusion, responsibility and participation, and parts and wholes. Smith and Berg show why these dilemmas must be managed but cannot be “resolved.” Janis points to the danger that “too much” unity can suppress needed dissent. Kahn focuses on the nuts and bolts of organization.

- ► Ganz, Marshall. *Organizing Notes: “Organizations” Notes, Charts, and Questions* (2021). (pp. 114-128)(P)
- ► Smith, Kenwyn; Berg, David. “*A Paradoxical Conception of Group Dynamics*”, *Human Relations*, Vol. 40:10, (1987), (pp. 633-654). (T)

- ► Janis, Irving L. "Groupthink", in Psychology Today, (November 1971), (pp. 43-44, 46, 74-76). (T)
- ► Kahn, Si. "Chapter 3, Organizations," in Organizing A Guide for Grassroots Leaders. (1982), (pp. 55-77). (P)
- Reyes, Oscar; Russell, Bertie. "Eight lessons from Barcelona en Comú on how to Take Back Control" Open Democracy (2017)

## FOR FURTHER READING

In further readings, McCollom offers a very clear way to look at the elements that need to be integrated in a viable organization. Warren focuses on the challenge of building organizations across racial, religious, and economic lines.

- McCollom, Marion. "Chapter 2, Group Formation: Boundaries, Leadership and Culture" Groups in Context: A New Perspective on Group Dynamics, edited by Marion McCollum and Jonathon Gillette. in, Lanham MD: University Press of America, (1995), (pp.34-48). (T)
- Warren, Mark. "Chapter 4, Bridging Communities Across Racial Lines" in Dry Bones Rattling. (2001) (98-100; 114- 123) (H)
- Warren, Mark. "Chapter 5, Deepening Multiracial Collaboration," in Dry Bones Rattling (2001), (pp. 124-132; 152-155). (H)

## WEEK 9 | Section Discussion | ORGANIZATION | Thursday, March 25

*Cases: Reflection #5 – due Saturday March 27th at 12:00 PM ET  
Student Presentations*

## WEEK 10 | ORGANIZING PROJECTS/CASES| Tuesday, March 30 | 53 pp.

This week we devote the first of three classes to case discussion, integration of practice, and coaching. In lecture we'll focus on cases that can offer us insight not only into how the five practices are integrated in an organizing campaign, but what happens afterwards. We'll also focus on the practice of coaching as key to all the practices we've learned in how we develop the leadership of others, what organizing is really all about. In section the cases we'll focus on will be your own projects, especially coaching each other on them, and the integrative work will be in putting the practices to work in a collaborative team project.

- ► Simon, Harvey. "Orange Hats of Fairlawn: A Washington DC Neighborhood Battles Drugs," Kennedy School Case C16-91-1034(1991), (pp.1-18). (H)
- Rogers, Mary Beth . "Chapter 11, Leave Them Alone. They're Mexicans," in Cold Anger,(1990), (pp.105- 126). (H)
- Levine, Peter; McKenna, Liz. "The ISAI AH Trash Referendum" SNF Agora Institute (2020)

## WEEK 10 | Section Discussion | COMMITMENT & ACCOUNTABILITY| Thursday, April 1

*Cases: Reflection #6 – due Saturday April 3rd at 12:00 PM ET  
Student Presentations*

**WEEK 11| ORGANIZING PROJECTS/CASES | Tuesday, April 6 | 76 pp.**

This week we continue our work on integration: cases, coaching, and practice.

- ► Kennedy School Case 2070.1: Six Minutes: Community Organizing in Amman, Jordan, (2016)  
► [Six Minutes: Community Organizing in Amman, Jordan, Video](#) (2017)
- ► Levy, Jacques. "Boycott Grapes" in Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa. (2007) (pp.263-271),
- Levy, Jacques. "The Miracle of the Fast", in Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa. (2007), (pp. 272-293);
- Levy, Jacques E; Chavez, Caesar; Ross, Fred; Levy, Jacqueline M. "Book IV, Book V, Victory in the Vineyards," Chapters 6-14, (2007), (pp.294-325). (H)

**FOR FURTHER READING**

- McAlevey, Jane. "Chapter 6, Make the Road New York", No Short Cuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age, (2016), pp.179 – 198.
- Adler, Ben. "[The inside story of how the Keystone fight was won](#)", Grist, November 6, 2015
- Bond, Becky; Exley, Zack. "Rule 8: Barnstorm", Rules for Revolutionaries: How Big Organizing Can Change Everything, (2016), pp, 72-82.

**WEEK 11 | Section Discussion | ENGAGING CONSTITUENTS IN ACTION | Thursday, April 8**

*Cases: Reflection #7 – due Saturday April 10th at 12:00 PM ET  
Student Presentations*

**WEEK 12| ORGANIZING PROJECTS | Tuesday, April 13 | 66 pp.**

This is our final week on integration: cases, coaching and practice.

- ► Winig, Laura. "Building a Community Organizing Organization, Serbia on the Move" Kennedy School Case.,Belgrade, Serbia (2017)
- Warren, Mark; Mapp, Karen. "A Match on Dry Grass: Organizing for Great Schools in San Jose", in A Match in Dry Grass: Community Organizing as a Catalyst for School Reform, (2011), pp. 33-65.
- Mothers Out Front Case - coming soon

**FOR FURTHER READING**

- Middlekauff, Robert."Chapter 11, Resolution," in The Glorious Cause (1982), (pp.221-239). (H)

- Fischer, Louis. "Chapter 31, "Drama at the Seashore" in *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, (1950), (pp. 263 - 275). (H)

## WEEK 12 | ACADEMIC WELLNESS DAY Thursday, April 15

### CONCLUSION

## WEEK 13 | REFLECTIONS ON ORGANIZING | Tuesday, April 20 |

Now it's time to learn from what we have been learning/ Our cases this week will be your organizing projects. Some may be shared in writing, some may be presented, and some accessible on the website. What worked? What didn't work? What are the takeaways? What comes next?

## WEEK 13 | *Section Discussion* | BECOMING A GOOD ORGANIZER | Thursday, April 22nd

*Good Organizer: Reflection #8 – due Saturday at 12:00 PM*  
*Student Presentations*

## WEEK 14 | BECOMING A GOOD ORGANIZER/ WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? | Tuesday, April 27 | 203 pp.

This week we reflect on organizing as a craft, art, and vocation: why do it, what can make a person good at it, what about the rest of our lives, how can we continue to grow? Heifetz poses challenges of accepting responsibility for leadership. Langer reflects on how to work "mindfully" with others. Chavez, Payne and Addams describe how they came to terms with these challenges. Mandela reflects on his journey, the costs as well as the joys. In *Spadework* the organizer reflects on her journey, a more contemporary one.

- Heifetz, Ronald. "Chapter 11, *The Personal Challenge*," in *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, (1994), (pp.250-276). (P)
- Langer, Ellen., "Chapter 8, *Mindfulness on the Job*," in *Mindfulness* (2014), (pp.133-148). (P)
- Chavez, Cesar "The Organizer's Tale," *Ramparts Magazine*, (July 1966), (pp.43-50). (P)
- Payne, Charles M. "Chapter 8: *Slow and Respectful Work*" in *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, (1995), (pp.236-264), (H)
- Addams, Jane . "Chapters 4-5" in *Twenty Years at Hull House*, (1912), (pp.60-89). (P)
- Mandela, Nelson. "Chapter 14" *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, (1995), (pp. 121-140). (H)
- Battistoni, Alyssa. "Spadework: *On Political Organizing*" N+1, Issue 34:Headcase, Spring 2019.

So what *does* organizing contribute to public life? We begin with Alinsky's call for broader participation in democratic governance -- as timely now as when it was written. Reed shows how organizing worked in the conservative movement. Isquith argues that market based

approaches can undermine democratic politics itself. Warren discusses grassroots organizing in perspective. Alexander distinguishes between defending resistance and proactive vision.

- Alinsky, Saul., “*Chapter 11*” in *Reveille for Radicals* (October 1989), (pp.190-204). (P)
- Reed, Ralph “*Chapter 13, Miracle at the Grassroots,*” in *Politically Incorrect*, (1994) (pp.189-202);
- Reed, Ralph “*Chapter 17, What is Right about America: How You Can Make a Difference,*” in *Politically Incorrect*. (1994), (pp.249-267). (H).
- Isquith, Elias “*Neoliberalism Poisons Everything: How Free Market Mania Threatens Education and Democracy: Wendy Brown’s Undoing the Demos*”, Salon, June 15, 2015.
- Warren, Dorian “*Growing the Grassroots,*” in *Democracy*, Summer 2019
- Alexander, Michelle “*We Are Not the Resistance*”, *The New York Times*, Sept. 21, 2018.

### FOR FURTHER READING

Skocpol and Weir and I argue a need for greater participation. Rothstein and point to structural challenges to be confronted if real change is to happen. Hobbs argues the insufficiency of market based approaches to social change. Bock-Hughes makes a very thoughtful critique of the Sanders Campaign.. Wortham discusses the new wave of African American organizing sparked by the murder of George Floyd. Chenoweth shares her vision of nonviolent struggle.

- Skocpol, Theda. “*Chapter 7, Reinventing American Civic Democracy*” in *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life* (2003), (pp.254-293). (H)
- Weir, Margaret; Ganz, Marshall . “*Reconnecting People and Politics,*” in *The New Majority: Toward a Popular Progressive Politics*, (1997), (pp.149-171). (H)
- Rothstein, Richard. “*The Making of Ferguson*”, *American Prospect*, Fall 2014.
- Hobbs, Michael. “*The Myth of the Ethical Shopper*”, *Huffington Post*, July 15, 2015.
- Guttenplan, D.D. “*The Labor Movement Must Learn These Lessons from the Election: An interview with Jane McAlevey,*” *The Nation*, February 7, 2017.
- Bock-Hughes, Tristan. “*The Bernie Sanders Campaign Should Have Gone Further,*” *Jacobin*, June 23, 2020.
- Wortham, Jenna. “*How a New Wave of Black Activists Changed the Conversation,*” *The New York Times*, August 25, 2020
- Chenoweth, Erica. “*The Future of Nonviolent Resistance,*” *Journal of Democracy*, July 2020, Volume 31, Issue 3 (pp. 69 - 84)

### WEEK 14 | CONCLUSION | Thursday, April 29

Today we hear from everyone about what they have learned from their participation in the course. What have we learned about ourselves as observers, organizers? What have we learned about organizing, how well did we meet goals we set at the beginning of the semester? What's next?

**Final Paper of 1,850 words DUE Friday May 7th, at 5:00 PM ET**