

PRACTICING DEMOCRACY : leadership, community & power

SOCIAL STUDIES 68AB

FALL 2015

INSTRUCTOR:

Marshall Ganz
124 Mt. Auburn - Suite 200N-224
617-495-3937
Marshall_Ganz@harvard.edu

CLASS SESSIONS:

Tuesdays, 7:00 PM – 9:00 PM
Hauser Center Conference Room
Belfer Lobby 4, Harvard Kennedy School

FACULTY ASSISTANT:

Gerta Dhamo
124 Mt. Auburn - Suite 200N-217B
617-384-9637
Gerta_Dhamo@harvard.edu

OFFICE HOURS:

Mondays, 4:00 – 6:00 PM
[Sign up here](#)

“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

introduction

A. OBJECTIVES

Fulfilling the democratic promise of equity, accountability and effectiveness requires the engagement of a citizenry “organized” to discern, articulate and assert its shared interests effectively. Organizing, in turn, requires leadership: *accepting responsibility for enabling others to achieve shared purpose in the face of uncertainty*. Organizers identify, recruit and develop leadership; build community around that leadership; and build power from the resources of that community.

In this course, students learn to practice leadership by accepting responsibility for organizing a constituency to work with them to achieve specific outcomes on behalf of a shared purpose by the end of the semester. As reflective practitioners, students learn from critical analysis of their leadership of their project. We focus on five key practices: turning values into motivated action through narrative; building relationships committed to common purpose; structuring leadership collaboratively; strategizing to turn resources into the power to achieve outcomes; and turning commitments into measurable action enabling learning, accountability, and adaptation.

B. PARTICIPATION

This course is intended for students interested in learning to how to lead social change through collective action. There are no prerequisites. Students with a strong a commitment to the community, organization, or goals on behalf of which they are working will be most successful. Because it is a course in practice, like riding a bicycle, it requires trying new things, learning from failure, and adapting practice to new learning. As reflective practitioners, students will learn through critical reflection on their experience, feedback and coaching. If you are not prepared to step outside your comfort zone, this course is not for you.

B. PROJECT

Students base class work on their experience leading an "organizing project" of their own choosing or design. This requires recruiting a leadership team to work with you organizing mobilizing others to join you in your project — and should average **8 hours per week**. Campaigns must be rooted in your own values, focus on organizing a definable constituency, and commit to achieving clear outcomes. You may choose a campaign on which you are currently working, start a new one, or serve with one of a variety community or campus organizations. Campus campaigns in the past included work with the Association of Black Harvard Women, Phillips Brooks House, Arab Students' Association, Student Labor Action Movement, the Leadership Initiative, the Progressive Jewish Alliance, the Harvard Diabetes Network, etc. Community campaigns included work with Centro Presente, the Greater Boston Interfaith Organization, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, St. Marks RC Parish, St. Stephen's Episcopal Parish, Temple Israel, community development corporations in Chinatown, Allston-Brighton, Dorchester Bay, Dudley Street and Jamaica Plain; and electoral campaigns.

C. REQUIREMENTS

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

1. Getting Started. The course is front-loaded to give students the opportunity to acquire skills that will be useful in their organizing projects.
 - **One-to-One Meetings.** To facilitate the selection of organizing projects — and get acquainted — students meet one-to-one with the instructor for 15 minutes during the first week of class. A sign-up sheet for these appointments will be passed out in the first class meeting.
 - **Special Session: On Saturday, September 12th from 8:30am to 5:30pm**, you are required to join students of MLD-355: Public Narrative: Self, Us, Now, in a workshop enabling you to begin developing your own public narrative. *Location:* NYE ABC
 - **Skills Session #1: On Saturday, September 19th from 10am to 4pm** you are required to participate in a Skills Session to acquaint you with the range of organizing skills useful in your projects. *Location:* Bell Hall, Belfer 5th Floor
 - **Skills Session #2: On Thursday, October 1st from 6:30 to 8:30 pm**, students are required to participate in a 2-hour session for training in one on one meetings, coaching, and decision-making. *Location:* Taubman 301
2. The course meets for 2 hours, once a week, for thirteen weeks. Students use a learning framework to integrate lectures and reading with critical reflection on their project experience. In each session, we discuss readings and how they relate to student projects. You are required to attend all sessions, do all the reading and take an active part in discussions.
3. The reading combines theory, practice, and history and averages 130 pages per week. An introductory paragraph to each week's readings focuses attention and prioritizes readings. Readings designated with "►" are particularly important for class discussion. My "organizing notes" frame the readings, explain the charts and offer a discussion framework. Recommended readings are available for those who wish to pursue a topic more deeply and can be purchased at the COOP or found on the SS68 website. You also may want to access resources at the New Organizing Institute's "Toolbox" that you can use to share skills you are learning with others. New Organizing Institute: <http://neworganizing.com/2015/03/category-organizing-and-leadership/>. You may also want to explore the Leading Change Network at <http://leadingchangenetwork.com> or Facebook group at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/leadingchangenetwork>

4. Students submit a 2 page "reflection paper" each week in which they analyze their experience leading their organizing project. Questions posed at the end of each week's readings are to spark reflection. You may skip 2 of the 7 reflection papers except for the first one on public narrative (**Sept. 29**), the one on strategy (**Oct. 20**) and the last one (**Nov. 17**). Submit papers **Monday by 6:00PM EST** using the course web page (instructions provided in class).
5. Beginning in week #4, Relationships, two students initiate discussion on projects each week with a 5 minute presentation in which they link the week's readings to their project. **In week #9 (November 10)** each student presents a project update for consultation with their classmates on sources of challenge and of success. Students sign up for presentations the first week of class.
6. At the end of reading period, **Friday, December 11th**, each student will submit a 10-page final paper in which they reflect on what they learned about "practicing democracy." Students' work is not evaluated on whether their project is a "success", but on their ability to analyze what happened, why and what they learned from it. Final grades are based on seminar participation (40%), weekly reflection papers (30%) and final paper (30%).

Collaboration Permitted in Written Work

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential to academic work. For assignments in this course, you are encouraged to consult with your classmates on the choice of paper topics and to share sources. You may find it useful to discuss your chosen topic with your peers, particularly if you are working on the same topic as a classmate. However, you should ensure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own research and writing and that it reflects your own approach to the topic. You must also adhere to standard citation practices in this discipline and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have helped you with your work. If you received any help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc.), you must also acknowledge this assistance.

D. MATERIALS

The three books required for this course are available for purchase at the COOP and are on reserve at the Lamont library.

- a) Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, New York: Addison-Wesley, 1989;
- b) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, New York: Vintage, 1989;
- c) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, New York: Vintage, 1989;

The other required readings can be found in the Canvas website: <https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/7129>

Four recommended books can be purchased at the COOP. Required readings from these books are in the canvas:

- a) Marshall Ganz, *Why David Sometimes Wins*. New York. Oxford Press. 2009.
- b) Liz McKenna and Hahrie Han, *Groundbreakers: How Obama's 2.2 million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*, Oxford University Press, 2015.
- c) David Walls, *Community Organizing*, Polity Press, 2015.

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 if the focus is theoretical (T), practical (P) or historical (H). Readings designated with “▶” are particularly important for class discussion

WEEK 1 • Leading Change & Organizing :: September 15 :: *240+ pp.*

Welcome. Today we get acquainted, discuss goals for the course, our strategy for achieving them, and course requirements. “What is Organizing” summarizes the conceptual framework that will guide our work, explained more fully in “Leading Change.” “Organizing for Democratic Renewal,” offers a perspective on organizing in the US 5 years ago, a prelude to the role of organizing in the Obama campaign described by Exley. Organizing practice has different roots in different cultures. In the West it is rooted in faith, civic, and popular traditions. Organizing is about enabling a constituency to assert its voice effectively, not offering services to them as clients or marketing products to them as customers. Making democracy work is a matter more of contention than of consensus and leadership not entrepreneurship –as argued by Alinsky, McKnight, Schattschneider, Miroff, and Giridharadas. Our pedagogy is explained by Kierkegaard, Thich Nhat Hahn, Dweck, Langer, and Sitkin. Some more recent organizing moments – from the Tea Party to Black Lives Matter - are described as examples of “Organizing in Action.”

WHAT IS ORGANIZING?

- a) ▶ Marshall Ganz, *Organizing Notes: “What is Organizing?” and “Learning to Organize”*, Charts and Questions. 2015. (T)
- b) ▶ Marshall Ganz, “Leading Change: Leadership, Organization, and Social Movements”, Chapter 19 in *Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice*, edited by Nohria and Khurana; HBS Press, 2010 (pp. 527-568) (T).
- c) ▶ Marshall Ganz, “Organizing for Democratic Renewal”, TPM Café, March 27, 2007;
- d) *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 2-6, (pp.82-89). (H)
- e) Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Volume II, Part II, Chapters 2-6, (pp. 506-517). (H/T)
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html
- f) ▶ Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 1, (pp.3-23). (P)
- g) ▶ John McKnight, "Services are Bad for People," (pp.41-44). (T)
- h) E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*, "Introduction" xii-xvii; “The Contagiousness of Conflict”, (1-19). (T)
- i) Bruce Miroff, “Entrepreneurship and Leadership”, *Studies in American Political Development*, 17 (Fall 2003), 204 – 211.
- j) ▶ Anand Giridharadas, “Real Change Requires Politics”, *New York Times*, July 15, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/16/us/16iht-currents16.html>
- k) Zack Exley, “Stories and Numbers – a Closer Look at Camp Obama”, *Huffington Post*, August 29, 2007.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/zack-exley/stories-and-numbers-a-clo_b_62278.html

- l) *Organizer's Journey Handout*, Jonah Evans, 2012

LEARNING ORGANIZING

- a) 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. (P)
- b) ► Thich Nhat Hanh, *Thundering Silence: Sutra on Knowing the Better Way to Catch a Snake*, "The Raft is Not the Shore," (pp.30-33). (P)
- c) ► Carol Dweck, Chapter 1, "The Mindsets" from *Mindset* (2006), (pp.1-10) (P)
- d) ► Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, 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)
- e) ► Sim Sitkin, "Learning Through Failure: The Strategy of Small Losses", *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol.14, 1992, (pp. 231-256). (T)

ORGANIZING IN ACTION

- a) "Mobilized Grassroots and Roving Billionaires: The Panoply of Tea Party Organizations", Chapter 3 in *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* by Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, (Oxford, 2012), pp. 83- 100.
- b) [The NRA Has a Head Start Against Newly Energized Gun-Control Advocates](#) - The Daily Beast, Dec. 18, 2012
- c) Julia Preston, [Young Immigrants Say It's Obama's Time to Act](#), *New York Times*, Nov. 30, 2012; [Young Leaders Cast a Wider Net for Immigration Reform](#) - NY Times, Dec. 2, 2012
- d) Duncan Meisel and Joshua Kahn Russell, "Case Study: Tar Sands Action", in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution* by Andrew Boyd and Dave Oswald Mitchell; OR Books, 2012 (pp. 376-379).
- e) Amy Dean, [How Domestic Workers Won Their Rights: Five Big Lessons](#), *Yes Magazine!*, October 9, 2013.
- f) Harold Meyerson, [Dan Cantor's Machine](#), *The American Prospect*, Jan. 6, 2014 (New York Mayoral election).
- g) Shane Greene, [Magic Number 770 Could be an Environmental Game Changer in Victorian Election](#), *The Age*, October 26, 2014.
- h) Peter Dreir, [Black Lives Matter joins a long line of protest movements ...](#), Salon, Aug.15, 2015.

FOR FURTHER READING

- a) Aristotle, *Politica*, Book 1, Chapter 1-2 (pp.1127-1130). (T)
<http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/AriPoli.html>

- b) 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)
- c) Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, "Chapter 10, Three Public Cultures" (pp.151-166)
- d) 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)
- e) Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: the Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict, Chapters 1-3* (pp.1-82)
- f) Donald Schon, *The Reflexive Practitioner*, Chapter 2, "From Technical Rationality to Reflection-in-Action" (pp.49-69). (T)

REQUIRED SPECIAL SESSIONS:

Saturday, 12 September | 8:30 AM to 5:30 PM | NYE ABC: all day workshop for you to begin developing your public narrative.

Saturday, 19 September | 10:00AM to 4:00PM | Bell Hall, Belfer 5th Floor all day "skills session" to acquaint students with basic leadership skills needed to make an organizing campaign work.

WEEK 2 • People, Power & Change: Your Organizing Project :: September 22 :: 233 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 will think through a "first draft" of your organizing campaign by turning in your "Organizing Project Worksheet" by 6:00 PM, Thursday, September 17th, two days after our course meets on Tuesday.

We introduce the elements of an organizing campaign in the context of the *Montgomery Bus Boycott*, a campaign that initiated the modern American civil rights movement. We ask 3 questions: who were the actors, what was the problem, and what was the theory of change? Alinsky and Miller help us consider reactions we may have to words we need to use to explain organizing, especially "power." Emerson and Loomer argue that 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. Gersick draws attention to timing: why we organize through campaigns, elaborated upon by Hirschorn 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. 2015
- b) Marshall Ganz, "Speaking of Power", Gettysburg Project, 2014.
- c) Clayton Alderfer, *Existence, Relatedness and Growth*, Chapter 2, "Theory," (pp.6-13). (T)
- d) Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning*, Chapter 1, "The Proper Study of Man," (pp.24-30). (T)

- e) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, "A Word About Words," (pp.48-62). (P)
- f) Jean Baker Miller, *Women's Growth in Connection: Writings from the Stone Center*, Chapter 11, "Women and Power," (pp.197-205). (T)
- g) ► 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)
- h) ► John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, Introduction, (pp.3-32). (T)
- i) ► Hahrie Han, *How Organizations Develop Activists*, "Chapter One, Introduction" (pp. 1-28).
- j) Connie Gersick, "Pacing Strategic Change: The Case of a New Venture," *Academy of Management Journal*, February 1994 (pp.36-42). (T)
- k) ► "The Campaign Approach to Change," Hirschhorn and May, *Change Magazine*. (P)
- l) ► Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, Chapter 4, "First Trombone" (pp.120-142), Chapter 5, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott," (pp.143 -205). (H) <http://spot.colorado.edu/%7Ewehr/5025B.TXT>

FOR FURTHER READING

- a) Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Volume I, "Types of Social Action," (pp.24-26). (T)
- m) Richard Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations", *American Sociological Review*, 27:31-41. (T)
- b) Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Party" in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (pp.180-195).
- c) Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Book V, Chapter 7, "The Sixteenth Year – the Melian Dialogue," (pp.400-408). (H)
- d) David Walls, *Community Organizing* (Polity 2015), "Chapter 3: An Organizing World View" (pp.55 -69).

WEEK 2 ASSIGNMENT DUE 6:00 PM, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24TH.

- Organizing Project Worksheet

WEEK 3 • Turning Values Into Action: Your Public Narrative :: September 29 :: 98 pp.

Leadership requires enabling others 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. By engaging the "head" and the "heart", narrative instructs and inspires, teaching us not only how we *should* act, but moving us *to act*. But it is not public speaking, branding or image making. As Jayanti Ravi, MPA/MC 07 said, it's learning how to bring out their "glow" from within, not how to apply a "gloss" from without. The more effectively you can articulate your own sources of value, the better your choices about what you want to do and that others can make about whether to join you. *Come to class having completed your "Public Narrative Worksheet".*

- 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) ► 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)
- d) 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)
- e) ► Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories*, Chapter 3, "The Narrative Creation of Self", (pp.63-87). (T)
- f) James Croft, "Catch Them Before They Jump", Harvard Kenned School, 2010.
- g) Marshall Ganz, "Why Stories Matter: The Art and Craft of Social Change", *reprinted with permission from Sojourners*, (March 2009), pp. 18-19.

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a) Public Narrative Worksheet
- b) Public Narrative Guide
- c) NOI "Story of Self" Resources: <http://neworganizing.com/2015/03/story-of-self/>
- d) Public Narrative MLD 355 and MLD 356 Website.

FOR FURTHER READING/VIEWING

- a) Public Narrative; Jacquinette Brown, GSE, 2014
- b) Public Narrative, HKS, Jordan Ward, HKS, 2014
- c) Public Narrative, HKS, Susan, Nieman Fellow, 2014
- d) Coaching Story of Self, Madonna Ramp. Ed.L.D. Workshop, August 2014.

WEEK 3 ASSIGNMENT

- Reflection Paper #1: Your Public Narrative (*required*)
- Prepare to Tell Your Story in Class (3 minutes)

REQUIRED SPECIAL SESSION:

Thursday, 1 October | 6:30-8:30PM | Taubman Building 301: *students are required to participate in a 2-hour session for training in one on one meetings, coaching, and decision-making.*

WEEK 4 • MOBILIZING RELATIONSHIPS TO BUILD COMMUNITY: : October 6 : : 150 pp.

Organizers build relationships among members of a constituency to create commitment to a common purpose. Through relationships we can come to understand our common interests more clearly and mobilize 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.” Blau sees relationships as exchanges while Goffman sees them as performances. Simmons, Rondeau, and Rosin describe relationship-building in action. The workshop materials show a way to teach relationship building in practice. The second Gladwell piece and Brandzell’s response explore differences in “online” and “offline” relationships. The two video clips describe the role of “house meetings” in the 2007-8 Obama campaign. In the optional readings, Putnam shows how relationships can become a resource as “social capital”; Granovetter explains the science of relational differences with people “like us” and people “not like us”, and McKenna and Han show how central relational work was to the Obama campaign grassroots effort.

- a) Marshall Ganz, *Organizing Notes: “Relationships”, Charts, and Questions*. 2015.
- b) ► Malcolm Gladwell, “Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg,” in *The New Yorker*, January 11, 1999 (pp. 52-63). (T)
- c) Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* “Introduction.” (pp.1-11). (T)
- d) Erving Goffman, “On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction,” in *Interpersonal Dynamics*, edited by Bennis, et al. (pp. 213-225, 229-231). (T)
- e) ► Kris Rondeau and Gladys McKenzie, “A Woman’s Way of Organizing,” *Labor Research Review* #18, (pp. 45-59). (H/P)
- f) ► Ian Simmons, “On One-to-Ones,” in *The Next Steps of Organizing: Putting Theory into Action*, Sociology 91r Seminar, (pp. 12-15) 1998. (P)
- g) “People-Powered: In New Hampshire, Howard Dean's Campaign Has Energized Voters”, Hanna Rosin, *Washington Post*, Tuesday, December 9, 2003, p. C01.
- h) Malcolm Gladwell, “Small Change: why the revolution will not be tweeted”, in *The New Yorker*, October 4, 2010. (T/P) (http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell)
- i) Ben Brandzell, “What Malcolm Gladwell Missed About Online Organizing and Creating Big Change”, in *The Nation*, November 15, 2010. (T/P) (<http://www.thenation.com/article/156447/what-malcolm-gladwell-missed-about-online-organizing-and-creating-big-change>)
- a. 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](#)

FOR FURTHER READING

- a) Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, “Social Capital and Institutional Success”, Chapter 6, (p. 163-185) (T)
- b) Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Sociological Review*, 78:6 (pp. 1360-79). (T)
- c) Jim Rooney, *Organizing the South Bronx*, Chapter 6, “Relational Organizing: Launching South Bronx Churches”, (pp. 105-118). (H)
- d) 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," p.89-129.

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a) Relationship Building Guide 2015
- b) NOI Relationship Building Resources <http://neworganizing.com/2015/03/building-relationships/>

WEEK 4 ASSIGNMENT

- Reflection Paper #2
- Student Presentation #1 & #2

WEEK 5 • Structuring Leadership :: October 13 :: 148 pp.

What is leadership? A position? A person? Or a practice? We argue we can structure the practice of leadership in ways that better enable a constituency to achieve its goals, not only personal goals of whoever is in charge? The selection from Exodus shows this question has been asked for a while, posing one kind of structure that avoids "being a dot." We build on Burns' relational view of leadership, Heifetz's emphasis on adaptive work, and on Hackman's focus on enabling others to achieve purpose. Freeman, Alinsky and King challenge assumptions that get in our way. Hackman and Wageman argues teams can be a more effective way to structure leadership than relying on a single individual. The Coaching as Leadership Practice guide offers an alternative to "telling people what to do". Alinsky argues leadership must be drawn from among the constituency itself. And Exley describes the role of volunteer "native" leadership teams in the 2008 Obama campaign. In optional reading, Ancona points out that leadership teams need to be "outward" looking as well as "inward" looking; the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra Video is a foundational case study of an orchestra with leadership, but without a conductor; Moreland reminds us of the key elements in forming a strong team; and McKenna and Han show how leadership was structured in the Obama campaign.

- a) Marshall Ganz. *Organizing Notes: "Leadership"*, Charts, Questions. 2011.
- 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" (pp.29-46). (T)
- d) Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, "Values in Leadership," Chapter 1, (pp. 13-27). (T/P)
- e) ► Jo Freeman, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 1970, (pp.1-8). (P) <http://www.jofreeman.com/joreen/tyranny.htm>
- f) ► J. Richard Hackman and Ruth Wageman, "A Theory of Team Coaching", *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 30, No 2 (Apr. 2005), pp. 269 – 287.
- g) ► Coaching as Leadership Practice, Leading Change Network (2012)
- h) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 5, "Native Leadership," (pp.64-75). (T/P)
- i) Dr. M.L. King, Jr. *A Testament of Hope*, "The Drum Major Instinct," (p.259-67). (H)

- j) ► Zack Exley, "The New Organizers, What's Really Behind the Obama Ground Game," Huffington Post, October 8, 2008. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/zack-exley/the-new-organizers-part-1_b_132782.html

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).
- b) No One on the Podium, Lessons on Leadership from the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra, (<http://dl.dropbox.com/u/9372663/orpheum.mov>)
- c) Richard L. Moreland, "The Formation of Small Groups", in *Group Processes*, edited by Kendrick, C. (1987), (pp. 80-105). (T/P)
- d) 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" (p.130 – 152).

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a) Designing Effective Teams, Campaign Workshop Materials, 2015.
- b) New Organizing Institute Training Resources:
a. Team Building: <http://neworganizing.com/2015/03/building-teams/>

WEEK 5 ASSIGNMENT

- Reflection Paper #3
- Student Presentation #3 & #4

WEEK 6 • Turning Resources into Power: Strategizing : : October 20 : : 197 pp.

Strategy is how we turn what we have into what we need to get what we want. It is both analytic and imaginative, figuring out how we can use our resources to achieve our goals. We reflect on a "classic" tale of strategy recounted in the Book of Samuel: the story of David and Goliath, a tale that argues resourcefulness can compensate for lack of resources by developing "strategic capacity." Mintzberg's view that strategy is a "verb" is drawn from business while Kahn's view comes from organizing. Alinsky, Bobo and Gene Sharp offer some "how to's" for tactics. The Harvard Living Wage Case provides an example of strategy in action in the Harvard context.

When you designed your project at the beginning of our class you began to strategize. Since then, you have learned a great deal about your people, the change you seek, and your sources of power. Strategy is a verb - so now it's time to re-strategize! What has worked, what hasn't, what has changed, what has not? And where do you go from here? In the optional readings, the New Tactics for Human Rights organization provides a very useful website for developing online and offline tactics. Nikolayenko uses similar tools to analyze the strategy of the Serbian youth movement, Otpor, in bringing down their dictator.

- a) Marshall Ganz. Organizing Notes: "Strategizing", Charts, Questions, 2015. (P)
- b) Helpful Hint #3

- c) ► *The Bible*, Book of Samuel, Chapter 17, Verses 4-49. (H)
- d) Henry Mintzberg, "Crafting Strategy," *Harvard Business Review*, July 1987, (pp. 66-74). (T)
- e) ► Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 8 "Strategy," (pp.155-174). (P)
- f) 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)
- g) Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 4 "Developing a Strategy" (pp.30-47), Chapter 5, "A Guide to Tactics," (pp.48-61); (P)
- h) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, Tactics, (pp. 126-136, 148-155, 158-161). (P)
- i) Gene Sharp. "198 Methods of nonviolent Protest and Persuasion", *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973). (P)
- j) ► *The Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard* (A) (10 pages) and (B) (18 pages); Kennedy School of Government, 2002. (H)
- k) *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) Devising Strategy, Campaign Materials, *Leading Change Project* 2009.
- b) NOI Strategizing Resources:
 - a. <http://neworganizing.com/2015/03/theory-of-change/>

WEEK 6 ASSIGNMENT

- Reflection Paper #4, 3-4 pages answering both these questions: (*required*)
 - 1) *My project is working because....*
 - 2) *My project is not working because...*
- Prepare to Present Your Strategy in Class.

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 to make change involves risk, and risk requires courage. Hackman argues that the way we organize the action can itself enhance our capacity for action — or the opposite. Levy shows how to knit tactics together strategically. Before moving on, we return to the “now” piece of our public story, illustrated by Gandhi’s call to his supporters to deny the British their obedience, July, 1907, Gaiety Theater, Johannesburg, South Africa.

- a) Marshall Ganz. Organizing Notes: “Action” 2015.
- b) Charts and Questions
- c) Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez*, Prologue, (pp. xxi-xxv). (H)
- d) Pamela Oliver and Gerald Marwell, “Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action,” Chapter 11, (pp 251-271), in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Morris and Mueller. (T)
- e) Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 7, “Designing Actions,” (pp.70-79), Chapter 21, “Grassroots Fundraising,” (pp. 276-286). (P)
- f) Canvassing Best Practices Video, The Analyst Institute, 2012. To access this video please use the following login information at <https://analystinstitute.org/video/> username: ganzclass password: organizingchange
- g) ► 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). *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”p.153 – 182.

ORGANIZING TOOLS:

- a) Task Design, *Leadership Development Project*, Sierra Club, 2007.
- b) NOI Action Resources: <http://neworganizing.com/2015/03/module-getting-commitment/>

WEEK 7 ASSIGNMENT

- *Reflection Paper #5*
- *Student Presentation #5 & #6*

Successful organizing campaigns can create organizations. But creating organizations that continue to respond, change, and adapt requires learning how to manage the dilemmas of unity and diversity, inclusion and exclusion, responsibility and participation, and leadership and accountability. Smith and Berg identify dilemmas that

organizations must manage. Janis points to the danger "too much" unity can suppress needed dissent. Kahn focuses on the nuts and bolts of organization. Warren focuses on the challenge of building organizations across racial, religious, and economic lines.

- a) Marshall Ganz. Organizing Notes: "Organizations", Charts & Questions, 2015.
- b) ► Kenwyn Smith and David Berg, "A Paradoxical Conception of Group Dynamics", *Human Relations*, Vol. 40:10, 1987, (pp. 633-654). (T)
- c) ► Irving Janis, "Groupthink", in *Perspectives on Behavior in Organizations*, edited by J.R. Hackman, 1983, (pp. 378-384). (T)
- d) ► Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 3, "Organizations," (pp. 55-77). (P)
- e) 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.35-48). (T)

FOR FURTHER READING

- a) Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling*, from "Four, Bridging Communities Across Racial Lines" (98-100; 114-123) and "Five, Deepening Multiracial Collaboration," (pp. 124-132; 152-155). (H)
- b) Barbara Ramsey, "Ella Taught Me: Shattering the Myth of the Leaderless Movement," *Colorlines*, June 12, 2015. <https://www.colorlines.com/articles/ella-taught-me-shattering-myth-leaderless-movement>

WEEK 8 ASSIGNMENT

- *Reflection Paper #6*
- *Student Presentation #7 & #8*

WEEK 9 • Organizing Projects :: November 10 :: 77 pp.

This week we devote our class to case discussion: historical cases and "living cases" your projects. Because we have considered the elements of our organizing framework we now focus on how to integrate them in practice. Each week, half of the class will prepare a short report identifying a key success and a key challenge on which to consult with colleagues.

- a) Kennedy School Case C16-91-1034, "Orange Hats of Fairlawn: A Washington DC Neighborhood Battles Drugs," (pp.1-18). (H)
- b) Mary Beth Rogers, *Cold Anger*, Chapter 11, "Leave Them Alone. They're Mexicans," (pp.105-126). (H)
- c) Harold Meyerson, "L.A. Story", *The American Prospect*, Vol.12, No. 12, August 6, 2013 (H)
<http://prospect.org/article/la-story-0>
- d) Jane McAlvey, Chapter 4 "Round One" in *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement*, Verso, 2013, p. 110-141. (H)

- e) 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, (pp.294-325). (H)
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WEEK 10 • Learning the Craft: Becoming a Good Organizer :: November 17 :: 165 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 to do about the rest of our lives, how we can make sure we continue to grow? Heifetz discusses the challenge of accepting responsibility for leadership. Langer reflects on how to work "mindfully." Addams, Chavez, and Alinsky describe how they came to terms with these challenges.

- a) Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Chapter 11, "The Personal Challenge," (pp. 250-276). (P)
- b) Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, Chapter 8, "Mindfulness on the Job," (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," (pp.63-80). (P)
- e) Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, "Chapter 8: Slow and Respectful Work," (pp.236-264). (H)
- f) Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, Chapters 4-5, (pp. 60-89). (P)
<http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/addams/hullhouse/hullhouse.html>
- g) Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, Chapter 14 (pp. 121-140). (H)

WEEK 11 ASSIGNMENT

- *Reflection Paper #7 (required)*
 - *Student Presentations #9 & 10*
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WEEK 11 • Organizing in the Big Picture :: November 24 :: 143 pp.

So what *does* organizing contribute to public life? After reflecting on the "big picture" today, we'll hear from everyone about what they learned from their participation in the course. Did we meet individual and group goals? How could the course be improved? Alinsky's call for broader participation in democratic governance is as timely now as when it was written in 1946. Skocpol and Weir, and I argue a need for greater participation. Judis describes a world of advocacy without participants, while Reed describes his organizing successes. Skocpol suggests future directions for democracy.

- a) Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 11, (pp. 190-204). (P)
- b) John B. Judis, "The Pressure Elite: Inside the Narrow World of Advocacy Group Politics," *The American Prospect*, #9, Spring 1992, (pp. 15-29). (H)
- c) ► Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect*, 1996, Chapter 13, "Miracle at the Grassroots," (pp. 189-202); Chapter 17, "What is Right about America: How You Can Make a Difference," 1996, (pp.249-267). (H).

- d) ► Margaret Weir and Marshall Ganz, "Reconnecting People and Politics," in *The New Majority: Toward a Popular Progressive Politics*, 1999, (pp. 149-171). (H)
 - e) Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, Chapter 7, "Reinventing American Civic Democracy," 2003, (pp. 254-293).
 - f) Eias Isquith, "Neoliberalism Poisons Everything: How Free Market Mania Threatens Education and Democracy: Wendy Brown's Undoing the Demos", *Salon*, June 15, 2015.
http://www.salon.com/2015/06/15/democracy_cannot_survive_why_the_neoliberal_revolution_has_freedom_on_the_ropes/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=socialflow
 - g) Michael Hobbs, "The Myth of the Ethical Shopper", *Huffington Post*, July 15, 2015.
<http://highline.huffingtonpost.com/articles/en/the-myth-of-the-ethical-shopper/>
 - h) Steven Greenhouse, "How to Get Low Wage Workers Into the Middle Class", *Atlantic*, August 19, 2015.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/08/fifteen-dollars-minimum-wage/401540/>
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WEEK 12 • Conclusion, Evaluation: Where Do We Go From Here? :: December 1 ::

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, DECEMBER 11TH AT 4 PM EST
by e-mail to Professor Ganz.