

**CHANGED PRIORITIES AHEAD**

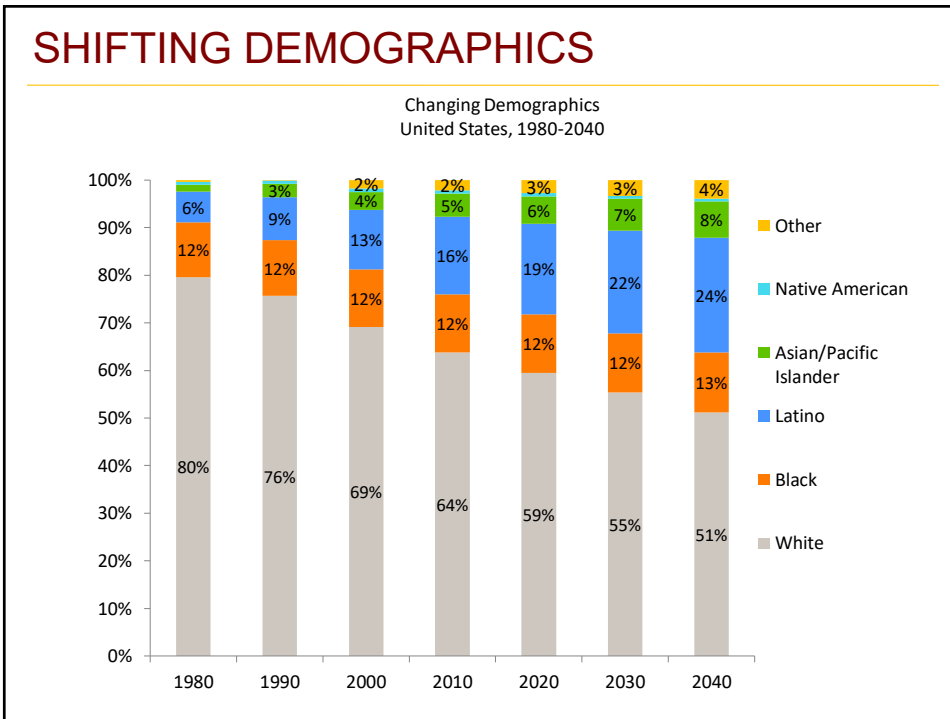
**PERE**  
USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity

**NO LONGER AT EASE . . .  
MAKING CHANGE FOR HEALTH  
IN AN UNCERTAIN NEXT AMERICA**

11-15-2016

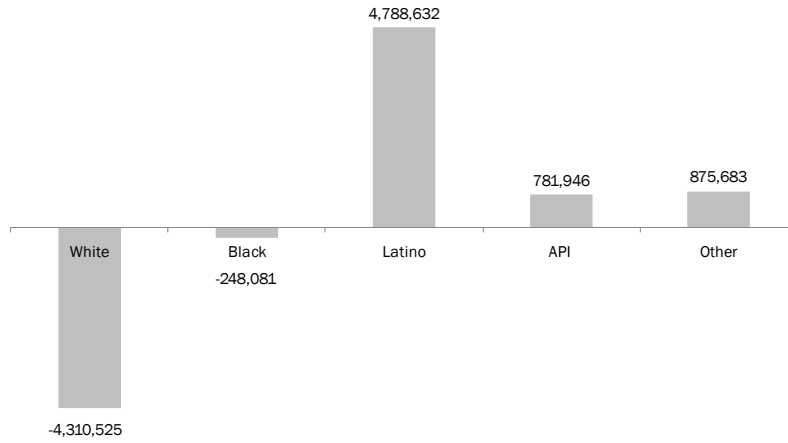
MANUEL PASTOR

@Prof\_MPastor



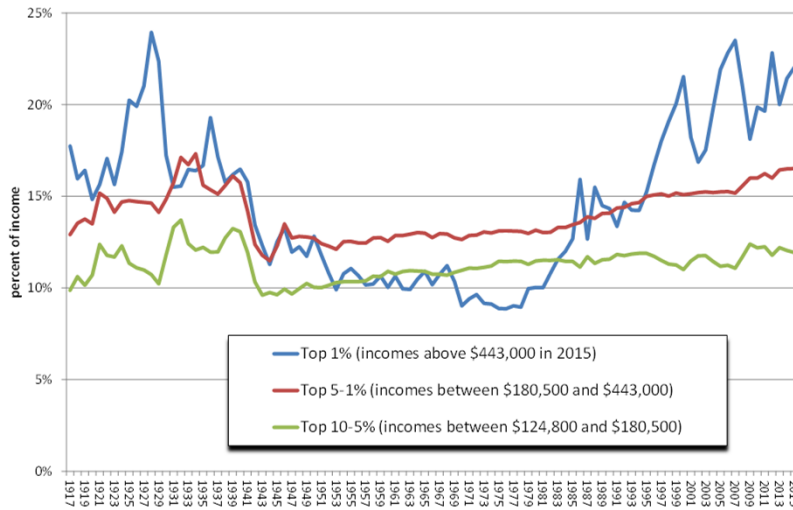
## SHIFTING DEMOGRAPHICS

U.S. Change in Youth (<18) Population by Race/Ethnicity, 2000-2010



## AN UNCERTAIN ECONOMY

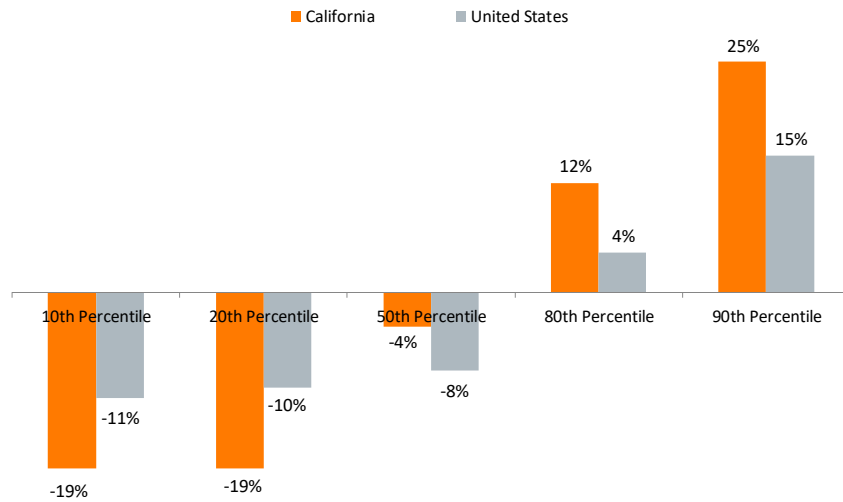
Income Distribution in the U.S., 1917-2015



Source: Emmanuel Saez, *Striking It Richer: The Evolution of Top Incomes in the United States* (Update : August 31, 2016).

## AN UNCERTAIN ECONOMY

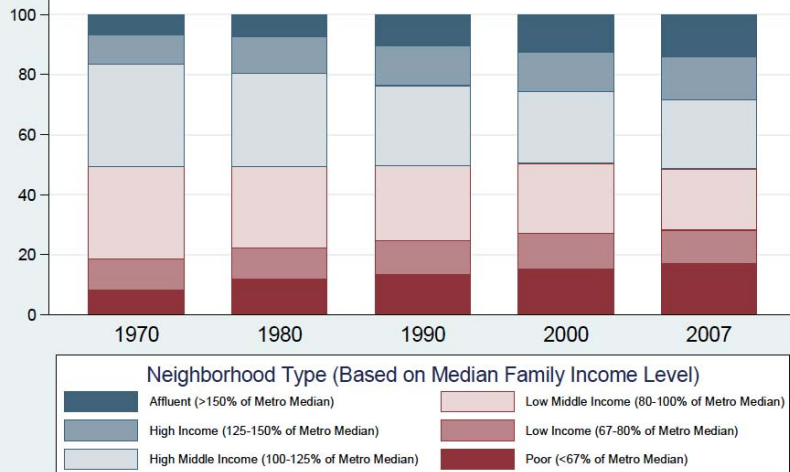
Income Percentiles, Earned Income for Full-Time Workers 25-64 (\$2010)  
U.S. and California, 1980-2010\*



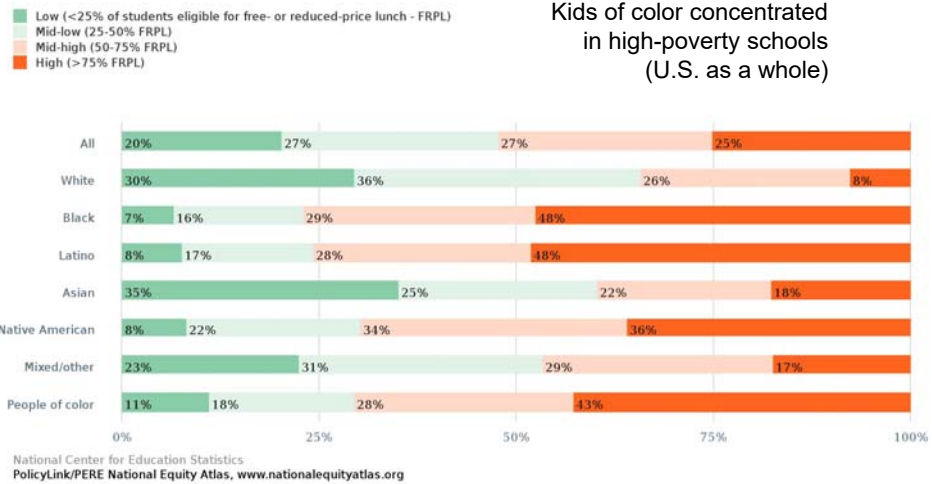
Source: IPUMS

## GROWING SOCIAL DISTANCE

Proportion of Families Living in High-, Middle-, and Low-Income Neighborhoods  
Metropolitan Areas with Population > 500,000, 1970-2008



## GROWING SOCIAL DISTANCE



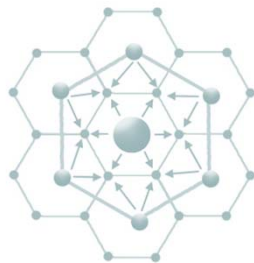
## HOW DO WE GET PUT BACK TOGETHER?

3 Means of Change

**PROJECTS** show what's possible

**POLICY** makes new practices widespread

**POWER** makes policy happen



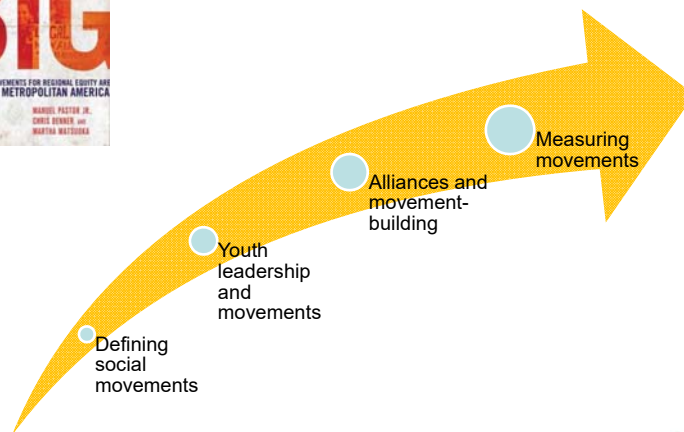
## SHIFTING POWER, MAKING CONNECTIONS

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS are:

Sustained groupings that develop a **frame** or narrative based on **shared values**, that maintain a link with a real and broad **base in the community**, and that build for a **long-term transformation** in systems of power.



## PERE'S ARC OF RESEARCH



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## RESEARCH STRATEGIES

WHAT WE DO,  
HOW WE DO IT:

### 1) LITERATURE REVIEW:

- Academic literature on social movements, organizing, and outcomes
- Reports and tools from the fields of evaluation, philanthropy, and organizing

2) **CONFERENCE CALLS** with social movement leaders and funders to get early input

3) **INTERVIEWS** with social movement leaders (now 300+ over course of projects)

4) **CONVENING** mid-way in project to get feedback and new directions

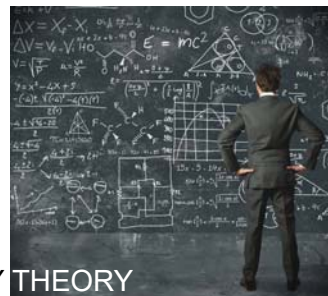
5) **PRESENTATION** with commentary from social movement leaders



## MOVEMENT THEORY

CATEGORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

- DEPRIVATION THEORY
- ECONOMIC THEORY
- RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY
- POLITICAL PROCESS & OPPORTUNITY THEORY
- NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY
- FRAMING THEORY





## MOVEMENT PRACTICE: 10 ELEMENTS

### FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS:

1. A Vision & Frame
2. An Authentic Base in Key Constituencies
3. A Commitment to the Long-Haul

### IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS:

4. An Underlying & Viable Economic Model
5. A Vision of Government & Governance
6. A Scaffold of Solid Research
7. A Pragmatic Policy Package

### SCALE:

8. A Recognition of the Need for Scale
9. A Strategy for Scaling Up
10. A Willingness to Network with Other Movements

## FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS

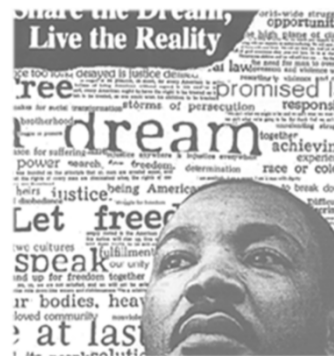
### ELEMENT 1: A vision and frame

Movements are based on visions, frames and values

- A **VISION** sets the goal
- A **FRAME** sets the terms of the debate
- The **POLICY PACKAGE** describes how interests might be met

“Martin Luther King famously proclaimed ‘I have a **dream**,’ not ‘I have an issue.’”

-Van Jones (2007)





## FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS

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ELEMENT 2: An authentic base in key constituencies

Movements have a membership base that is **engaged** or is being **organized to be engaged**



The role of the organizer is to help **build leadership within the community**

## FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS

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ELEMENT 3: A commitment to the long-haul



Social movements are **not episodic** or **coalitional**

They involve a **strategy to build power** to effect broader change and focus on building a **strong membership for the long-haul**

## IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 4: An underlying and viable economic model

Social movements are about the **redistribution of resources** but they also have a **viable growth strategy**

An analysis [**economic, political, and policy**] is a critical groundwork for moving agendas, organizations and movements



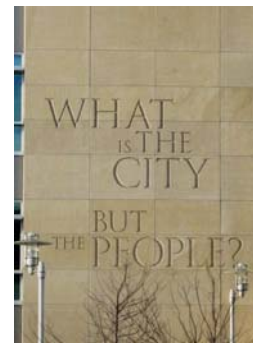
## IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 5: A vision of government and governance

Social movements have

- A **theory of the state**
- A way to show how the **role of the state is a full expression of democracy**

Government is one of the most important **tools of change**

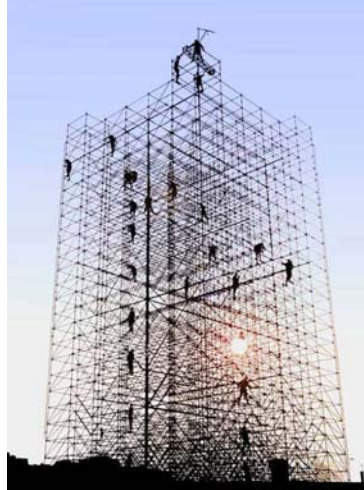


## IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 6: A scaffold of solid research

Social movement organizations have [internal and external] **analytical and research capacity**

Research has become increasingly important for **analyzing problems and suggesting solutions**



## IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

ELEMENT 7: A pragmatic policy package

Social movements develop **practical policies** that has the potential to address the **specific problems**



For long-term systemic change, organizations need to:

- Direct efforts towards **strategic targets**,
- Focus on **large-scale** and **long-term positive impact**,
- And push for **fundamental changes in decision-making structures** and **allocation of resources**

## SCALE

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ELEMENT 8: A recognition of the need for scale



- Moving power requires organizations that are **at a scale sufficient to challenge concentrations of existing power**
- The 2 elements of size:
  1. Organizational
  2. Movement
- The role of “**anchor organizations**”

## SCALE

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ELEMENT 9: A strategy for scaling up



- Successful social movement organizations have a **theory of the geography of change**
- There is no single geographic approach – it can depend on the **constituency** and the **issue area** – but **regions** (or any place “**face to face**” takes place) are key
- Another set of scaling issues:
  1. Building on the basis of **like organizations**
  2. Building with organizations that are distinct but are **united by their frame and general politics**

## SCALE

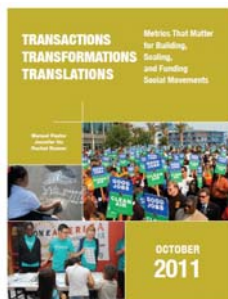
ELEMENT 10: A willingness to network with other movements



Bridging gaps between networks which will eventually build streams of social movements that comes into a river of change

## MEASURING CHANGE

WHAT WE OFFER:



1) A **framework for metrics** that captures **transactions and transformations** with examples for ten strategies

2) Recommendations for a **new approach to metrics** that goes beyond **organizational effectiveness** to gauge **movement effectiveness**

3) Suggestions for a **new relationship between movement builders and funders** to develop a **common language** to reach common goals

## TRANSACTIONS & TRANSFORMATIONS

### A FRAMEWORK FOR METRICS THAT MATTER

#### TRANSACTIONS

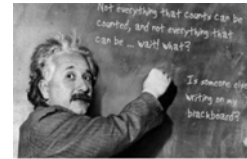
- What is easier to count that counts

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- What is harder to count yet counts

*Not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be counted counts.*

Albert Einstein



## TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

### SIGNING UP

Organizing – Civic Engagement

#### TRANSACTIONS

- # and diversity of membership base
- # and diversity of people mobilized
- Voter registration and turnout

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- Sense of ownership, community, and trust
- Empowered to speak up and take action
- New formations (e.g. 501(c)4)

*The New Deal wasn't won by economic experts. It was won by ordinary people who organized to create a sense of crisis and mandate for change.*

Jean Hardisty and Deepak Bhargava, 2005  
"Wrong about the Right" in *The Nation*

## TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

### SKILLING UP

Communications and Framing – Traditional and New Media

#### TRANSACTIONS

- Stories collected
- Audiences reached
- # of op eds and articles
- # of blog contributors and clicks

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- Members participate in and influence the public debate
- Seen as legitimate experts
- Shift in public opinion

*In terms of messaging, we need to be careful not to move the debate farther to the right. Need to speak to the hearts and minds of those who are fearful but could change if they see positive actions.*

Pablo Alvarado  
National Day Laborer Organizing Network

## TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

### SCALING UP

Alliance Building – Movement Building

#### TRANSACTIONS

- # and diversity of partnering groups
- Ally contributions
- Scale of reach – regional, state, national

#### TRANSFORMATIONS

- Take on others' issues as one's own
- Cross-movement relationship building
- Ability to scale up impact

*“Are we making progress in building unity and a strategic agenda across difference that is more than a laundry list?”*

Anthony Thigpenn  
Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education



## TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

Communities United: Protecting California's climate change legislation



Source: Ella Baker Center.  
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/ellabakercenter/4544045061/in/set-72157623912657174>

### TRANSACTIONS

- # and % of contacts, supporters & votes
- # of individuals and organizations mobilized
- Vote results (62% vs. 38%)
- % of people who considering themselves environmentalists

### TRANSFORMATIONS

- Climate justice framing that resonates with new constituencies
- Communities of color emerging as the new face of the environmental movement
- Collaborations between EJ and mainstream environmental organizations lay foundation for future pro-active work

## 6 KEY WARNINGS TO FUNDERS:



*“The real question is:  
 What will it take to  
 create real, lasting  
 social change in this  
 country?”*

Burt Lauderdale  
 Kentuckians for the  
 Commonwealth

- Movement building is NOT about finding and replicating one model, network, or place
- Metrics are NOT the movement but the measure of the movement
- Measuring the part is NOT the same as measuring the whole – organizational and movement effectiveness are different



## WHAT CAN HELP? STATES AND SCALE



- States are key battlegrounds for **experimentation** in new ideas, policies, and strategies
- Strategic scale for **linking local** grassroots engagement with greater impact and for building towards **national impact**
- Authentic participation in democratic processes are fundamentally **local** activities

## WHAT ELSE? COMMUNITY & CONNECTION



- Stress that **equity** – broadly conceived – needs to be **baked-in** not sprinkled-on

- Work for a new sort of **leadership** that **connects** across the epistemic chasm



- Communicate about the realities of the **next generation** and the **next America**

FOR MORE . . .



 @Prof\_MPastor

# EQUITY, GROWTH, and COMMUNITY

What the Nation Can Learn  
From America's Metro Areas



CHRIS BENNER | MANUEL PASTOR