

# **PAL-177 ORGANIZING: People, Power and Change (HDS 2914)**

## **Instructor:**

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Littauer 230  
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Spring 2008  
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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." de Tocqueville**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **A. OBJECTIVES:**

Fulfilling the democratic promise of equity, inclusion and accountability requires the participation of an “organized” citizenry with the power to articulate and assert its interests effectively. Because access to political resources is unequal, however, voices of many remain muted. Organizing – mobilizing people to combine their resources to act strategically on behalf of common interests – is one way to confront this challenge. Organizers recruit, identify, and develop leadership; build community around that leadership; and build power from that community.

Students learn how to build organizations through which people can make their “voices” heard. By analyzing their own leadership of an organizing project for which they are responsible, students learn skills of reflective practice. Students use a learning framework to map power and interests, develop leadership, build relationships, motivate participation, devise strategy and mobilize resources to create organizations and win campaigns. Our approach is equally useful for community, electoral, union, and social movement organizing.

### **B. PARTICIPANTS:**

This course is intended for students interested in learning how to exercise leadership on behalf of social change through collective action in service provision, policymaking, advocacy or electoral politics. Students with and without “real world” organizing experience find the class equally useful, although in different ways. Students with strong a commitment to the community, organization, or goals on behalf of which they are working will be most successful.

## C. REQUIREMENTS:

1. Students base class work on their experience leading an "organizing project" they choose that requires an average of 6 hours per week. Students may initiate their own project or serve with one of various campus or community organizations. They may continue a project on which they are already working or start a new one. An "organizing project" (1) is rooted in your values, (2) is intended to achieve a specific outcome by the end of the semester; and (3) requires mobilizing other people to participate in achieving the outcome.
2. Getting Started. The course is front-loaded to give students the opportunity to form relationships and acquire skills that will be useful in their organizing projects.
  - **One-to-One Meeting.** To facilitate the selection of organizing projects – and get acquainted - students meet one-to-one with a teaching fellow for 10 to 15 minutes in the first week of class.
  - **Community Night/Student Panel.** On Tuesday, February 5<sup>th</sup> from 6:00 to 8:00 PM, we invite you to meet with representatives of organizations interested in hosting interns and hear from a panel of former students who will share their experience of how to make the class work for you. We will meet in *Taubman ABC (Taubman Building, Fifth Floor)*. Food will be provided.
  - **Action Skills Session.** To acquaint you with a range of organizing skills useful in your projects, you are required to participate in a Saturday **Skills Session** on February 9<sup>th</sup>, from 9:00 AM to 3:00 PM, *Littauer 140 (Littauer Building, First Floor)*.
  - **Relational Training.** To acquaint you with one-to-one meeting skills that you will need in your project, you are required to attend a **1.5 hour training** session on Thursday, February 14<sup>th</sup> from 6:00 to 7:30 PM in *Allison Dining Room (Taubman Building, Fifth Floor)*.
3. Class meets for 1.5 hours, twice a week for thirteen weeks. Students use a learning framework to integrate lectures and reading with critical reflection on their project experience. Sessions alternate between discussion of new material and of student projects. You are required to attend all sessions, do the reading and take an active part in discussions.
4. Reading is assigned only for the first class meeting each week (except for the first and last weeks of the course). Readings combine theory, practice, and history and average 135 pages per week. An introductory paragraph to each week's readings focuses attention and prioritizes readings. My "organizing notes" introduce the readings, explain the charts and offer a framework for discussion. Should you wish to pursue a topic more deeply, recommended readings are available and can be purchased as a separate reading packet.
5. Beginning in the third week of class, students submit "reflection papers" of no more than 2 pages in which they analyze their experience of their own organizing project. At the end of each week's readings we pose questions as guides to stimulate reflection. Three of nine reflection papers are required: the first two, 2/14 and 2/21, and the last one, 4/24. Of the remaining six, you may skip two with no excuse, but the remainder must be turned in.
6. Each student will prepare one 10-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 midterm on Friday, *March 21*, in lieu of a response paper that week, students submit a 10-page midterm analysis of why their project is or is not working. At the end of the term, on Friday, *May 9*, students submit a 20-page final paper analyzing their organizing project. Students are evaluated not on whether their project is a "success", but on their demonstrated ability to analyze what happened, how and why. Final grades are based on class participation and weekly reflection (50%), the midterm progress report (20%), and final paper (30%).

## D. MATERIALS:

The six books required for this course are available for purchase at the COOP and the Divinity School Bookstore and on reserve at Kennedy School and Divinity School libraries.

- (1) Ellen Langer, Mindfulness, New York: Addison-Wesley, 1989;
- (2) Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, New York: Vintage, 1989;
- (3) Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals, New York: Vintage, 1989;
- (4) Kim Bobo, J. Kendall and S. Max, Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy Manual for Activists, New York: Seven Locks, 2001;
- (5) Mark Warren, Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- (6) Clyde Wilcox, Onward Christian Soldiers: The Religious Right in American Politics, Boulder, Westview Press, 2000

The other required readings can be found in the PAL-177 reading packet available for purchase at the Kennedy School Course Materials Office (CMO, ground floor of Belfer), copies of which are also on reserve at each library.

Five recommended books can be purchased at the COOP. Required readings from these books are in the course pack:

- (1) Jacqueline B. Mondros and Scott M. Wilson, Organizing for Power and Empowerment, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994;
- (2) Charles Payne, I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995;
- (3) Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres, The Miner's Canary, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2003;
- (4) Mike Gecan, Going Public, Boston, Beacon Press, 2002;
- (5) Dana Fisher, Activism, Inc.: How the Outsourcing of Grassroots Campaigns is Strangling Progressive Politics in America, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.

## E. 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).

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### INTRODUCTION TO ORGANIZING

#### Week 1: Overview of Organizing (1/31) (126 pp.)

Welcome. Today we begin getting acquainted, discuss our goals for the course, our strategy for achieving them, and course requirements. "What is Organizing" summarizes our learning framework. Aristotle, Bellah, de Tocqueville, and Schattschneider help us locate organizing within the broader context of democratic politics. McKnight and Alinsky distinguish between service provision and organizing. Guinier and Torres challenge us to attend to structural divisions such as race, class, and gender and how they interact with organizing. Woliver provides a snapshot of the mechanics of community organizing and Skocpol locates organizing in debates about civic engagement. The charts distinguish different ways in which people "combine."

- a) Marshall Ganz, "What is Organizing" 2007. (T) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts. (T) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Aristotle, *Politica*, Book 1, Chapter 1-2 (pp.1127-1130). (T) <http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/AriPoli.html>

- d) Robert Bellah, et al, *The Good Society*, "Introduction: We Live Through Institutions," (pp.3-18). (T)
- 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](http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html)
- f) E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*, "Introduction" xii-xvii; "The Contagiousness of Conflict", 1-19. (T)
- g) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 1, (pp.3-23). (P)
- h) John McKnight, "Services are Bad for People," (pp.41-44). (T)
- i) Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres, *The Miner's Canary*, "Political Race and Magical Realism, Chapter 1", (pp.11-31). (T)
- j) Laura R. Woliver, "Mobilizing and Sustaining Grassroots Dissent," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 1996, (pp.139-151). (P)
- k) Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, "Chapter 10, Three Public Cultures" (pp.151-166). (P)

OPTIONAL:

- a) Theda Skocpol, "From Membership to Management", Chapter 4 in *Diminished Democracy*, 2003 (pp.127-174). (H)

**Week 2: The Organizing Tradition (2/5) (163 pp.)**

What is the organizing tradition? Its roots are in popular, civic, and religious mobilization expressed in the US, for example, in the American Revolution Civil Rights Movement, and Conservative Movement. Gandhi's vision of nonviolent organizing influenced the work of social change in Asia, Africa, North America, and Eastern Europe. Branch's account of the Montgomery bus boycott shows how organizing actually works.

- a) *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 2-6, (pp.82-89). (H) <http://www.bibleontheweb.com/Bible.asp>
- b) Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause*, Chapter 11, "Resolution," (pp.221-239). (H)
- c) Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, Chapter 31, "Drama at the Seashore" (pp.263 -275). (H)
- d) 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>
- e) Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers: The Religious Right in American Politics*, Chapter 1, (pp. 1-19), (H) *The Christian Right in American Politics*, Chapter 3, (pp.60-96). (H)
- f) Recent Organizing Articles.

OPTIONAL: For those interested in diverse currents of the organizing tradition, choose among the following.

- a) Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling*, Chapter 2, "A Theology of Organizing", (pp.40-70). (H)
- b) Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity 1980-82*, Introduction, Chapter 1 "Inside the Lenin Shipyard," (pp.1-67). (H)

- c) Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Chapter 1, Introduction (pp.1-38). (H)
- d) 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)  
<http://links.jstor.org.ezp1.harvard.edu/sici?sici=0013-0079%28199410%2943%3A1%3C193%3ATSWA%28I%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>

**COMMUNITY NIGHT**

Tuesday, February 5  
 6:00 – 8:00 PM  
 Taubman ABC, Taubman Building, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor

**Students are invited to meet representatives of organizations hoping to host interns and former students who will share their experiences of learning through an organizing project.**

**ACTION SKILLS SESSION**

Saturday, February 9  
 9:00 am to 3:00 pm  
 Littauer 140 (Littauer Building, 1st floor)

**Students are required to participate in this "skills session" to acquaint themselves with the basic leadership skills needed to make an organizing project work: relationships, motivation, strategy and action.**

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**Week 2: Learning Organizing (2/7) (128 pp.)**

This week we “learn how we will learn” over the course of the semester using a pedagogy of “reflective practice.” Thich Nhat Hanh reflects on uses and abuses of theory in learning practice. Fiske and Taylor explain how we form theories, how they shape learning, and how they inhibit learning. Langer challenges us to engage critically with our own theories. Kierkegaard calls attention to the fact that learning practice takes emotional resources, as well as cognitive and behavioral ones. Sitkin shows us how failure is often a necessary component of learning practice. Schon spells out the meaning of “reflective practice.”

- a) Marshall Ganz, “Notes on Learning to Organize” 2007. (T) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Questions About Learning to Organize. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Helpful Hint #1 [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- d) 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)
- e) Susan Fiske and Shelly E. Taylor, *Social Cognition*, Chapter 6, "Social Schemata," (pp.139-142, 171-181). (T)
- f) 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)

- g) 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)
- h) Sim Sitkin, "Learning Through Failure: The Strategy of Small Losses", *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol.14, 1992, (pp.231-256). (T)
- i) Donald Schon, *The Reflexive Practitioner*, Chapter 2, "From Technical Rationality to Reflection-in-Action" (pp.49-69). (T)

## WHY PEOPLE ORGANIZE: MAPPING POWER

### WEEK 3: Why People Organize: Actors, Values and Interests (2/12) (89 pp.)

We begin by mapping the social world within which each organizing project unfolds. Who are the actors? What do they want? What resources do they have? Who are the leaders, the constituents, and the opposition? What needs, values, and interests are in play? Where do you fit into the picture? Why does Alinsky challenge us to reflect on our reaction to words like interest and power? What do you think of Alderfer's model of needs? Bruner locates our sources of value in our culture as well as a way to think about how we bring them together as a "self". Weber describes how we turn values into interests. Walker explains why groups with common interests may not act on them, while Guinier and Torres point to the political implications of how we understand "interests". Mondros and Wilson describe the actors in a typical organizing campaign.

- a) Marshall Ganz. "Mapping the Social World" 2007. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, "A Word About Words," (pp.48-62). (P)
- d) Clayton Alderfer, *Existence, Relatedness and Growth*, Chapter 2, "Theory," (pp.6-13). (T)
- e) Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning*, Chapter 1, "The Proper Study of Man," (pp.24-30). (T)
- f) Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories*, Chapter 3, "The Narrative Creation of Self", (pp.63-87). (T)
- g) Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Volume I, "Types of Social Action," (pp.24-26). (T)
- h) Jack L. Walker, Jr., *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, Chapter 3, "Explaining the Mobilization of Interests," (pp.41-55). (T)
- i) Guinier and Torres, *The Miner's Canary*, Chapter 3, "Race as Political Space", (pp. 67-82). (T)
- j) Mondros and Wilson, *Organizing for Power and Empowerment*, Chapter 1, "Social Action Organizations and Power," (pp.1-10). (T)

### Section Discussion: Actors, Values, Interests (Week 3, 2/14)

- a) Organizing Project Report Due
- b) Reflection Paper # 1 (Required): Actors, Values, Interests Map

**RELATIONAL TRAINING:**

Thursday, February 14

6:00 PM to 7:30 PM

Allison Dining Room, Taubman Building, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor

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**WEEK 4: Why People Organize: Actors, Resources and Power (2/19) (112 pp.)**

How do we get the power to act on our interests effectively? Power is shaped by the interplay of resources and interests among actor: independence, dependency, or interdependence. Why do some of us have more power than others? What resources does your constituency need to act on its interests? Who controls them? What are *their* interests? In Emerson, Loomer and Miller propose a relational way to look at power, distinguishing between power “with” others and power “over” others. Gaventa urges us to look below the surface. Ho shows how “power to” and “power over” work. The Living Wage case shows one way power dynamics can work at Harvard. Thucydides challenges us to consider the links between power and right. Use the “four questions to track down the power” to map the power relations in which your project is situated.

- a) Marshall Ganz. “Notes on Actors, Resources, Power” 2007. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Richard Emerson, “Power-Dependence Relations”, *American Sociological Review*, 27:31-41. (T) [\(Available in JSTOR - http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/\)](http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/)
- d) 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)
- e) Jean Baker Miller, *Women’s Growth in Connection: Writings from the Stone Center*, Chapter 11, “Women and Power,” (pp.197-205). (T)
- f) John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, Introduction, (pp.3-32). (T)
- g) Mimi Ho, “Californians for Justice”, *NYU Review of Law and Social Change*, Volume 27, 2001-2 (pp.38-43). (H)
- h) *The Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard* (A) (10 pages) and (B) (18 pages); Kennedy School of Government, 2002. (H) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- i) Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Book V, Chapter 7, “The Sixteenth Year – the Melian Dialogue,” (pp.400-408). (H)

**OPTIONAL:**

- a) 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).

**Section Discussion: Actors, Resources and Power (Week 4, 2/21)**

- a) *Reflection Paper # 2 (Required): Power Map*
- b) *First Student Presentations in Thursday sections*

## HOW ORGANIZING WORKS:

Organizers mobilize communities by identifying, recruiting, and developing leaders within those communities. And leaders weave organizations from four threads drawn from the community in which they form: relationships, motivation, strategy, and action. By reweaving relationships, we can form new communities. Through processes of narrative and strategic deliberation we can devise new interpretations of what needs to be done and why. WE act by mobilizing and deploying resources.

## WEEK 5: How Organizing Works: Developing Leadership (2/26) (128 pp.)

Where do leaders come from? How do we know one when we see one? What do they do? We build on Burns' view of leadership as relational and Heifetz's focus on adaptive learning, and Hackman's emphasis on creating conditions enabling others to achieve their purposes. Freeman, Alinsky, and King challenge assumptions about leadership so we can learn to lead more effectively. The Exodus passage poses the challenge of leading by letting others earn leadership. The two optional readings focus on the role of stories in leadership (Gardner) and the role of intermediate levels of leadership (Robnett).

- a) Marshall Ganz. "Notes on Leadership" 2007. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Helpful Hint #2 [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- d) James McGregor Burns, *Leadership*, Chapter 1, "The Power of Leadership," (pp.9-28), Chapter 2, "The Structure of Moral Leadership," (pp.29-46). (T)
- e) Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, "Values in Leadership," Chapter 1, (pp.13-27). (T/P)
- f) J. Richard Hackman, *Leading Teams: Setting the Stage for Great Performances*, Chapter 7, "Imperatives for Leaders," (pp.199 - 232). (T/P)
- g) Jo Freeman, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 1970, (pp.1-8). (P) <http://www.anarres.org.au/essays/amtos.htm>
- h) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 5, "Native Leadership," (pp.64-75). (P)
- i) Dr. M.L. King, Jr., "The Drum Major Instinct". (H) [http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/sermons/680204.000\\_Drum\\_Major\\_Instinct.html](http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/sermons/680204.000_Drum_Major_Instinct.html)
- j) *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 18. (H) <http://www.bibleontheweb.com/Bible.asp>

### OPTIONAL:

- a) Howard Gardner, "The Leaders' Stories", Chapter 3 in *Leading Minds*, (pp.41 -65). (T)
- b) Belinda Robnett, "African-American Women in the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965: Gender, Leadership and Micromobilization," *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 101, Number 6 (May 1996), (pp.1661-93). (T/H) ([Available in JSTOR - http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/](http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/))

### Section Discussion: Leadership (Week 5, 2/28)

- Reflection Paper #3

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## Week 6: Mobilizing Relationships: Building Community (3/4) (103 pp.)

Organizers build relationships to construct a “community of interest”, a constituency. Through our relationships we come to understand our interests and develop the resources to act upon them. Gladwell shows the power of relational networks in everyday life – with people “like us” and people “not like us”. Blau sees relationships as exchanges while Goffman views them as performances. Kearney shows the role of “story” in entering relationship with others. Putnam shows how relationships themselves can become a resource as “social capital.” Gecan describes the role of relationships in organizing. Simmons, Rondeau, Rosin, and Nagourney show how organizers do relational work. Bobo offers hints on recruiting. In the two optional readings, Eccles and Nohria distinguish between face-to-face relationships and email and Granovetter explains the important difference between relationships with people “like us” and relationships with people “not like us.”

- a) Marshall Ganz, “Notes on Relationships” 2007. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Malcolm Gladwell, “Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg,” in *The New Yorker*, January 11, 1999 (pp.52-63). (T) [http://www.gladwell.com/1999/1999\\_01\\_11\\_a\\_weisberg.htm](http://www.gladwell.com/1999/1999_01_11_a_weisberg.htm)
- d) Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life*, “Introduction.” (pp.1-11). (T)
- e) Richard Kearney, *On Stories*, “Where do Stories Come From,” (pp.3-4). (T)
- f) 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)
- g) Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, “Social Capital and Institutional Success,” Chapter 6, (pp.163-185) (T)
- h) Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, Chapter 1, “All Real Living Is Meeting,” (pp.19-32) (P)
- i) Ian Simmons, “On One-to-Ones,” in *The Next Steps of Organizing: Putting Theory into Action*, Sociology 91r Seminar, 1998, (pp.12-15). (P)
- j) Kris Rondeau, “A Woman’s Way of Organizing,” *Labor Research Review* #18, (pp.45-59). (H/P)
- k) “People-Powered: In New Hampshire, Howard Dean's Campaign Has Energized Voters”, Hanna Rosin, *Washington Post*, Tuesday, December 9, 2003, p.C01. [http://www.lexisnexus.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/us/Inacademic/api/version1/sr?shr=t&csi=8075&sr=HLEAD\(People-Powered\)+AND+DATE+IS+12/09/2003](http://www.lexisnexus.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/us/Inacademic/api/version1/sr?shr=t&csi=8075&sr=HLEAD(People-Powered)+AND+DATE+IS+12/09/2003)
- l) “Dean Organizers Take Lessons from Labor.” Adam Nagourney, *New York Times*, Thursday, December 5, 2003. [http://www.lexisnexus.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/us/Inacademic/api/version1/sr?shr=t&csi=6742&sr=HLEAD\(Dean+Organizers+Take\)+AND+DATE+IS+12/05/2003](http://www.lexisnexus.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/us/Inacademic/api/version1/sr?shr=t&csi=6742&sr=HLEAD(Dean+Organizers+Take)+AND+DATE+IS+12/05/2003)
- m) Kim Bobo, et al, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 10, “Recruiting,” (pp.110-117). (P)

OPTIONAL:

- a) Robert Eccles and Nitin Nohria, *Networks and Organizations*, “Face-to-Face: Making Network Organizations Work,” HBS, (pp.288-308). (T)
- b) Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78:6 (pp.1360-79). (T) [\(Available in JSTOR - http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/\)](http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/)

**Section Discussion: Relationships (Week 6, 3/6)**

### Week 7: Mobilizing Motivation: Values, Story, Celebration (3/11) (129 pp.)

We reinterpret our world – and our roles within it – even as we change it. As Bruner explains, we understand why we should act, our motivation, as story. We understand how we can act, our analysis, as strategy. Political scientist George Marcus shows that our feelings about things shape what we think of them and our ability to act on what we think. So we focus first on emotional information or, as moral philosopher Martha Nussbaum put it, our experience of value. We then turn to narrative structure and view Barack Obama's speech to the 2004 Democratic Convention as an example of public narrative that combines a "story of self", "story of us", and "story of now." Shakespeare shows how Henry V may have inspired his "happy few" to face their fear. Davis and Bruner show how story "works." Gamson and I relate story-telling to organizing. Alinsky points to community tradition as story source. The optional readings and videos provide more examples of public narrative (Cuomo, Reagan, Bono), readings on motivation drawn from theology, sociology and political science (Brueggemann, Chong and Snow).

- a) Marshall Ganz, "Notes on Interpretation I: Story" 2007. (P) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*, Chapter 2, "Two Modes of Thought," (pp.11-14). (T)
- d) George Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*, Chapter 4, "Becoming Reacquainted with Emotion," (pp.49-78) (T)
- e) Martha Nussbaum, "Emotions and Judgments of Value," Chapter 1 in *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, (pp.19-33). (T)
- f) Barbara L. Fredrickson, "The Value of Positive Emotions," in *American Scientist*, Volume 91, 2003, (pp.330 – 335). (T)  
<http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=10029857&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- g) Anthony Amsterdam and Jerome Bruner, "On Narrative", Chapter 4 in *Minding the Law*, (pp.110 – 142). (T)
- h) Marshall Ganz, *Excerpts from "The Power of Story in Social Movements"*, unpub. Paper (pp.1-13). (H) <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~MGanz/Current%20Publications/MG%20POWER%20OF%20STORY.pdf>
- i) William Gamson, *Talking Politics*, from "Collective Action Frames," (pp.6-8). (P)
- j) Saul Alinsky, Chapter 6, *Reveille for Radicals*, "Community Traditions and Organizations," (pp.76-88). (P)
- k) Barack Obama, Keynote Address, "*The Audacity of Hope*", Democratic National Convention, July 27, 2004, Boston, Massachusetts. (H) [Text and Video Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- l) William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Act IV, Scene 3, "We Happy Few," (pp. 140-149). (H) [Text and Video Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)

#### OPTIONAL:

- a) Bono, "Keynote Address", 54<sup>th</sup> National Prayer Breakfast, February 2006. (H) [Text and Video Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)

- b) Ronald Reagan, "First Inaugural Address," January 20, 1981, (7 pp.). (H) [Text and Video Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Mario Cuomo, "Two Cities," *Keynote Address to Democratic National Convention*, July 17, 1984, (11 pp.). (H) [Text and Audio Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- d) Walter Brueggemann, "The Alternative Community of Moses", Chapter 1 in *The Prophetic Imagination*, (pp.1-20). (T)
- e) Joseph Davis, *Stories of Change: Narrative and Social Movements*, "Narrative and Social Movements," (pp.10-29). (T)
- f) Dennis Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chapter 5, "Creating the Motivation to Participate in Collective Action," (pp.90-102). (T)
- g) David Snow, et al, "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," *American Soc. Review*, 51, August 1986, (pp. 464-481). (T). ([Available in JSTOR - http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/](#))

### **Section Discussion: Motivation (Week 7, 3/13)**

- *Reflection Paper #5*

### **Week 8: Mobilizing Analysis: Strategy, Deliberation, and Decision Making (3/18) (137 pp.)**

Strategy is how we turn what we have into what we need to get what we want. It is analytic, imaginative, and deliberative. We reflect on a "classic" tale of strategy recounted in the Book of Samuel: the story of David and Goliath, a tale that shows how resourcefulness can compensate for lack of resources by drawing on "strategic capacity." Mintzberg's view of strategy as 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. Freire focuses on the challenge of neutralizing the role of power in shaping deliberation. Bobo spells out how to make deliberation work by holding good meetings.

- a) Marshall Ganz. "Notes on Interpretation II: Strategy" 2007. (P) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Helpful Hint #3 [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- d) *The Bible*, Book of Samuel, Chapter 17, Verses 4-49. (H) <http://www.bibleontheweb.com/Bible.asp>
- e) Marshall Ganz, from "Why David Sometimes Wins: Strategic Capacity in Social Movements" in *Rethinking Social Movements* (pp. 1-10). (T) <http://www.shatil.org.il/data/Why%20David%20Sometimes%20Wins.pdf>
- f) Henry Mintzberg, "Crafting Strategy," *Harvard Business Review*, July 1987, (pp.66-74). (T) <http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=4076026&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- g) Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 8 "Strategy," (pp.155-174). (P)
- h) 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)

<http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.epnet.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=2828859&loginpage=login.asp&scope=site>

- i) Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Chapter 2, (pp. 57-74). (T)  
<http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/philosophy/education/freire/freire-2.html>
- j) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 4, “The Program” (pp.53-63). (P)
- k) Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 4 “Developing a Strategy” (pp.30-47), Chapter 5, “A Guide to Tactics,” (pp.48-61); Chapter 12, “Planning and Facilitating Meetings,” (pp.128-139). (P)

### **Section Discussion: Strategy (Week 8, 3/20)**

- No Reflection Paper due this week

Midterm **DUE FRIDAY, MARCH 3/21 at 4 pm** by email to your CA.

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### **Week 9: Mobilizing Resources: Action (4/1) (125 pp.)**

Organizers mobilize and deploy resources to take action by drawing upon the commitment of others. As Oliver and Marwell argue, the way we mobilize resources influences how we can deploy them and vice versa. Hackman argues that the way we organize ourselves to act can itself enhance – or diminish – our capacity for action. Alinsky provides a “feast” of tactics, while Levy shows how to knit them together strategically. Read one of the following three starred (\*\*\*) cases: the “Orange Hats” case focuses on neighborhood self-help, “Cold Anger”, on city-wide claims- making, and Gordon on combining services and claims- making among new immigrants.

- a) Marshall Ganz. “Notes on Action” 2007. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez*, Prologue, (pp. xxi-xxv). (H)
- d) Pamela Oliver and Gerald Marwell, “Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action,” Chapter 11, in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Morris and Mueller, (pp.251-272). (T)
- e) Richard Hackman, “Designing Work for Individuals and for Groups”, in *Perspectives on Behavior in Organizations*, 1977, (pp.242-255). (T) *Please take special note of pages 242-244, and 248-250 and the Job Characteristics Model and how to use it.*
- f) Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 7, “Designing Actions,” (pp.70-79), Chapter 21, “Grassroots Fundraising,” (pp.276-286). (P)
- g) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, Tactics, (pp.126-136, 148-155, 158-161). (P)
- h) Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*, “Boycott Grapes” (pp.263-271) and “The Miracle of the Fast”, (pp.272-293). (H)

CHOOSE ONE:

- i) \*\*\* Kennedy School Case C16-91-1034, “Orange Hats of Fairlawn: A Washington DC Neighborhood Battles Drugs,” (pp.1-18). (H) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- j) \*\*\* Mary Beth Rogers, *Cold Anger*, Chapter 11, “Leave Them Alone. They’re Mexicans,” (pp.105-126). (H)

- k) \*\*\* Jennifer Gordon, "We Make the Road by Walking: Immigrant Workers, the Workplace Project, and the Struggle for Social Change," *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, Vol.30, #2, Summer, 1995, (pp. 407-450). (H)  
<http://www.heinonline.org.ezp1.harvard.edu/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/hcrcl30&id=415&collection=journals&index=journals/hcrcl>

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

**Section Discussion: Action (Week 9, 4/3)**

- Reflection Paper #6

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**COMMUNITIES IN ACTION: CAMPAIGNS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

**Week 10: Communities in Action: Campaigns (4/8) (125 pp.)**

Organizers conduct campaigns to build organizations, and build organization to run campaigns. Campaigns are rhythms of activity targeted on specific outcomes. They are grounded in a foundation, begin with a "kick-off", build to successively higher "peaks", gather momentum, and culminate in a peak moment of mobilization when the campaign is won or lost. Gersick explains "rhythms" of organizational development, Levy recounts how the farm workers campaign "peaked" after five years, while Meyerson focuses on a shorter – but more recent – campaign. The "campaign planning packet" was used in organizing statewide grassroots electoral campaigns in California. Choose one of the starred (\*\*\*) accounts by Mandela, Chen, Medoff or Halcli to see how similar the temporal dynamics are of very different campaigns

- Marshall Ganz. "Notes on Campaigns" 2007. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- Charts and Questions. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- Connie Gersick, "Pacing Strategic Change: The Case of a New Venture," *Academy of Management Journal*, February 1994 (pp.9-14, 36-42). (T) ([Available in JSTOR - http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/](http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/))
- Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*, Book IV, Book V, "Victory in the Vineyards," Chapters 6-14, (pp.294-325). (H)
- Harold Meyerson, "A Clean Sweep", *The American Prospect*, Volume 11, No. 15, June 19, 2000 (pp.24-29). (H) <http://www.prospect.org/print/V11/15/meyerson-h.html>
- Marshall Ganz. Campaign Planning Packet. (P) [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)

**CHOOSE ONE:**

- \*\*\* Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, Chapter 14 (pp. 121-140). (H)
- \*\*\* Martha Chen, "Engendering World Conferences: the International Women's Movement and the United Nations", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1995, (pp. 477-491).  
<http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.epnet.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=9512122502&loginpage=login.asp&scope=site>
- \*\*\* Peter Medoff and Holly Sklar, *Streets of Hope*, Chapter 3, "Don't Dump On Us: Organizing the Neighborhood," (pp.67-87). (H)

- d) \*\*\* Abigail Halcli, "AIDS, Anger and Activism, ACTUP as a SMO" in *Waves of Protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties*, edited by Jo Freeman and Victoria Johnson, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999, (pp.135-150). (H)

**Section Discussion: Campaigns (Week 10, 4/10)**

- Reflection Paper #7
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**Week 11: Communities in Action: Organizations (4/15) (105 pp.)**

Successful campaigns can create organizations. And creating organizations that respond, change, and adapt requires learning to manage dilemmas of unity and diversity, inclusion and exclusion, responsibility and participation, and leadership and accountability. Smith and Berg identify dilemmas that organizations must manage. Moreland identifies specifics of how to enable a group to work together. Janis points to the danger that "too much" unity can suppress needed dissent. Kahn focuses on the nuts and bolts of organization. And Warren focuses on the challenge of building organizations across racial, religious, and economic lines.

- a) Marshall Ganz. "Notes on Organizations" 2007. [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions [Available on PAL 177 Webpage](#)
- c) Kenwyn Smith and David Berg, "A Paradoxical Conception of Group Dynamics", *Human Relations*, Vol. 40:10, 1987, (pp.633-654). (T)  
<http://ft.csa.com.ezpl.harvard.edu/ids70/resolver.php?sessid=21ebc10ef14ea11460bc7d238110734b&server=www-ca2.csa.com&check=7e94bfa5c6f3d59473156fbd6c13bf55&db=sageman-set-c&an=10.1177%2F001872678704001001&mode=pdf&f1=0018-7267%2C40%2C10%2C633%2C1987>
- d) Janis, Irving L., "Groupthink", *Psychology Today*, November 1971, (pp. 43-44, 46, 74-76). (T)
- e) Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 3, "Organizations," (pp.55-77). (P)
- f) Richard L. Moreland, "The Formation of Small Groups", in *Group Processes*, edited by Kendrick, C. (1987), (pp.80-105). (T/P)
- g) 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)
- h) 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)

**Section Discussion: Organizations (Week 11, 4/17)**

- Reflection Paper #8
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**Week 12: BECOMING A GOOD ORGANIZER (4/22) (151 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. And Shamir and Eilam show how important it is to claim one's own story in order to inspire others to claim theirs. The optional reading focuses specifically on community organizing.

- 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) Boas Shamir and Galit Eilam, "What's Your Story?" A life-stories approach to authentic leadership development", in *The Leadership Quarterly* 16, 2005, (pp.395 – 417). (T)  
[http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/science?\\_ob=ArticleURL&\\_udi=B6W5N-4G1WY5Y-2&\\_coverDate=06%2F30%2F2005&\\_alid=448273321&\\_rdoc=1&\\_fmt=&\\_orig=search&\\_qd=1&\\_cdi=6575&\\_sort=d&\\_view=c&\\_acct=C000014438&\\_version=1&\\_urlVersion=0&\\_userid=209690&md5=90f93969109783e2a69f4865075c599f](http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/science?_ob=ArticleURL&_udi=B6W5N-4G1WY5Y-2&_coverDate=06%2F30%2F2005&_alid=448273321&_rdoc=1&_fmt=&_orig=search&_qd=1&_cdi=6575&_sort=d&_view=c&_acct=C000014438&_version=1&_urlVersion=0&_userid=209690&md5=90f93969109783e2a69f4865075c599f)

OPTIONAL:

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

**Section Discussion: Becoming a Good Organizer (Week 12, 4/24)**

- Reflection Paper #9 (Required)

**CONCLUSION**

**Week 13: Where Do We Go From Here? (Week 13, 4/29) (150 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 in 1946. Putnam, Skocpol, Grieder, Weir and I argue a need for greater participation. Judis describes a world of advocacy without participants and Fisher shows what that looks like. Reed describes his organizing successes. Keck and Sikkink point to the promise of transnational social movement organizing. Barber argues corporate scandals are due to a "failure of democracy" while Skocpol suggests future directions.

- 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) Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone, Revisited," *The Responsive Community*. Center for Policy Research. Spring 1995, (pp.18-33). (H)
- d) 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," (pp.249-267). (H).

- e) Margaret Weir and Marshall Ganz, "Reconnecting People and Politics," in *The New Majority: Toward a Popular Progressive Politics*, (pp.149-171). (H)  
[http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~MGanz/Current%20Publications/ganz&weir\\_reconnectingpeople.pdf](http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~MGanz/Current%20Publications/ganz&weir_reconnectingpeople.pdf)
- f) Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Chapter 6, "Conclusions" (pp.199-217). (T)
- g) Benjamin Barber, "Failure of Democracy," *New York Times*, 2002. (H)  
(Available in Lexis-Nexis - [http://web.lexis-nexis.com.ezp2.harvard.edu/universe/form/academic/s\\_guidednews.html](http://web.lexis-nexis.com.ezp2.harvard.edu/universe/form/academic/s_guidednews.html))
- h) Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, Chapter 7, "Reinventing American Civic Democracy" (pp.254-293). (H)
- i) Dana Fisher, "The Activism Industry", in *The American Prospect*, September 14, 2006. (H)  
<http://www.prospect.org/web/page.wv?section=root&name=ViewWeb&articleId=11993>

### **Week 13: Conclusion (5/1)**

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, May 9 at 4 pm by e-mail to your CA.**

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## **RESOURCES**

### **A. Required Reading**

1. Ellen Langer, Mindfulness, Addison-Wesley, 1989.
2. Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, Vintage, 1989.
3. Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals, Vintage, 1989.
4. Kim Bobo, Jackie Kendall and Steve Max, Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy Manual for Activists, Seven Locks, 2001.
5. Mark Warren, Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy, Princeton University Press, 2001.
6. Clyde Wilcox, Onward Christian Soldiers: The Religious Right in American Politics, Westview Press, 2000.
7. PAL 177 Readers, available at KSG Course Materials Office.
8. PAL 177 Organizing Notes, available On-line.

### **B. Recommended Reading**

1. Jacqueline B. Mondros and Scott M. Wilson, Organizing for Power and Empowerment, Columbia University Press, 1994.
2. Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres, The Miner's Canary, Harvard University Press, 2003.
3. Mike Gecan, Going Public, Beacon Press, 2002.
4. Charles Payne, I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle, University of California Press, 1995.
5. Dana Fisher, *Activism, Inc.: How the Outsourcing of Grassroots Campaigns is Strangling Progressive Politics in America*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.

### **C. Lifetime Reading**

The following are accounts of organizing campaigns in a variety of settings recommended as background reading for those with particular areas of interest - or as a lifetime reading list.

#### **1. Organizing in General**

- a) Davis, Gerald, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, Mayer N. Zald eds., *Social Movements and Organization Theory*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- b) Faber, Daniel R. and Deborah McCarthy, eds. *Foundations for Social Change: Critical Perspectives on Philanthropy and Popular Movements* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).
- c) Smock, Kristina, *Democracy In Action: Community Organizing and Urban Change*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
- d) Chambers, Edward T., *Roots for Radicals: Organizing for Power, Action, and Justice*, (New York: Continuum International, 2003).
- e) Baker, Colin, Alan Johnson, and Michael Lavalette, eds. *Leadership and Social Movements* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
- f) Freeman, Jo and Victoria Johnson eds. *Waves of Protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties*, (Lanham, Md: Rowland and Littlefield, 1999).
- g) Rochon, Thomas R.; *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values* (Princeton, 1998).
- h) Langer, Ellen J., *The Power of Mindful Learning*, (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1997).
- i) McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald eds., *Comparative Perspective on Social Movements*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- j) Johnston, Hank and Bert Klandermans eds. *Social Movements and Culture*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
- k) Gamson, William, *The Strategy of Social Protest*, (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1990).
- l) Horwitt, Sanford, *Let Them Call Me Rebel: Saul Alinsky*, (New York: Knopf, 1989).
- m) Gamson, William A., Bruce Fireman, and Steven Rytina, *Encounters with Unjust Authority*, (Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1982)

## 2. Labor Movement/Populism

- a) Clawson, Dan; *The Next Upsurge: Labor and the New Social Movements* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2003).
- b) Fantasia, Rick and Kim Voss, *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement*, (Berkeley: UC Press, 2004).
- c) Milkman, Ruth and Kim Voss eds., *Rebuilding Labor: Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).
- d) Milkman, Ruth ed., *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
- e) Bronfenbrenner, Kate, Sheldon Friedman, Richard W. Hurd, Rudolph A. Oswald, and Ronald L. Seeber eds., *Organizing to Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, (Ithaca: ILR Press, 1998).
- f) Zieger, Robert, *The CIO, 1935-1955*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
- g) Geoghegan, Thomas, *Which Side Are You On: Trying to Be For Labor When It's Flat on It's Back*, (New York, Plume, 1991).
- h) Cohen, Lizabeth, *Making a New Deal*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- i) Goodwyn, Lawrence; *The Populist Moment*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- j) Dubovsky, Melvyn and Warren Van Tine, *John L. Lewis, A Biography*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).
- k) McKenney, Ruth; *Industrial Valley*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1939).
- l) Steinbeck, John; *In Dubious Battle*, (Blue Ribbon Books, New York, 1937).

## 3. Civil Rights Movements

- a) Skocpol, Theda, Ariane Liazos, and Marshall Ganz; *What A Mighty Power We Can Be: African American Fraternal Groups and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Princeton, 2006).
- b) Andrews, Kenneth T., *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and It's Legacy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
- c) Branch, Taylor, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963-65*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999).
- d) Wood, Dan, ed., *Friends and Family: True Stories of Gay America's Straight Allies*, (Los Angeles: Alyson, 1999).

- e) Halberstam, David, *The Children*, (New York: Random House, 1998).
- f) Lewis, John; *Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998).
- g) Anner, John, ed., *Beyond Identity Politics: Emerging Social Justice Movements in Communities of Color* (Boston: Southend Press, 1996).
- h) Dittmer, John, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995).
- i) Skerry, Peter, *Mexican Americans: the Ambivalent Minority*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- j) Takaki, Ronald, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*; (New York: Penguin, 1989).
- k) Branch, Taylor, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).
- l) Shilts, Randy. *And the Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic*, (New York: Penguin, 1987).
- m) Morris, Aldon, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*, (New York: Free Press, 1984).
- n) McAdam, Doug, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

#### 4. Political Organizing

- a) Hacker, Jacob and Paul Pierson, *Off Center: The Republican Revolution & the Erosion of American Democracy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- b) Trippi, Joe. *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Democracy, the Internet, and the Overthrow of Everything* (Regan, 2004).
- c) Boyte, Harry C., *Everyday Politics: Reconnecting Citizens and Public Life*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- d) Micklethwait, John and Adrian Wooldridge, *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America*, (New York: Penguin, 2004).
- e) Green, Donald P. and Alan S. Gerber, *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout* (Brookings Institute Press, 2004).
- f) Skocpol, Theda, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2003).
- g) Green, John C., Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox, eds.; *The Christian Right in American Politics: Marching to the Millennium* (Georgetown University Press, 2003).
- h) Crenson, Matthew A and Benjamin Ginsberg, *Downsizing Democracy: How America Sidelined its Citizens and Privatized its Public*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002)
- i) Perlstein, Rick, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).
- j) Schier, Steven; *By Invitation Only: the Rise of Exclusive Politics in the United States* (University of Pittsburgh, 2000)
- k) Skocpol, Theda and Morris P. Fiorina, eds., *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, (DC: Russell Sage, 1999).
- l) Costain, Anne N. and Andrew McFarland, *Social Movements and American Political Institutions* (Rowman Littlefield, 1998).
- m) Foner, Eric; *The Story of American Freedom* (Norton, 1998).
- n) Clemens, Elisabeth, *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
- o) Reed, Ralph, *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics*, (Dallas: Word Publishing, 1994).
- p) Hertzke, Alan, *Echoes of Discontent*, (Washington: CQ Press, 1993).
- q) Gitlin, Todd, *The Sixties*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1989).
- r) Klatch, Rebecca E., *Women of the New Right*, (Philadelphia: Temple, 1987).
- s) Crawford, Alan, *Thunder on the Right*, (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

#### 5. Women's Movements

- a) Critchlow, Donald T., *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservativism: A Woman's Crusade*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- b) Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod, *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and Military*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- c) Feree, Myra Max, *Controversy and Coalition: New Feminist Movement*, (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994).
- d) Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod and Carol McClurg Mueller, *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).
- e) Mansbridge, Jane, *Why We Lost the ERA*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
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