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

SHIFTING DEMOGRAPHICS

Changing Demographics
United States, 1980-2040
SHIFTING DEMOGRAPHICS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Change 2000-2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>-4,310,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>-248,081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>4,788,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>API</td>
<td>781,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>875,683</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AN UNCERTAIN ECONOMY

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

AN UNCERTAIN ECONOMY

U.S. and California, 1980-2010*

- 10th Percentile
- 20th Percentile
- 50th Percentile
- 80th Percentile
- 90th Percentile

California
-11%
-19%
-4%
12%
25%

United States
-10%
-8%
4%
15%

Source: IPUMS

GROWING SOCIAL DISTANCE

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

Neighborhood Type (Based on Median Family Income Level)
- Affluent (>150% of Metro Median)
- Low Middle Income (80-100% of Metro Median)
- High Income (125-150% of Metro Median)
- Low Income (67-80% of Metro Median)
- High Middle Income (100-125% of Metro Median)
- Poor (<67% of Metro Median)
GROWING SOCIAL DISTANCE

Kids of color concentrated in high-poverty schools (U.S. as a whole)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low (&lt;25% of students eligible for free- or reduced-price lunch - FRPL)</th>
<th>Mid-low (25-50% FRPL)</th>
<th>Mid-high (50-75% FRPL)</th>
<th>High (&gt;75% FRPL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiracial</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of color</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National Center for Education Statistics

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

Defining social movements

Youth leadership and movements

Alliances and movement-building

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

IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS:
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**

**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.

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**FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS**

**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

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

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

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
SKILLING UP
Communications and Framing – Traditional and New Media

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

SCALING UP
Alliance Building – Movement Building

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

Anthony Thigpen
Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education
TRANSACTIONS and TRANSFORMATIONS

Communities United: Protecting California’s climate change legislation

**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:**

- 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

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

Burt Lauderdale
Kentuckians for the Commonwealth
6 KEY WARNINGS TO FUNDERS:

1. Don’t think you’re the social movement
2. Understand that you (or grantees) will confront power
3. Don’t let urgency set the agenda

WHAT CAN HELP? DATA AND DIALOGUE

Welcome to the National Equity Atlas, a comprehensive data resource to track, measure, and make the case for inclusive growth.
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