

INSTRUCTOR

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COURSE INFO

Tuesday/Thursday, 1:15 –2:30
Littauer – 140

OFFICE HOURS

Mondays 4:00 – 6:00pm
[Sign up online](#)

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TEACHING FELLOWS

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“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 begin by asking 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, each student learns to practice leadership by organizing a leadership team to work with him or her to mobilize members of a “constituency” 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 a capacity for agency 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. Students learn to coach others and receive coaching. Students also learn to distinguish “mobilizing” from “organizing” and why it takes organizing to make mobilizing count.

B. PARTICIPANTS

This course is for students interested in learning 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 a commitment to the community, organization, or values on behalf of which they are working will be most successful. Because it is a course in practice, it requires trying new things, risking failure, and stepping outside your comfort zone. As reflective practitioners, students learn through critical reflection on their experience, feedback and coaching. If you are not prepared for this kind of challenge, this class is not for you.

C. PROJECT

Students base class work on their experience leading an "organizing campaign" of their own choosing or design. *An “organizing campaign” requires building a leadership team who collaborate with you to mobilize members of a constituency to join them 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. You may choose a project on which you are working, initiate a new one, or work with a community or campus organization.

Students are welcome to use their organizing project to advance work that they are already doing on campus or in the community.

D. REQUIREMENTS

1. Getting Started. The course is front-loaded to offer students the opportunity to acquire basic skills useful in their organizing projects.
 - a. **One-to-One Meetings.** To facilitate project selection – and get acquainted - students will meet one-to-one with their teaching fellow for **10 to 15 minutes in the second week of class** (Jan. 30th – Feb 3rd)
 - b. **Organizing Workshop:** On Saturday, February 4th from 8:00 am to 5:30 PM you are required to participate in **an Organizing Workshop** to introduce you to the full range of organizing skills you will make use of in you projects. Please pack a lunch. *Location:* Gutman Library Conference Room, HGSE
2. Class meets for 1 hour and 15 minutes, twice a week for thirteen weeks. Students use a conceptual framework to integrate lectures and reading with critical reflection on their experience of their project. The sessions alternate between discussion of concepts and analysis of projects. You are required to attend all classes, do all the reading, and take an active part in discussions.
3. Reading is assigned only for Tuesdays (except for the first and last weeks of the course), combines theory, practice, and history, and averages 105 pages per week. An introductory paragraph places each week’s readings in context. Priority readings are designated with “►”. My “organizing notes” explain our framework, contextualize the readings and explain the charts. Recommended readings are available on the course site for those who wish to pursue a topic more deeply.
4. Beginning in the second week of class, we meet in **sections** during Thursday’s class time. In sections, students discuss their projects, make presentations, and practice skills.

5. Beginning in the third week of class, students submit **reflection papers** of no more than 2 pages, double spaced, 12 pt. font, 1" margins, in which they analyze their experience of their organizing project. Each week we pose questions to stimulate reflection. Papers are due each Wednesday at **12:00-midnight**. Of ten total reflection papers, you may skip two. But four of the remaining eight are required: **2 February, 9 February, 10 March, and 20 April**. On **Friday 10 March** in lieu of a response paper, students submit a 4-page **midterm analysis** of their project: why it is or is not working.
6. Each student prepares a 7-minute **presentation** to be made to his or her section once during the semester. Students introduce themselves, their project, and discuss how the project relates to the topic of the week. Presentations conclude with questions for class discussion. A sign-up sheet for the presentations will be distributed during the first week of section.
7. At the end of the term, on **Friday 5 May**, students submit a 7-page **final paper** analyzing their organizing project. Students are evaluated not on whether their project is a "success," but on a demonstrated ability to analyze what happened, how and why.
8. Final grades are based on class participation and weekly reflection (50%), the midterm progress report (20%), and final paper (30%).

E. MATERIALS

The **two books required** for this course are available for purchase at the COOP and on reserve at Kennedy School and HGSE libraries.

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

All other **required** readings can be found online on the Canvas page <https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/25912>

Four recommended books can be purchased at the COOP. (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 University Press, 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.

F. COURSE OUTLINE

The following is the schedule of class meetings and reading assignments. The number of pages/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). And as described above, readings designated with "►" are particularly important to focus on for class discussion.

INTRODUCTION TO ORGANIZING

WEEK 1 | OVERVIEW OF ORGANIZING | Tuesday, January 24 | 95 pp.

Welcome. Today we get acquainted, discuss course goals, our strategy for achieving them, and requirements. "What is Organizing" introduces our learning framework, explained more fully in "Leading Change: Leadership, Organization, and Social Movements." "Organizing for Democratic Renewal" offers a view of organizing in the

US in 2007, on the eve of the first Obama campaign, in which organizing played the role Exley documents. But the work of organizing is rooted in much older traditions: in the West, for example, in faith, civic, and popular traditions. Organizing empowers constituents to act on their own behalf. It is not about providing services to clients nor marketing products to customers: argued by Alinsky, Gecan, McKnight, Giridharadas. Organizers view conflict, challenge, and change as key dynamics driving a strong democracy, points argued by Christens and Schattschneider. The “Organizing in Action” readings are snapshots of some recent examples of organizing efforts.

- a. ► Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: “What is Organizing?”* (2015). (T)
- b. ► Marshall Ganz, “Leading Change: Leadership, Organization, and Social Movements”, Chapter 19 in *Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice*, Nohria and Khurana; HBS Press, (2010), (pp. 527-568)(T).
- c. *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 2-6. (H)
- d. ► Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 1, (October 1989), (pp.3-23). (P)
- e. ► John McKnight, "Services are Bad for People," (1991), (pp.41-44). (T)
- f. Marshall Ganz, “Organizing for Democratic Renewal”, TMP Café, March 27, 2007
- g. ► Anand Giridharadas, “[Real Change Requires Politics](#)”, *New York Times*, July 15, 2011
- h. Jane F. McAlevey, “Table 1.1, Advocacy, Mobilizing, and Organizing”, *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*, (2016), pp.9-12.
- i. *Organizer’s Journey Handout*, Jonah Evans, (2012)

ORGANIZING IN ACTION: the following are not required readings but some more recent examples of organizing at work in diverse settings.

- a. Zack Exley, “[Stories and Numbers – a Closer Look at Camp Obama](#)”, *Huffington Post*, August 29, 2007
- b. David Freedlander, [The NRA Has a Head Start Against Newly Energized Gun-Control Advocates](#), *The Daily Beast*, Dec. 18, 2012
- c. Harold Meyerson, [Dan Cantor's Machine](#) *The American Prospect*, Jan. 6, 2014 (New York Mayoral election)
- d. Peter Dreir, [Black Lives Matter joins a long line of protest movements ...](#), *Salon*, Aug.15, 2015
- e. Amy B. Dean, [How Domestic Workers Won Their Rights: Five Big Lessons](#), *Yes! Magazine*, October 9, 2013
- f. Doran Schrantz, “[Building Power, Building Health](#)”, *SSIR*, Spring 2016

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Aristotle, *Politica*, Book 1, Chapter 1-2, (2001), (pp.1127-1130). (T)

- b. Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Volume II, Part II, Chapters 2-6, (2010), (pp.506-517). (H/T)
- c. E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*, "Introduction" xii-xvii; "The Contagiousness of Conflict", (1975), 1-19. (T)
- d. Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, Ziad Munson, "Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States", *American Political Science Review*, (September 2000). (H)
- e. David Walls, *Community Organizing* (Polity 2015), "Chapter 2: Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation" (pp.20 – 54); "Chapter 5: New Networks Innovate" (pp.92-113)
- f. Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, "Chapter 10, Three Public Cultures", (2004), (pp.151-166). (P)
- g. Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: the Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, Chapters 1-3, (August 2011), (pp.1-82)
- h. Howard Spodek, "The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India: Feminist, Gandhian Power in Development", *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 43 (1), (Oct 1994), (pp.193-202). (H)

WEEK 1 | LEARNING ORGANIZING | Thursday, January 26 | 66 pp.

Today we focus on how to develop theory from practice and how to use theory to inform the practice of your organizing project. Kierkegaard alerts us to key differences between understanding theory and practice. Thich Nhat Hanh offers a parable on their relationship. Dweck explains how to approach learning with a "growth" mindset as opposed to a "fixed" mind set. Langer challenges us to engage critically with theory. Sitkin argues short-term failure is often required for 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. Schon argues actively engaging uncertainty with reflection is how we develop excellent practice. We have provided you with two "mini-cases" prepared by last year's students on their organizing projects to give you some idea of what to expect and how to plan for it.

- a. Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: "Learning to Organize: Notes, Questions, and Helpful Hint #1"* (2015). (T)
- b. M.S. Kierkegaard, "When the Knower Has to Apply Knowledge" from "Thoughts on Crucial Situations in Human Life", in *Parables of Kierkegaard*, T.C. Oden, Editor. (1989) (P)
- c. ► Thich Nhat Hanh, *Thundering Silence: Sutra on Knowing the Better Way to Catch a Snake*, "The Raft is Not the Shore," (1993), (pp.30-33). (P)
- d. ► Carol Dweck, Chapter 1, "The Mindsets" from *Mindset: the New Psychology of Success* (2006), (pp.1-10) (P)
- e. ► Ellen Langer, "Mindful Learning", *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, Vol. 9, Number 6, (December 2000), pp.220-223.
- f. ► Sim Sitkin, "Learning Through Failure: The Strategy of Small Losses", *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol.14, (1992), (pp.231-246). (T)

- g. ► Coaching as Leadership Practice , adapted from work of Ruth Wageman, Marshall Ganz (2014)
- h. Donald Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner*, Chapter 2, "From Technical Rationality to Reflection-in-Action" (1984), (pp.49-69). (T)

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, (2014), Chapter 3, "The Roots of Mindlessness," (pp.19-35); Chapter 4, "The Costs of Mindlessness," (pp.43-55); Chapter 5, "The Nature of Mindfulness," (pp.61-77); Chapter 7, "Creative Uncertainty," (pp.115-129). (P)

DESIGNING YOUR ORGANIZING PROJECT

WEEK 2| ORGANIZING PROJECT: PEOPLE, POWER, AND CHANGE | Tuesday, January 31 | 141 pp.

Organizers begin by asking three questions: who are my people, what is their problem, how could they begin to use their resources to solve the problem? Who are *your* people? Who is your constituency whose values are at risk? What urgent challenge do they face? How could they turn resources they have into power they need to solve the problem? How could they design a campaign to achieve an outcome within the next 12 weeks? This week you think through a "first draft" of your organizing campaign. Please turn in your "Organizing Project Worksheet" by Wednesday midnight as your first required "response paper."

What does organizing look like? How is it different from mobilizing? How is it different from marketing? We introduce elements of an organizing campaign in the context of the *Montgomery Bus Boycott*, a campaign that launched the American civil rights movement of the 1960's. We ask 3 questions: who are the actors, what was their problem, and what is their theory of change? My "Speaking of Power" focuses on the core role of power in organizing, how it works, and how to make it work for you. Loomer argues understanding power requires looking at it relationally, sometimes in collaboration with others (power with) and sometimes in conflict with others (power over). Gaventa shows how to make invisible power visible. Alinsky and Miller help us consider reactions we may have to words we need to use to explain organizing, especially "power." Gersick draws attention to timing: why we organize through campaigns, elaborated upon by Hirschhorn and May. Han makes a very important distinction between "mobilizing" and "organizing." Thucydides considers the links between might and right.

- a. ► Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: "People, Power and Change"*, Charts and Questions. (2016)
- b. ► Marshall Ganz, "Speaking of Power", Gettysburg Project, (2014), pp. 1-5.
- c. Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, "A Word About Words," (1989), (pp.48-62). (P)
- d. Jean Baker Miller, *Women's Growth in Connection: Writings from the Stone Center*, Chapter 11, "Women and Power," (1991), (pp.197-205). (T)
- e. ► Bernard M. Loomer, "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)
- f. ► Hahrie Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, "Chapter One, Introduction", (2014), (pp. 1-28).
- g. ► Connie Gersick, "Pacing Strategic Change: The Case of a New Venture," *Academy of Management Journal*, (February 1994), (pp.36-42). (T)

- h. Brian D. Christens and Paula Tran Inzeo, "Widening the view: situating collective impact among frameworks for community led change, *Community Development*, (2015), (pp. 1 – 13).
- i. "The Campaign Approach to Change", Hirschhorn and May, *Change Magazine*, (2010), pp. 30-37.
- j. ► Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, Chapter 4, "First Trombone" (pp.120-142), Chapter 5, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott," (1998), (pp.143 -205). (H)

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a. "Coaching" Organizing Participant Guide, 2016.
- b. "Creating Shared Strategy I" Organizing Participant Guide, pp. 1-13, 2016.

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Clayton Alderfer, *Existence, Relatedness and Growth*, Chapter 2, "Theory," (1972), (pp.6-13). (T)
- b. Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning*, Chapter 1, "The Proper Study of Man," (1990), (pp.24-30). (T)
- c. John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, Introduction, (1980), (pp.3-32). (T)
- d. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Volume I, "Types of Social Action," (1978), (pp.24-26). (T)
- e. Richard Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations", *American Sociological Review*, 27:31-41 (1962). (T)
- f. Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Party" in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (1946), (pp.180-195). (T)
- g. Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Book V, Chapter 7, "The Sixteenth Year – the Melian Dialogue," (1954), (pp.400-408). (H)
- h. David Walls, *Community Organizing* (Polity 2015), "Chapter 3: An Organizing World View" (pp.55 -69).

Section Discussion | GETTING ORGANIZED | Thursday, February 2

At first "launch" meeting of section this week, you will get acquainted, establish norms, and define shared purpose. You will coach one another on your initial ideas for an organizing project. Complete your "Project Plan" Reflection Paper #1 (**required**), by Wednesday at 12:00-midnight. Be prepared to share a summary of what you're thinking about in section.

ORGANIZING WORKSHOP

Saturday, February 4, 8:00AM to 5:30PM, Gutman Library Area 1&2, HGSE

Students are **REQUIRED** to participate in this organizing workshop to acquaint themselves with basic leadership skills needed to make their organizing project work: story telling, relationship building, structure, strategy and action.

WEEK 3 | TELLING YOUR PUBLIC STORY | Tuesday, February 7 | 115 pp.

Leadership requires enabling one's people to **respond** to challenges to their shared values with purposeful action as opposed to **reaction**. Public narrative can be a way to access the emotional resources required: mobilizing hope over fear, empathy over alienation, and self-worth over self-doubt. You may communicate an urgent challenge as a "story of now", shared values as a "story of us" and why you care enough to accept the responsibility of leadership as a "story of self." It is not public speaking, messaging or image making. As Jayanti Ravi, MPA/MC 07 said, it can enable you to bring out their "glow" from inside as opposed to applying a "gloss" from outside. In my "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 value through the language of emotion, essential for making choices. Bruner explains how we use narrative to construct our "selves". We will view the James Croft video in class. More examples are accessible through the class webpage as indicated below.

- a. ► Marshall Ganz, *Organizing Notes: "What Is Public Narrative?"* Charts, Questions. (2015). (P)
- b. ► Jerome Bruner, "Two Modes of Thought", Chapter 2 in *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p.11 – 25. (T)
- c. Martha Nussbaum, "Emotions and Judgments of Value", Chapter 1 in *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), (pp. 19-33). (T)
- d. Marshall Ganz, "Why Stories Matter: The Art and Craft of Social Change", *reprinted with permission from Sojourners*, (March 2009), pp. 18-19.
- e. ► Marshall Ganz, "Public Narrative, Collective Action, and Power", Chapter 18, *Accountability through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action*, World Bank, (2011), pp. 273-289. (T)
- f. ► Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories*, Chapter 3, "The Narrative Creation of Self", (2002), (pp.63-87). (T)
- g. Susan Christopher, *Camp Obama*, Los Angeles, 2007.
- h. "Gaiety Theatre Talk", Johannesburg, SA, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, March 1, 1907.
- i. Student Public Narrative; Maung Nyeu, Fall 2011.

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- c. Public Narrative Participant Guide (2016)

FOR FURTHER READING/VIEWING

- a. George Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2002), Chapter 4, "Becoming Reacquainted with Emotion" (pp.49-78) (T)
- b. Public Narrative; Jacquinette Brown, GSE, 2014.
- c. Public Narrative, HKS, Jordan Ward, HKS, 2014.
- d. Coaching Story of Self, Madonna Ramp. Ed.L.D. Workshop, August 2014.

Section Discussion | PUBLIC NARRATIVE | Thursday, February 9

Three Minute Public Narrative; Reflection Paper #2 (required) – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight

WEEK 4 | MOBILIZING RELATIONSHIPS TO BUILD COMMUNITY | Tuesday, February 14 | 118 pp.

Organizers build relationships among members of a constituency to create commitment to a common purpose. Through relationships we can come to understand common interests and develop the resources to act on them. Gladwell reports on the power of relational networks in everyday life – with people “like us” and people “not like us.” Simmons, Rondeau, and McKenna and Han describe relationship-building in action. The workshop materials show a way to teach relationship building in practice. The two video clips describe the role of “house meetings” in the 2007-8 Obama campaign. 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”; Rooney describes the kind of relational organizing at the foundation of most community organizing efforts like that of GBIO in Boston area. The second Gladwell piece and Brandzell’s response explore the difference in “online” and “offline” relationships.

- a. Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: “Relationships”, Charts, and Questions*. (2015). (P)
- b. ► Malcolm Gladwell, “[Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg](#),” in *The New Yorker*, (January 11, 1999), (pp. 52-63). (T)
- c. ► Kris Rondeau and Gladys McKenzie, “A Woman’s Way of Organizing,” *Labor Research Review #18*, (1991), (pp. 45-59). (H/P)
- d. ► Ian Simmons, “On One-to-Ones,” in *The Next Steps of Organizing: Putting Theory into Action*, Sociology 91r Seminar, (1998), (pp. 12-15) (1998). (P)
- e. Elizabeth McKenna and Hahrie Han, *Groundbreakers: How Obama’s 2.2 Million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*, Chapter 4, “Building in Depth by Investing in Relationships,” (2015), p.89-129.
- f. Reflections on how “one on one” meeting can turn into “house meetings” and what they are from the 2007 Obama primary campaign in South Carolina, organizer Jeremy Bird and local leader Grace Cusack.

[South Carolina House Meeting](#)

[Reflections on a House Meeting](#)

- g. Malcolm Gladwell, “[Small Change: why the revolution will not be tweeted](#)”, in *The New Yorker*, October 4, 2010. (T/P)
- h. Ben Brandzell, “[What Malcolm Gladwell Missed About Online Organizing and Creating Big Change](#)”, in *The Nation*, November 15, 2010. (T/P)

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* "Introduction." (1964), (pp.1-11). (T)
- b. Erving Goffman, "On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction," in *Interpersonal Dynamics*, edited by Bennis, et al. (1955), (pp. 213-225, 229-231). (T)
- c. Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, "Social Capital and Institutional Success", Chapter 6, (1993), (p. 163-185) (T)
- d. Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Sociological Review*, 78:6 (2001), (pp. 1360-79). (T)
- e. Jim Rooney, *Organizing the South Bronx*, Chapter 6, "Relational Organizing: Launching South Bronx Churches", (1995), (pp. 105-118). (H)
- f. "People-Powered: In New Hampshire, Howard Dean's Campaign Has Energized Voters", Hanna Rosin, *Washington Post*, Tuesday, December 9, 2003, p. C01. (T/P)

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a. "Relationship Building", Organizing Participant Guide, 2016.

Section Discussion | RELATIONSHIPS | **Thursday, February 16**

Relationships: Reflection #3 – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight
Student Presentations #1 & #2

WEEK 5 | CREATING STRUCTURE: BUILDING LEADERSHIP TEAMS | **Tuesday, February 21** | 114 pp.

What is structure? If we are to work together with others we need a set of agreements on how we will do that: how we make decisions, how we hold ourselves accountable, and how we can honor our commitments. And if leadership is a practice, how can we structure leadership development to enable a constituency to achieve its goals? The Exodus selection reveals that a key challenge in structuring leadership - how to avoid "being a dot" - has been around for a while. We then build on Burns' view of leadership as relational, Heifetz's emphasis on adaptive work, and King's appreciation of the ego challenges involved. Freeman challenges assumptions about structure that can get in our way. Ransby shares wisdom about "leaderless movements" of one of the great teachers of organizing in the Civil Rights Movement, Ella Baker. Miroff distinguishes between leadership and entrepreneurship. And Alinsky argues leadership must be drawn from among the constituency itself. Finally, Hackman and Wageman argue teams can be a more effective way to structure leadership than relying on a single individual and show how to coach them. In the optional readings, Ancona points out that leadership teams need to be "outward" looking as well as "inward" looking; the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra Video shows how team leadership can work for an orchestra with no conductor; Morland reminds us of the key elements in forming a strong team.

- a. Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: "Structuring Leadership Teams: Notes, Charts, Questions, and Helpful Hint #2"* (2015).
- b. ► *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 18 (H)

- c. James McGregor Burns, *Leadership*, Chapter 1, "The Power of Leadership," (p.9-28), Chapter 2, "The Structure of Moral Leadership" (1978), (pp.29-46). (T)
- d. Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, "Values in Leadership," Chapter 1, (1994), (pp. 13-27). (T/P)
- e. ► Dr. M.L. King, Jr. *A Testament of Hope*, "The Drum Major Instinct," (1986), (p.259-267). (H)
- f. ► Jo Freeman, "[The Tyranny of Structurelessness](#)," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, (1970), (pp.1-8). (P)
- g. ► Bruce Miroff, "Entrepreneurship and Leadership", *Studies in American Political Development*, 17 (Fall 2003), 204 – 211.
- h. Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 5, "Native Leadership," (1989), (pp.64-75). (T/P)
- i. ► Richard Hackman and Ruth Wageman, "A Theory of Team Coaching", *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 30, No 2 (Apr. 2005), pp. 269 – 287.
- j. Liz McKenna and Hahrie Han, *Groundbreakers: How Obama's 2.2 million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*, Chapter 5, "Creating a Structure to Share Responsibility" (2015), (p.130 – 152).

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Ancona, Deborah, Henrik Bresman & Katrin Kaeufer, "The Comparative Advantage of X-Teams," *MIT Sloan Management Review*, Vol.43 No.3, (Spring 2002) (pp. 33- 39). (T/P)
- b. Barbara Ransby, "[Ella Taught Me: Shattering the Myth of the Leaderless Movement](#)," *Colorlines*, June 12, 2015.
- c. Ruth Wageman, et al, *Senior Leadership Teams*. Chapter 9, "What It Takes to Make Them Great", (2008), (207-218). (T/P)
- d. No one on the Podium, Lessons on Leadership from the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra, (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gioi_JV2y4)
- e. Richard L. Moreland, "The Formation of Small Groups", in *Group Processes*, edited by Kendrick, C. (1987), (pp. 80-105). (T/P)
- f. ► Zack Exley, "[The New Organizers, What's Really Behind the Obama Ground Game](#)," *Huffington Post*, October 8, 2008. (P)

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a. "Building Leadership Teams" Organizing Participant Guide, 2016.

Section Discussion | STRUCTURE | Thursday, February 23

Leadership: Reflection #4 – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight
Student Presentations #3 & #4

WEEK 6 | MOBILIZING RESOURCES: ACTION | Tuesday, February 28 | 98 pp.

Organizers mobilize and deploy resources to take action based on commitments they secure from others. As Oliver and Marwell argue, the way we mobilize resources 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. Action also usually takes the form of tactics we deploy to achieve strategic goals, a topic which Bobo explores and the 2007 Obama rally illustrates. Action can also take far more subtle forms – especially in the case of “power with” campaigns, as the Chavez house meeting illustrates. The “Marriage Plot” points to the relational component of effective mobilization. Action also often involves media tactics, a topic Karpf explores, along with challenges of new forms of digital mobilization. Bobo offers ideas on how to combine mobilizing people and money. Finally, Hackman argues that the way we organize the action can itself enhance our capacity for further action — or the opposite. In further readings, McKenna and Han discuss the role of metrics in action, critical not only for accountability, but also for motivation and for learning.

- a. Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: “Notes on Action”*, Charts and Questions, (2013). (P)
- b. Pamela Oliver and Gerald Marwell, “Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action,” Chapter 11, (1992), (pp 251-271), in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Morris and Mueller. (T)
- c. Kim Bobo, Chapter 7, “Designing Actions,” *Organizing for Social Change*, (1991), (pp.48-53),
- d. Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez*, Prologue, (2007), (pp. xxi-xxv). (H)
- e. Columbia, SC Rally, “[Barack Obama and Oprah Winfrey Rally](#)” Video, (2007).
- f. Canvassing Video, “[The Marriage Plot: Inside This Year’s Epic Campaign for Gay Equality](#)”, *The Atlantic*, December 11, 2012.
- g. David Karpf, Chapter 1, “Will the Revolution be A/B-Tested?”, *Analytic Activism: Digital Listening and the New Political Strategy* (2016), (pp. 1-26).
- h. Kim Bobo, Chapter 19, “Grassroots Fundraising,” *Organizing for Social Change*, (1991), (pp. 241-251). (P)
- i. Becky Bond and Zack Exley, “Rule 7: The Revolution Will Be Funded - by Small Donations”, *Rules for Revolutionaries: How Big Organizing Can Change Everything*, (2016), pp 64 – 71.
- j. ► Richard Hackman, “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.

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Liz McKenna and Hahrie Han, *Groundbreakers: How Obama’s 2.2 Million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*, Chapter 6, “Using Metrics to Get to Scale,” (2015), p.153 – 182.

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a. Task Design, *Leadership Development Project*, Sierra Club, (2007)
 - b. “Mobilizing Shared Commitment: Action” Organizing Participant Guide, 2016.
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Section Discussion | ACTION | Thursday, March 2

Leadership: Reflection #5 – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight
Student Presentation #7 & #8

WEEK 7 | STRATEGIZING: TURNING RESOURCES INTO THE POWER TO ACHIEVE PURPOSE | Tuesday, March 7 | 140 pp.

As we discussed at the beginning of the semester, strategizing 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, not a noun, something we have. Strategizing is an ongoing process of adapting our campaign to what we are learning from obstacles and opportunities we encounter along the way. This half way point in the semester is a good time to reassess, evaluate, and re-strategize, especially in terms of tactics. We reflect on a “classic” tale of strategy recounted in the Book of Samuel: the story of David and Goliath, a tale showing how resourcefulness can compensate for lack of resources. Mintzberg’s view that strategy is a “verb” is drawn from business while Kahn’s view comes from organizing. Alinsky and Bobo offer some “how to’s” for organizing strategy and tactics. “Resources and Resourcefulness”, shows how the resource poor UFW bested its resource rich opponents. Alinsky, Bobo and Sharp offer “how to’s” for organizing strategy and tactics. The Harvard Living Wage Case offers an example of strategy in action at Harvard.

- a. Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: “Notes on Strategy”, Charts, Questions.* (2013). (P)
- b. ► *The Bible*, Book of Samuel, Chapter 17, Verses 4-49. (H)
- c. Henry Mintzberg, “Crafting Strategy,” *Harvard Business Review*, (July 1987), (pp. 66-74). (T)
- d. ► Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 8 “Strategy,” (1982), (pp.155-174). (P)
- e. Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, Tactics, (1989), (pp. 126-136, 148-155, 158-161). (P)
- f. Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 4 “Developing a Strategy” (pp.20-32), Chapter 5, “A Guide to Tactics,” (1991), (pp.34-41). (P)
- g. Marshall Ganz. “Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966”, *American Journal of Sociology*, (January 2000), (pp.1003-1005; 1019-1044). (T/H)
- h. Gene Sharp. “[198 Methods of nonviolent Protest and Persuasion](#)”, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973).
- i. ► *The Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard* (A) (10 pages) and (B) (18 pages); Kennedy School of Government, (2002). (H)
- j. *Strategizing Handout*, Jonah Evans, (2012).

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. 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>
- b. Olena Nikolayenko, "Origins of the Movement's Strategy: The Case of Serbia's Otpor (pp. 1 -19), *International Political Science Review*, (October 31, 2012) (T/H)

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a. "Creating Shared Strategy II" Organizing Participant Guide, pp. 13-20, 2016.

Section Discussion | STRATEGY | Thursday, March 9

Strategy: No reflection paper in lieu of midterm
Student Presentations #5 & #6

MID-TERM (Required) (4 pages, double-spaced, 12-point, 1-inch margins) **DUE FRIDAY 10 MARCH at 5:00 PM** by email to your TF.

SPRING BREAK: March 13–17

WEEK 8 | COMMUNITIES IN ACTION: ORGANIZATION | Tuesday, March 21 | 55 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 "resolved." Janis points to the danger that "too much" unity can suppress needed dissent. Kahn focuses on the nuts and bolts of organization. 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. And Ransby recalls the wisdom with respect to the role of leadership movements of one of the great teachers of organizing in the Civil Rights Movement, Ella Baker.

- a. Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: "Organizations" Notes, Charts, and Questions* (2011). (P)
- b. ► Irving Janis, "Groupthink", in *Psychology Today*, (November 1971), (pp. 43-44, 46, 74-76). (T)
- c. ► Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 3, "Organizations,"(1982), (pp. 55-77). (P)
- d. ► Kenwyn Smith and David Berg, "A Paradoxical Conception of Group Dynamics", *Human Relations*, Vol. 40:10, (1987), (pp. 633-654). (T)

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Marion McCollom, *Groups in Context: A New Perspective on Group Dynamics*, edited by Marion McCollum and Jonathon Gillette. Chapter 2, "Group Formation: Boundaries, Leadership and Culture" in, Lanham MD: University Press of America, (1995), (pp.34-48). (T)

- b. Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling*, from “Four, Bridging Communities Across Racial Lines” (98-100; 114-123) and “Five, Deepening Multiracial Collaboration,” (2001), (pp. 124-132; 152-155). (H)

Section Discussion | ORGANIZATIONS | Thursday, March 23

Organization: Reflection Paper #6 – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight
Student Presentations #9 & #10

Midpoint Check-in: Your midterm will be returned to you in this week’s section with comments. The Teaching Fellows will schedule short check-ins to help you focus on your goals for the remainder of the semester.

WEEK 9 | ORGANIZING PROJECTS/CASES | Tuesday, March 28 | 65 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.

- a. ► Kennedy School Case C16-91-1034, “Orange Hats of Fairlawn: A Washington DC Neighborhood Battles Drugs,” (1991), (pp.1-18). (H)
- b. Mary Beth Rogers, *Cold Anger*, Chapter 11, “Leave Them Alone. They’re Mexicans,” (1990), (pp.105-126). (H)

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Ben Adler, "[The inside story of how the Keystone fight was won](#)", *Grist*, November 6, 2015

Section Discussion | CASES | Thursday, March 30

Cases: Reflection #7 – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight

WEEK 10 | ORGANIZING PROJECTS/CASES | Tuesday, April 4 | 61 pp.

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

- a. Mark Warren & Karen Mapp, “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.
- b. ► Kennedy School Case 2070.1: Six Minutes: Community Organizing in Amman, Jordan, (2016)

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause*, Chapter 11, "Resolution," (1982), (pp.221-239). (H)
- b. Jane McAlevey, “Chapter 6, Make the Road New York”, *No Short Cuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*, (2016), pp.179 – 198.

Section Discussion | CASES | Thursday, April 6

Cases: Reflection #8 – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight

WEEK 11 | ORGANIZING PROJECTS | Tuesday, April 11 | 101 pp.

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

- a. ► Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*; “Boycott Grapes” (pp.263-271), “The Miracle of the Fast”, (pp. 272-293); Book IV, Book V, “Victory in the Vineyards,” Chapters 6-14, (2007), (pp.294-325). (H)
- b. Jane McAlvey, Chapter 4 “Round One” in *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement*, Verso, 2012, p. 110-141. (H)
- c. Becky Bond and Zack Exley, “Rule 8: Barnstorm”, *Rules for Revolutionaries: How Big Organizing Can Change Everything*, (2016), pp, 72-82.

FOR FURTHER READING

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

Section Discussion | CASES | Thursday, April 13

Cases: Reflection #9 – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight

WEEK 12 | BECOMING A GOOD ORGANIZER | Tuesday, April 18 | 141 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, Alinsky, Payne and Addams describe how they came to terms with these challenges.

- a. Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Chapter 11, "The Personal Challenge," (1994), (pp.250-276). (P)
- b. Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, Chapter 8, "Mindfulness on the Job," (2014), (pp.133-148). (P)
- c. Cesar Chavez, "The Organizer's Tale," *Ramparts Magazine*, (July 1966), (pp.43-50). (P)
- d. Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, "The Education of the Organizer," (1989), (pp.63-80). (P)
- e. Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, “Chapter 8: Slow and Respectful Work” (1995), (pp.236-264), (H)
- f. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, Chapters 4-5, (1912), (pp.60-89). (P)

- g. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, Chapter 14 (1995), (pp. 121-140). (H)

OPTIONAL:

- a. Mondros and Wilson, *Organizing for Power and Empowerment*, Chapter 2, "The Organizers," (1994), (pp.11-35). (P)

Section Discussion | BECOMING A GOOD ORGANIZER | Thursday, April 20

Good Organizer: Reflection Paper #10 (Required) – due Wednesday at 12:00-midnight
Student Presentations #13 & #14

CONCLUSION

WEEK 13 | WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? | Tuesday, April 25 | 138 pp.

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. Rothstein and Greenhouse point to structural challenges to be confronted if real change is to happen. Reed shows how organizing worked in the conservative movement. Skocpol and Weir and I argue a need for greater participation. Judis describes a world of advocacy without participants. Hobbs argues the insufficiency of market based approaches to social change. And Brown argues that market based approaches can undermine democratic politics itself.

- a. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 11, (1989), (pp.190-204). (P)
- b. Richard Rothstein, "[The Making of Ferguson](#)", *American Prospect*, Fall 2014.
- c. Steven Greenhouse, "[How to Get Low Wage Workers Into the Middle Class](#)", *Atlantic*, August 19, 2015.
- d. John B. Judis, "The Pressure Elite: Inside the Narrow World of Advocacy Group Politics," *The American Prospect*, #9, (Spring 1992), (pp.15-29). (H)
- e. Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect*, Chapter 13, "Miracle at the Grassroots," (pp.189-202); Chapter 17, "What is Right about America: How You Can Make a Difference," (1994), (pp.249-267). (H)
- f. ► Margaret Weir and Marshall Ganz, "Reconnecting People and Politics," in *The New Majority: Toward a Popular Progressive Politics*, (1997), (pp.149-171). (H)
- g. Eias Isquith, "[Neoliberalism Poisons Everything: How Free Market Mania Threatens Education and Democracy: Wendy Brown's Undoing the Demos](#)", *Salon*, June 15, 2015.
- h. Zeynep Tufekci, "Twitter and Tear Gas: the power and fragility of networked protest", (forthcoming 2017), "Preface" (ix-xx).

FOR FURTHER READING

- a. Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, Chapter 7, "Reinventing American Civic Democracy" (2003), (pp.254-293). (H)

- b. Michael Hobbs, "[The Myth of the Ethical Shopper](#)", *Huffington Post*, July 15, 2015.

WEEK 13 | CONCLUSION | Thursday, April 27

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 DUE FRIDAY MAY 5TH AT 4:00PM (Boston time) by e-mail to your TF.