Introduction to Community Organizing

Cynthia Kaufman and AngÈlica Esquivel Moreno

De Anza College

Social Sciences

DeAnza College



Introduction to Community Organizing

Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno

De Anza College

This text is disseminated via the Open Education Resource (OER) LibreTexts Project (https://LibreTexts.org) and like the thousands of other texts available within this powerful platform, it is freely available for reading, printing, and "consuming."

The LibreTexts mission is to bring together students, faculty, and scholars in a collaborative effort to provide an accessible, and comprehensive platform that empowers our community to develop, curate, adapt, and adopt openly licensed resources and technologies; through these efforts we can reduce the financial burden borne from traditional educational resource costs, ensuring education is more accessible for students and communities worldwide.

Most, but not all, pages in the library have licenses that may allow individuals to make changes, save, and print this book. Carefully consult the applicable license(s) before pursuing such effects. Instructors can adopt existing LibreTexts texts or Remix them to quickly build course-specific resources to meet the needs of their students. Unlike traditional textbooks, LibreTexts' web based origins allow powerful integration of advanced features and new technologies to support learning.



LibreTexts is the adaptable, user-friendly non-profit open education resource platform that educators trust for creating, customizing, and sharing accessible, interactive textbooks, adaptive homework, and ancillary materials. We collaborate with individuals and organizations to champion open education initiatives, support institutional publishing programs, drive curriculum development projects, and more.

The LibreTexts libraries are Powered by NICE CXone Expert and were supported by the Department of Education Open Textbook Pilot Project, the California Education Learning Lab, the UC Davis Office of the Provost, the UC Davis Library, the California State University Affordable Learning Solutions Program, and Merlot. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1246120, 1525057, and 1413739.

Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation nor the US Department of Education.

Have questions or comments? For information about adoptions or adaptions contact info@LibreTexts.org or visit our main website at https://LibreTexts.org.

The LibreTexts name, logo, and book covers are trademarked by LibreTexts, Inc. (a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization) and protected against unauthorized use.

This text was compiled on 09/30/2026

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Licensing

Program Page

Accessibility Statement

AI Use

About the Book

About the Authors

Additional Organizing Resources

1: Community Organizing

1.1: What is Organizing?

1.2: Emotionally Intelligent Leadership and Leadership Strenghts

1.3: Why Learn Community Organizing?

1.4: Power

1.5: Liberation Theory Part 1

1.6: Liberation Theory Part 2

1.7: Liberation Theory Part 3

1.8: Liberation Theory Part 4

1.9: Liberation Theory Part 5

2: Inspirational Leadership

2.1: Characteristics of Inspirational Leadership

2.2: Story of an Inspirational Leader

2.3: Public Narrative

3: Process Leadership

3.1: Characteristics of Process Leadership

3.2: Story of a Process Leader- Ella Baker

3.3: Emergent Strategy

3.4: Build Your Team

3.5: Getting People to Join

3.6: One to One Relational Meetings

3.7: Facilitation

3.8: Leadership Inventory

4: Strategic Leadership

4.1: Characteristics of Strategic Leadership

4.2: Justice for Janitors Part 1

4.3: Justice for Janitors Part 2

4.4: Cutting the Issue

4.5: Choosing an Issue

4.6: Action Star
4.7: Accessible Text Descriptions

5: Task Leadership

5.1: Characteristics of Task Leadership
5.2: Story of Task Leadership
5.3: Developing Leadership in Others
5.4: Event Planning

6: Visionary Leadership

6.1: Characteristics of Visionary Leadership
6.2: Story of Visionary Leadership
6.3: Story of Visionary Leadership Continued
6.4: Action Logic
6.5: Framing a Message
6.6: Flyers
6.7: Compact Communication
6.8: Accessible Text Descriptions

7: Ethical Leadership

7.1: Characteristics of Ethical Leadership
7.2: Story of Ethical Leadership
7.3: Strategic Conversations about People versus Negative Gossip

8: Conclusion

8.1: Tapping into the Power of Hope
8.2: Leadership Goals
8.3: Celebration of your Growth

9: Instructor Resources

9.1: Creating Community in Your Class
9.2: Building Student Support for Each Other
9.3: Supporting College Level Reading
9.4: Community Engagement Assignment
9.5: Student Team Presentations

Index

Glossary

Detailed Licensing

Detailed Licensing

This page titled Introduction to Community Organizing is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

Licensing

A detailed breakdown of this resource's licensing can be found in ***Back Matter/Detailed Licensing***.

This page titled Licensing is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

Program Page

De Anza College sits in the heart of Silicon Valley, where innovation and opportunity are part of daily life, and also has one of the highest costs of living in the country. For our students, that makes every dollar count, and the price of a textbook can be the difference between staying enrolled or dropping a class. Our Zero Textbook Cost (ZTC) program closes that gap by giving students full access to high-quality, faculty-created course materials at no cost from the first day of class.

De Anza is proud of its diverse student community, and we hold our ZTC materials to the same standard of excellence that defines the college. Faculty across departments write, adapt, and review these resources themselves, keeping them accurate, current, and grounded in the perspectives of the students who use them, with accessibility and inclusive design built in from the start.

This program reflects the time and care our faculty invest in their students. If you have questions, feedback, or come across any issues with a ZTC resource, contact De Anza College's ZTC Grants Coordinator, Shagun Kaur.

Learn more about De Anza ZTC Program [www.deanza.edu/academic-services/oer/]

Note: The De Anza logo is a copyrighted trademark of De Anza College and may not be reproduced without permission.

This page titled Program Page is shared under a Public Domain license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

Accessibility Statement

Accessibility

De Anza College is dedicated to creating learning materials that are accessible and benefit all students. Our materials follow the Web Content Accessibility Guidelines (WCAG) 2.1 Level AA. Our authors and contracted accessibility specialists checked all resources using this ASCCC OERI checklist, the accessibility tool in LibreTexts, WAVE, JAWS, and other more detailed checks for complex materials such as interactive components.

We selected LibreTexts as our preferred platform because of its commitment to accessibility. In addition to the platform's inherent accessibility, we collaborated with the LibreTexts team to fix any accessibility issues we found.

Our Accessibility Review Process

Accessibility was built into the resource as it was written. This resource went through the following stages of review:

1. **Template check.** The project coordinator and instructional designers checked the first chapter for accessibility as a model to ensure later chapters meet accessibility standards.
2. **Progress checks.** The manuscript was checked at approximately 40%, 60%, and 80% completion to catch and correct accessibility issues in production.
3. **Specialist review.** Once the manuscript was complete, an accessibility expert conducted an accessibility check.
4. **Remediation.** The author and the project manager who conducted the earlier progress checks worked together to remediate the issues identified by the accessibility expert.
5. **Final check.** The resource underwent another full check by the accessibility expert before the book was deemed ready for publication.

This process combines ongoing checks during writing with a final specialist review, so issues are caught early and confirmed fixed before publication.

Report an Accessibility Problem

We are always looking for ways to make our resources more accessible. If you run into a barrier while using this resource, please let us know so we can look into it. When you contact us, it helps to include:

- The name of the resource
- The location of the problem (a web address or page/chapter description)
- A description of the problem you encountered
- The device, browser, and any assistive technology you were using (e.g., Windows 11, Google Chrome, JAWS screen reader)

Contact us: De Anza ZTC team

This statement was last updated August 2026

This resource was project-managed by **Shagun Kaur**, overseeing scope, budget, and schedule; stakeholder coordination via monthly meetings; training and platform support (LibreTexts, troubleshooting, technical support); QA/accessibility check scheduling; and licensing and copyright governance.

A Note on Known Limitations

No accessibility check is perfect. We've made a genuine, sustained effort to catch and fix issues throughout the writing and review process described above, but some barriers may remain, especially in complex or interactive content. We'd rather be upfront about that than claim a standard of perfection we can't guarantee.

This page titled Accessibility Statement is shared under a Public Domain license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

AI Use

AI Use in Course Development – Transparency & Standards

As part of the development process for this textbook and its accompanying course materials, we utilized artificial intelligence (AI) as a supportive educational technology to assist with idea generation, content organization, and early-stage drafting. Our use of AI was guided by principles of transparency, academic integrity, accessibility, and human oversight. At no point was AI used as a substitute for faculty expertise, scholarly judgment, or pedagogical decision-making.

The AI's role was limited to ideation and preliminary content generation. All AI-generated material underwent extensive review, revision, verification, and editing by the course authors. Faculty members evaluated content for accuracy, clarity, inclusivity, accessibility, relevance, and alignment with course learning outcomes. In many cases, AI-generated text served only as a starting point and was substantially modified, expanded, reorganized, or rewritten during the development process.

We also recognized that AI systems can reflect biases, inaccuracies, omissions, or outdated information. For this reason, no content was accepted without human review and independent verification. All factual claims, educational recommendations, examples, and references were evaluated against current evidence, professional standards, and the authors' subject matter expertise. Responsibility for the content ultimately rests with the human authors, not the technology used during development.

Our use of AI mirrors how many professionals increasingly use emerging technologies in education and the workplace: as tools that can enhance efficiency, creativity, and productivity while still requiring critical thinking, ethical judgment, and expert oversight. By incorporating AI transparently and responsibly, we sought not only to improve the development process but also to model thoughtful technology use for students navigating an increasingly digital and AI-assisted world.

Finally, we believe that innovation must be balanced with a commitment to equity and accessibility. Throughout the development process, all content was reviewed to ensure it met accessibility standards and supported diverse learners. AI-assisted drafting was only one component of a much larger process that included faculty collaboration, scholarly review, accessibility evaluation, and continuous revision. The result is a resource that reflects both the opportunities offered by emerging technologies and the enduring importance of human expertise in teaching and learning.

Copyright & Fair Use Considerations

We aligned with evolving IP policy frameworks, especially insights from the U.S. Copyright Office:

- The Office's Part 3 report on AI model training highlights the importance of fair use analysis and restricts reliance on generative AI when it could replicate copyrighted works—our use was limited to non-protected, openly licensed materials.
- This cautious approach is consistent with guidance, that encourages transformative use, transparency, and limiting output that could inadvertently mirror protected content.

This page titled AI Use is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

About the Book

Introduction to Community Organizing contains all of the materials you need to teach a class that gets students started on their pathways to becoming community organizers. The book helps students develop the skills, knowledge, and abilities to make a difference in their communities. The three themes run throughout the book are: Leadership Development, Organizing Skills Development, and Social Movement History.

The book may be used as the curriculum and assignments for a full course. Or faculty may choose to take modules and use them in their own class. Because the materials are all OER, faculty can take and modify any of the materials in ways that serve their needs.

This Introduction to Community Organizing textbook grew out of work that began in 2011 when De Anza College became involved with what has become Community Learning Partnership (CLP). CLP came together to help people from marginalized communities move up career ladders within non-profits, which often require formal college credentialing. CLP set out to leverage the resources of community colleges to offer community organizer training with credentialing, and also to develop community organizing as an academic discipline.

One of the first steps CLP took to develop this curriculum was to convene a national meeting of practitioners of community organizing and community college educators. That meeting then identified the core knowledge, skills, and abilities that should be part of our curriculum. Together, we developed a core curriculum, which has evolved over time.

De Anza College's Certificate in Leadership and Social Change prepares students to make a difference in their communities and to be ready for jobs doing that work. The certificate involves three general education courses and 6 units of internship. Introduction to Community Organizing, for which this book is intended, is one of those three courses.

The curriculum shared here is based on the collective wisdom of CLP, as well as Cynthia's many years of teaching and modifying the class. Three themes run throughout this class: leadership development, organizing skills development, and social movement history.

We hope you find these resources useful for helping your students grow to be leaders for change in their communities!

Sincerely,

Cynthia and Angélica

This page titled About the Book is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

About the Authors

About the Team

Author Image	Author Bio
 **Professor Cynthia Kaufman**	**Cynthia Kaufman** is the Director of the Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action De Anza College where she runs, and teaches in, a community organizer training program. She is the author of six books on social change: *Building Sustainable Social Relations, Solidarity Economics: Consumerism, Sustainability, and Happiness*, *The Sea is Rising and So Are We, Challenging Power: Democracy and Accountability in a Fractured World, Getting Past Capitalism* and *Ideas for Action*. She has been active in a wide variety of social justice movements, most recently working on the climate crisis. She received her PhD and MA in Philosophy from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and her BA in Development Studies from UC Berkeley. She began her love of community college as a young adult at Mira Costa College in Oceanside, California.
 **Professor Angélica Esquivel Moreno**	**Angélica Esquivel Moreno** is a professor of Chicanx and Latinx Studies at De Anza College and a long time community organizer. She was a part of the Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action as a student, staff and now faculty advancing access to meaningful civic engagement for students and the larger campus community. Angélica is also a long time Board Member of the Community Learning Partnership (CLP), which creates educational pathways for community organizers and leaders who will make an impact in the world. After graduating from De Anza College, she earned her BA in Sociology and Public Policy from UCLA and then her MA in Chicano and Chicana Studies from San Jose State University. She has been involved in community organizing efforts outside of the campus community in supporting immigrants, women, youth, workers and students.

This page titled About the Authors is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

Additional Organizing Resources

Open Source Materials for Organizer Training

In searching for open-source resources to use for this text, we came across a few excellent repositories of community organizing materials that we wanted to share with you:

- Beautiful Trouble is a toolbox that provides cutting-edge resources from practitioners all over the world that address social movements and grassroots organizing.
- Community Toolbox is a toolbox that focuses on learning the skills to take action in community organizing efforts.
- The Commons Library is an online library for the change makers of the world and for those interested in social change, activism, advocacy, and justice.
- People, Power, Change by Marshall Ganz is his newest book that explores strategies for revitalizing democracy through organizing.
- Campaign Strategy Worksheets - Training for Change is a slide deck, using Google Slides, that has a how-to workbook on creating a successful campaign on any issue of your choice.

This page titled Additional Organizing Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1: COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Goals of the Book

This book is designed to help you on your path to having all the skills, knowledge, and abilities you need to make a difference in your community. The three themes that run throughout the book are: Leadership Development, Organizing Skills Development, and Social Movement History.

Learning Objectives

In this section, you will

1. Learn what community organizing is.
2. Explore the goals of community organizing.
3. Explore why it is crucial that we develop more community organizers.
4. Be introduced to the concept of Leadership Styles.
5. Investigate the most important concept in community organizing: power.
6. Be introduced to liberation theory.

Leadership Development

Many people don't see themselves as leaders. Some of this is because they think of a leader only as the person who speaks to crowds. Also, many of us were raised not to trust our own voices or think that people like ourselves matter. We often see ourselves as inheritors of a world that we need to fit into, rather than as co-creators who make and remake the world every day.

One of the goals of this book is for you to gain a sense of yourself as a person whose voice matters and who can make a difference for yourself, for your community, and for the larger society. As you develop your leadership, you will also learn how to build community power to help make the world into one that works for us all and for the natural systems that we are connected to.

Skills Development

This book is not just about how others have made a difference in their communities. It is intended to help *you* gain the skills you need to make a difference in your community on issues that matter to you. You will practice many of the skills used by community organizers. You will be practicing public speaking, developing strategies, engaging others and developing their leadership, and engaging in communication to make organizing effective.

Social Movement History

As we learn to do this work ourselves, it is helpful to see how it has been done in the past and the ways it has made a difference. Many of us have been deprived in our education of knowledge of the ways that people have come together to build the parts of our world that work for us. If we don't know this history, we can believe the myths that history is only made by the powerful and that trying to make a difference is pointless. We will study examples of groups of people who came together to fight for what they believed their communities needed, and the positive difference that work has made.

Activity 1.0

Reading Response Questions:

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What do you hope to learn about community organizing?
2. What worries you about engaging with this material?
3. What strengths do you bring to community organizing?

1.1: What is Organizing?

1.2: Emotionally Intelligent Leadership and Leadership Strenghts

1.3: Why Learn Community Organizing?

1.4: Power

1.5: Liberation Theory Part 1

1.6: Liberation Theory Part 2

1.7: Liberation Theory Part 3

1.8: Liberation Theory Part 4

1.9: Liberation Theory Part 5

This page titled 1: Community Organizing is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.1: What is Organizing?

Practice of Community Organizing

Organizing is leadership that enables people to turn the resources they have into the power they need to make the change they want. Community organizing is all about people, power, and change – it starts with people and relationships, is focused on shifting power, and aims to create lasting change. Organizing people to build the power to make change is based on the mastery of five key leadership practices: telling stories, building relationships, structuring teams, strategizing, and acting. That is, to develop our capacity for effective community organizing, we must learn:

Five Leadership Practices

1. How to articulate a story of why we are called to lead, a story of the community we hope to mobilize and why we're united, and a story of why we must act.
2. How to build intentional relationships as the foundation of purposeful collective actions.
3. How to create structure that distributes power and responsibility and prioritizes leadership development.
4. How to strategize turning your resources into the power to achieve clear goals.
5. How to translate strategy into measurable, motivational, and effective action.

Though organizing is not a linear process, organizers use the first three practices (stories, relationships, structure) to build power within a community, while the last two practices (strategy, action) are about wielding that power in order to create change.

People

The first question an organizer asks is "Who are my people?" not "What is my issue?" Effective organizers put people, not issues, at the heart of their efforts. Organizing is not about solving a community's problems or advocating on its behalf. It is about enabling the people with the problem to mobilize their own resources to solve it (and keep it solved).

Identifying a community of people is just the first step. The job of a community organizer is to transform a community – a group of people who share common values or interests – into a constituency – a community of people who are standing together to realize a common purpose. The difference between community and constituency lies in the commitment to take action to further common goals.

For example, a community could be residents of a town who are against a new dam project, while a constituency would be residents of the town against the dam who have signed a petition to take action to stop the dam from being built.

Power

Organizing focuses on power: who has it, who doesn't, and how to build enough of it to shift the power relationship and bring about change.

Reverend Martin Luther King described power as "the ability to achieve purpose" and "the strength required to bring about social, political, and economic change."

In organizing, power is not a thing or trait. Organizers understand power as the influence that's created by the relationship between interests and resources. Here, interests are what people need or want (e.g. to protect a river, to stay in public office, to make money), while resources are assets (e.g. people, energy, knowledge, relationships, and money) that can be readily used to, in the case of organizing, achieve the change you need or want. Understanding the nature of power – that it stems from the interplay between interests and resources – and that we must shift power relationships in order to bring about change, is essential for the success of our organizing efforts.

From the example above, the constituency against the dam may ask questions aimed at 'tracking down the power' – that is, inquiring into the relationship between actors, and particularly the interests and resources of these actors in their struggle. For

instance, they might ask questions like: what are our interests, or, what do we want? Who holds the resources needed to address these interests? What are their interests, or what do they want?

In doing so, the town residents may realize that their local town council is a key actor, that local councillors want to stay in office and need votes to do so, and in turn, the constituency holds the resources of people, relationships, and votes that could shift this power relationship and bring about change.

Change

In organizing, change must be specific, concrete, and significant. Organizing is not about 'raising awareness' or speech-making (though these may contribute to an organizing effort). It is about specifying a clear goal and mobilizing your resources to achieve it.

Indeed, if organizing is about enabling others to bring about change, and specifically, securing commitment from a group of people with shared interests to take action to further common goals, then it's critical to define exactly what those goals are.

In the case of the proposed dam project from above, the constituency against the dam must create clear, measurable goals. Note the difference between "our goal is to stop the dam" versus "our goal is to put pressure on the town council in the next 3.5 months – through door-knocking, events, and local newspaper op-eds aimed at getting 1 / 3 of town residents to sign our petition – to pass a motion to stop the dam project."

Activity 1.1.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Write a sentence about each of the five leadership practices that explains why it is an important part of creating community change.
2. Share an insight that came to you from reading this section.

Attributions

- Adapted from "What is Organizing? An Introduction based on the Work of Marshall Ganz" by Commons Social Change Library, Et al., Leading Change Network, Marshall Ganz, is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

This page titled 1.1: What is Organizing? is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.2: Emotionally Intelligent Leadership and Leadership Strenghts

Developing Your Leadership

Throughout this book, you will be able to put your leadership skills into practice through the readings and activities; for now, we will introduce the forms of leadership that are the core of the book.

Emotionally Intelligent Leadership

This book is focused on helping you develop emotionally intelligent leadership. An emotionally intelligent leader is:

- Perceptive of the dynamics of the situation they are in
- Concerned with developing leadership in others
- Committed to the well-being of the group they are in
- Ready to learn and stretch themselves
- Ready to acknowledge mistakes and change
- Able to inspire others to action

Leadership Strengths

Emotionally intelligent leadership can have many aspects to it. This book is organized around a framework of six different types of leadership that are needed to make a difference in our communities. Many of us feel more comfortable in some of these than in others, but all of us can learn to be better in all of them. Good organizing for social change requires a balance of all six. These six types of leadership are: inspirational leadership, process leadership, strategic leadership, task leadership, visionary leadership, and ethical leadership (Wellstone, 2013).

- **Inspirational Leader:** This is someone who can inspire others to work towards an organization's vision. Visionary leaders are often the public face of a movement. They are inspiring public speakers and share a sense of optimism about their work. They are networkers who are always looking for ways to connect people. They welcome others to get involved and keep them motivated. By focusing on the big picture and long-term goals, inspirational leaders can guide their teams through challenges and drive meaningful change.
- **Process Leader**: This is someone who pays attention to group dynamics. They notice when someone is being quiet or is dominating, and they work to make sure everyone feels included and is able to participate. They take action to make sure the process works for everyone and to achieve their goals.
- **Strategic Leader:** This is someone who is good at developing pathways for achieving a group's goals. They develop plans for getting from where you are to where you want to be. They think ahead about the obstacles you are likely to face and develop strategies for overcoming those obstacles.
- **Task Leader**: This is someone who can break the work into bite-sized bits and make sure they all get done. This person knows how to assign work to people, track the progress of tasks, and figure out how to get things done. This person often makes to-do lists and thinks of the small things that need to happen, like bringing song sheets or name tags.
- **Visionary Leader**: This is someone who has a clear and compelling vision for the future. They can articulate a picture of a better world and motivate their team to strive for it. They communicate that message to others in ways that compel others to take action. They think about messaging and how to explain the organization's issues in ways that help others get on board with the organization's goals. They use art and culture to get their message across.
- **Ethical Leader**: This is someone who makes sure that a group is acting according to its stated values. This person will raise difficult questions that cause a group to reflect deeply on what it is doing. Their work may cause things to slow down, but their input often helps a group stay on track.

Activity 1.2.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Which leadership style do you think you are best at and why?
2. Which leadership style do you wish you could improve in?
3. What are some steps you could take to strengthen your leadership in that style?
4. Share some insights that came to you as you read about leadership styles.

Reference

Action, Wellstone. *Politics the Wellstone Way: How to Elect Progressive Candidates and Win on Issues*. Edited by Bill Lofy, University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

This page titled 1.2: Emotionally Intelligent Leadership and Leadership Strenghts is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.3: Why Learn Community Organizing?

College Education for Community Change

Poverty, race, and strengthening the social fabric by strengthening community institutions – there is broad agreement that these are central issues for the United States. Poverty is growing as increasing numbers of people are being left behind by our economy, our educational institutions, and our traditional system for providing social mobility. Race relations are becoming more complex as our nation becomes far more multicultural, and issues of racial justice and racial tensions simmer. Our social fabric and democratic institutions are under strain, as concern grows about the extent to which our community institutions have the strength, openness, and leadership to bring and hold people together, creating the webs of close ties, common values, helping relationships, and democratic traditions which are so important to successful communities.

Note

This section is from the book titled "University Education for Community Change: A Vital Strategy for Progress on Poverty, Race and Community-Building" by Andrew Mott. He is the founder of Community Learning Partnership, a network of community organizer training programs that are based in community colleges. Mott explains why community organizing is important and why it is important for people to get the kinds of training you will get from this OER book.

There is also broad agreement that community organizations of various types must be central to any strategy for addressing the interlocked issues of poverty, race, and social fabric. In this era of government retrenchment, it is clear that the public sector will not take the lead in addressing these issues. Nor are large nonprofit institutions well-suited for this task, as they typically work area-wide and must balance many interests and activities rather than focus on particular communities. And the traditional civic concerns and leadership of local business are being weakened as mergers and globalization reduce the number of hometown corporations and local corporate leaders.

There is no choice: Leadership on poverty and race, therefore, must come from the community itself. Well-led, truly community-based organizations can become uniquely knowledgeable about the community's needs, skilled at involving large numbers of volunteers to work on priority issues, and effective in ensuring that new resources, partnerships, policies, and programs are developed to strengthen the community. They also can become vital bridges for linking people together across racial and economic lines to address issues of race and poverty.

Strong, well-led community organizations are therefore essential to the success of other partners in the process of community change. Without effective systems for involving community residents, efforts to reform public education, increase public safety, or transform the lives and attitudes of community residents will fail. So will initiatives which are designed to improve housing and sustain it over the long-run, or to prepare hard-to-employ people for lives of work and a chance to move up. All these reforms require changes in people's attitudes and the development of systems which are sensitive to a community's unique opportunities, are "owned" by those they are serving, and enlist strong neighborhood backing.

There is growing recognition of these lessons in major public and private institutions. Many police departments, public health and mental health professionals, experts in youth and family development, workforce development specialists, and foundations creating "comprehensive community initiatives," for example, have concluded that they must work through community-based organizations if they are to achieve their goals.

As agreement has grown on the central importance of grassroots groups, there has been very substantial investment in those organizations. Foundations, churches, corporations, government agencies, and others have invested billions of dollars in community organizing, community development, and community-building. Low-income people, especially people of color, have invested huge amounts of volunteer time in building organizations through which they work to change their communities and public policies for the better.

The need for grassroots organizations and well-trained people to lead them is certain to increase. As new immigrant groups settle into the United States and as the working poor, people of color, young people, and the elderly grow in relation to the rest of the population, they will need to band together on the particular issues they face. They will need formal and informal groups through which they can join with their peers, represent their interests, meet their immediate needs, and increasingly serve as partial

substitutes for the government agencies which are shrinking as the social safety net weakens. People will therefore be strongly motivated to create a new generation of self-help and mutual help organizations, drawing on the unique American traditions of self-reliance, the building of strong voluntary associations, and vital support for those associations by private philanthropy.

Reliance on grassroots groups will grow as tax cuts, military expenditures, the shaky economy, and conservative social and fiscal policies further reduce support for social programs. Poverty will increase dramatically: government cutbacks are reducing services and income transfer programs, and low-income people of all races are facing growing barriers to advancement because, while the need for a well-educated workforce is growing, they typically face poor schools, the digital divide, and increasingly unaffordable higher education. The gap between rich and poor will widen rapidly unless the political and fiscal situations change dramatically. Because poor people cannot count on the public or private sector or large nonprofits to take the lead in changing this situation, there will be a growing need for strong nonprofits which represent and serve poor and working people. There is by now a rich body of experience with different strategies for strengthening low-income communities. These include community organizing, community development, and approaches to reforming the public and private sector policies, which have such an impact on neighborhoods and on each person's chance to get ahead. There is much to learn, and it is essential that people who lead these vital efforts have opportunities to learn from the experience of their predecessors and peers. Informed with this knowledge, they will have a far greater chance of succeeding in bringing about significant social and community change.



Figure 1.3.1: In 2025 there was a rise in the arrest of undocumented immigrants. People organized protests all over the country to advocate for the rights of those being detained and for the defunding of immigration agencies. In the image, there is a person who is holding a sign that says "Chinga la Migra" as a demand for immigration agencies to take accountability for their excess of force and violence. (CC BY 4.0; Paul Goyette via Wikimedia Commons)

The Crisis in Leadership

Despite the growing consensus on the critical importance of grassroots organizations and despite this major investment and growth, the field of community change faces a mounting crisis of leadership. There is a severe shortage of people who are fully prepared for key positions in the field – whether leading grassroots groups or providing vital support to them from other sectors. The infrastructure for learning is still pitifully weak, with people expected to learn on the job, through trial and error, with little access to the lessons others have learned in tackling similar challenges. Nonprofits typically are so overstretched that few can either hire people as apprentices to their top leaders or invest significantly in other forms of training and mentoring.

To build a strong community-based sector which fully responds to these needs, far greater priority must be given to developing a pipeline which can generate the skilled leadership community groups will need. It will be particularly important that growing numbers of young people from immigrant populations and other families of color be prepared for challenging jobs in community-based nonprofits, as their backgrounds give them unique advantages for understanding and leading their communities. Their backgrounds also increase the likelihood they will make long-term rather than fleeting commitments to the neighborhoods and people who most need their help.

Community change is, in short, a tough and demanding job requiring a broad background, analytic and strategic skills, and

practical experience in understanding and motivating people and moving them into action on strategies which will lead to growing success. It is a tremendously challenging – and exciting – responsibility, at least as complex as any other profession. Like other professions, it requires extensive preparation, well beyond what people can learn on the job without a serious educational component, mentoring, and guidance.

This challenge is greatly heightened by the major leadership transition now underway. Many grassroots groups and support organizations are now going through a wrenching generational change. Organizers and leaders who emerged from the activism of the 1960s – a unique period in American history when the civil rights, Chicano, antipoverty, and women's movements stimulated a surge of community organizing, alternative social service, and community development efforts – are now retiring or otherwise stepping out of management roles, leaving leadership positions vacant.

In many ways, this transition is healthy, bringing new energies and ideas to the work. But the trend also has great dangers. The older generation is often passing the torch to people who are 25 or 30 years younger because there is a "missing generation" of people who would now be 40-55. When that generation was young, few entry-level jobs were available as grassroots groups were reducing their budgets in the face of a poor economy, backlash against the activism of the 1960s, and reduced philanthropic giving and government support. Furthermore, those who found jobs with community groups often found their path to advancement blocked as founders stayed on and budgets remained static. Many, therefore, moved to jobs with greater upward mobility – politics and government, other nonprofits with higher salaries and benefits, foundations, and corporations and banks concerned about their affirmative action and community reinvestment obligations. This brain drain has left many groups with such a large generational gap that they now have no choice but to shift to much younger leadership as their founders move on.

Second, as the variety of approaches to community change has multiplied, most people have been forced to specialize in just one somewhat narrow aspect of the work. They have specialized in housing development, or anticrime efforts, or health care, or tenant organizing, with relatively few people having an opportunity to broaden their knowledge and analytic skills beyond what they learn in carrying out their particular duties.

This is unfortunate as it is increasingly clear that the highly complex work of community change requires a mix of approaches – community organizing, community development, coalition-building, and policy advocacy, among others. It is also apparent that communities require multi-issue, increasingly comprehensive strategies rather than concentrating on a single issue.

You cannot, for example, solve the housing problem without addressing issues of jobs and income, schools, public services, safety, and public and private investment in the neighborhood as a whole. Furthermore, those issues require working at the citywide, metropolitan, and statewide levels as well as locally, a challenge which requires strong political skills and alliances.

Third, the shortage is especially great among people of color, whose leadership is essential because communities of color are disproportionately poor, neglected, and cut off from opportunities. Educational gaps, stubborn patterns of white dominance in key institutions, and the appeal of jobs offering greater security and upward mobility continue to limit the number of people of color in grassroots leadership positions.

Activity 1.3.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What is a grassroots group?
2. Why does Mott think grassroots groups are important?
3. What are the skills needed to be a grassroots organizer?
4. Why does Mott think we need to get more people of color to be community change leaders?
5. What did you find interesting in this reading?

Answer available at the end of this section.

Attributions

- Adapted from "*University Education for Community Change: A Vital Strategy for Progress on Poverty, Race and Community-Building* " by Andrew Mott, is copyrighted. It has been reproduced with permission from the author.

Answers

Activity 1.3.1

This page titled 1.3: Why Learn Community Organizing? is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.4: Power

Power in Organizing

One of the most important concepts in community organizing is power. That is because so many of our problems are caused by imbalances of power, and the goal of community organizing is to challenge those imbalances.



Figure 1.4.1: Demonstrates how organized thought and action by a community hold enormous transformative power. (CC by 4.0; Xen Lapshin)

Many people have a negative view of power, and they see it as domination. If you see power that way, then you aren't likely to try to build power. But the main way that communities get their needs met is by building power intentionally and deliberately through organizing.

According to Martin Luther King Jr, power is “the ability to achieve purpose.” According to King’s definition, power is neither good nor bad. It is our ability to achieve purpose, and it is these purposes that can be judged as better or worse for our communities.

Forms of Power

According to many community organizers, there are three main forms of power: power over, power for, and power with. Understanding the differences between these forms of power can help us in our work to challenge unjust forms of power, use our power to help people, and build community power for deep social transformation.

These three forms of power are:

- **Power over:** (bosses, parents, police)
  - Power is most commonly understood as a form of authority, control, or domination. Power over others can be exercised in many ways. The most obvious is brute domination, where a person or institution controls or constrains what another is able to do. But power can also be exercised by influencing what others think they can do or even imagine as possible. It extends beyond physical or verbal domination to affect the ways in which people view themselves, their rights, and capabilities.
- **Power with:** (friends, unions, grassroots organizations)
  - This describes collective action or agency and includes both the psychological and political power that comes from being united. ‘Power with’ is often used to describe how those faced with overt or covert domination can act to address their situation: from joining together with others, through building shared understandings, to planning and taking collective action.
- **Power for:** (advocates, social workers, teachers)
  - When you use your ability to achieve purpose to do something helpful to someone else, you are exercising power for.

Activity 1.4.1

Reading Response Question

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to this question. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

- Give an example of a time when you have experienced each form of power (power over, power with, and power for) and share what you think about that form of power.

Quotes on Power

Below are some quotes from successful organizers to help you reflect on the nature of power. They are from the civil rights organizer Martin Luther King Jr.; the formerly enslaved organizer against slavery, Frederick Douglass; and the contemporary organizer Alicia Garza. Garza was made famous for coming up with the slogan "Black Lives Matter."

Martin Luther King Jr.

Martin Luther King Jr. (1929 –1968) was an American Baptist minister, civil rights activist, and political philosopher who was a leader of the civil rights movement from 1955 until his assassination in 1968. He advanced civil rights for people of color in the United States through the use of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience against Jim Crow laws and other forms of legalized discrimination.

A Black church leader, King participated in and led marches for the right to vote, desegregation, labor rights, and other civil rights. He oversaw the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott and became the first president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). King was one of the leaders of the 1963 March on Washington, where he delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, and helped organize two of the three Selma to Montgomery marches during the 1965 Selma voting rights movement. The civil rights movement achieved pivotal legislative gains in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

In 1968, King was planning a national occupation of Washington, D.C., to be called the Poor People's Campaign, when he was assassinated on April 4 in Memphis, Tennessee.



Figure 1.4.2: A powerful capture of one of the most inspiring speeches from Dr. MLK Jr. which continues to inspire many movements and individuals. (Public Domain; USIA (NARA) via flickr)

This quote is from his Book *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos to Community* (1968).

> "Power, properly understood, is the ability to achieve purpose. It is the strength required to bring about social, political, or economic changes. In this sense power is not only desirable but necessary in order to implement the demands of

love and justice. One of the greatest problems of history is that the concepts of love and power are usually contrasted as polar opposites. Love is identified with a resignation of power and power with a denial of love. What is needed is a realization that power without love is reckless and abusive and that love without power is sentimental and anemic. Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice. Justice at its best is power correcting everything that stands against love."

Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass (1818- 1895) was an American social reformer, abolitionist, orator, writer, and statesman. He was the most important leader of the movement for African-American civil rights in the 19th century.

After escaping from slavery in Maryland in 1838, Douglass became a national leader of the abolitionist movement in Massachusetts and New York and gained fame for his oratory and incisive antislavery writings. Accordingly, he was described by abolitionists in his time as a living counterexample to claims by supporters of slavery that enslaved people lacked the intellectual capacity to function as independent American citizens. Northerners at the time found it hard to believe that such a great orator had once been enslaved. It was in response to this disbelief that Douglass wrote his first autobiography. Douglass wrote three autobiographies describing his experiences as an enslaved person. Douglass also actively supported women's suffrage, and he held several public offices.

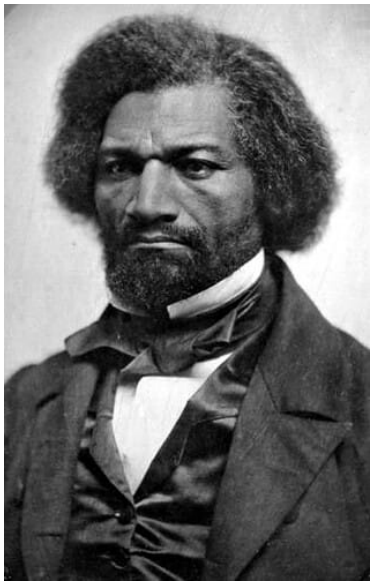


Figure 1.4.3: Since his early childhood, Frederick Douglass was interested in learning and was able to learn the alphabet at the age of 12, planting the initial seed of education and the fight for liberation. (CC BY 2.0; Mike Licht via flickr)

This is one of the most famous quotes from Douglass' speech in Canandaigua, New York, August 3 1857, which has been preserved in The Frederick Douglass Papers archive:

"Let me give you a word of the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all-absorbing, and for the time being, putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. In the light of these ideas, Negroes will be hunted at the North, and held and flogged at the South so long as they submit to those devilish outrages, and make no resistance, either moral or physical. Men may not get all they pay for in this world; but they must certainly pay for all they get. If

> we ever get free from the oppressions and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if needs be, by our lives and the lives of others."

Alicia Garza

Alicia Garza (1981-) is an American civil rights activist and writer known for co-founding the Black Lives Matter movement. She is a recognized advocate for social and racial justice, with a particular focus on issues affecting marginalized communities, including Black women, LGBTQ+ people, and immigrants. Garza is also a writer and public speaker. She has written extensively on issues related to race, gender, and social justice, and her work has appeared in numerous publications. Her editorial writing has been published by *Time*, *Mic*, *Marie Claire*, *Elle*, *Essence*, *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, *The Feminist Wire*, *Rolling Stone*, *HuffPost*, and *Truthout*.

Garza has worked with organizations such as the National Domestic Workers Alliance and the Black Futures Lab, which focuses on building political power for Black communities. She has also engaged in community organizing efforts and initiatives aimed at creating systemic change and challenging inequality.

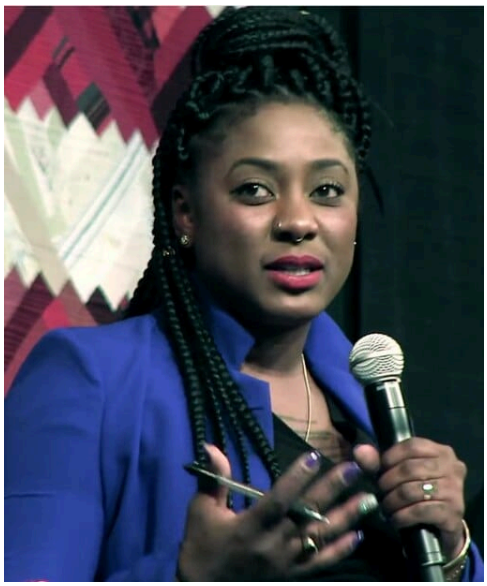


Figure 1.4.4: Alicia Garza has traveled around the country giving speeches about the work she has done with the BLM movement and inspiring others to advocate for those most affected by police brutality. (CC BY 3.0; Citizen University via Wikimedia Commons)

This quote is from Garza's book *The Purpose of Power* (2020).

> "Today I am obsessed with power- Black power to be specific. I believe that Black communities have the potential to unlock a new democracy, a new civil society, and a new economy in the United States. I believe that Black communities have the power not just to save the country but to lead the country. I used to be a cynic. As I was developing my worldview, developing my ideas, working in communities, I used to believe that there was no saving America, and I had no desire to lead America.
>
> Over the last decade, that cynicism has transformed into a profound hope. It is not the kind of hope that merely believes that there is something better out there somewhere like the great land of Oz. It is a hope that is clear-eyed, a hope that propels me. It is the hope that organizers carry, and hope that understands that what we are up against is mighty and that what we are up against will not go away quietly into the night just because we will it so. No, it is a hope that knows that we have no other choice but to fight, to try to unlock the potential of real change.
>
> I know there is hope because I have helped to unlock a potential that I did not really think was possible, even as I pushed for it the potential for other Black people to see that we are worthy beyond measure and to allow that hope, that merciless hope, to push us forward. I have seen what can happen when we crack the code that allows others to believe that they are exactly who we need in order to bring about change in this country. We can transform power so that it is no longer producing misery around the world."

Activity 1.4.2

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

- Read each of the quotes on power and write a paragraph on your thoughts about each quote.

References

Luther Kind Jr, Martin. *Where do We Go From Here: Chaos to Community*. Beacon Press, 1967.

Douglass, Frederick. From the speech on West India Emancipation, Canadaigua, New York. 1857.

Garza, Alicia. *The Purpose of Power: How We Come Together When We Fall Apart*. One World, 2020.

This page titled 1.4: Power is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.5: Liberation Theory Part 1

Introduction to Ideas for Action

As we engage in community organizing, we need to be clear about the goals of our work. Having an understanding of the major forms of domination influencing society will help you understand the deep systems in place that anchor the problems we are fighting against. People don't just have trouble affording housing because they don't manage their money well. There is not enough housing available at prices people can afford. There are deep problems in how our society is organized that have to do with imbalances of power, which make housing unaffordable for many people. Understanding these deeply entrenched systems will help us to see where to put our energy to change society to work for all of us.

Note

The following is a short excerpt from the introduction to the book "Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change" by Cynthia Kaufman.

When I went to my first meeting about the growing wars in Central America, I was nineteen years old and had never been involved in a political group before. At that time, my reaction was a simple humanitarian horror that people were being murdered and that my government was on the side of the murderers. Before I knew it, I was being recruited to form a chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador in the area north of Los Angeles, where I lived. I had no idea what I was doing or how to go about forming an organization. Fortunately, I was put in touch with a few other young and inexperienced people from the local community college who had already begun to organize. They had just arranged an educational forum on El Salvador. One of the speakers lived in my community and had been very involved in the movement to stop the Vietnam War. As I listened to his stories of doing social change work back in those days, I realized how much our group could benefit from the involvement of people with more organizing experience.

Through this work, I got to know many people who had been involved in the radical social movements of the 1960s and others who had come directly from the revolutionary movements of Central America. I felt fascinated by the ideas and histories that appeared to be second nature to more seasoned activists. They had a whole vocabulary of historical events, famous people, and political positions that I had never heard of. They talked about the Russian Revolution, Emma Goldman, mysterious countries I didn't know existed; they argued over violence and pacifism; people would be dismissed as out of touch, with labels such as "sectarian" or "Maoist." At first I found it all very intimidating. How could I be a part of this movement if I had no idea what they were all talking about?

As I became more involved, my understanding of the world was completely shattered. Where I had once believed that the US government was democratic and that it promoted democracy around the world, I began to see it as controlled by evil forces and wreaking havoc on the world. In order to make sense out of my new awareness, I began to read. I read books about anarchism, Marxism, the Spanish Civil War, and feminism. My reading was scattered, and the more I read, the more I realized I still had to learn. The most important thing I gained from all of this reading was a new framework for understanding the world. I no longer saw the United States as a benign force for good, nor did I see it as simply a force of pointless evil. I began to gain a new, fairly coherent picture of the world that included concepts such as imperialism, colonialism, corporate influence over the media, and ideology. These concepts were crucial for forming a new sense of meaning.

At the time when I became involved, there were many people around me who had been involved in the movements of the 1960s. And though many had come to see limits in what they had accomplished, they nevertheless had seen some major social transformations—the end of the eight-year-long Vietnam War, for one—happen before their eyes and as a result of their actions. As that time recedes into history, and textbooks and TV movies portray '60s activism as nothing more than naïveté and a bad fashion statement, the possibility that social movements can make a positive difference is increasingly hard to believe.

Mainstream media rarely represent social movements without distorting them—and the theories associated with them—beyond recognition. Still, when activism becomes too widespread to ignore—as it did in 1999 when tens of thousands of protesters shut down the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle—popular dissent and the possibility of making a difference becomes obvious even to the mainstream. Yet the intellectual tools needed to turn this discontent into a plan for action remain virtually

inaccessible. Those interested in reading about politics find few contemporary theorists whose writing is easily understood. In meetings as well as in written materials, newcomers encounter people who use information and political jargon as a weapon to gain social status and intimidate others. And they see how intellectuals sometimes put themselves above people with less education. One easy response to all this is to become anti-intellectual, yet the fact is that we are always using ideas and theories. If we don't reflect on them, we are likely to be using ideas that will not serve us well.

As people begin their engagement with movements for social justice, they often struggle to understand what they are doing and why they are doing it. Without some basic literacy in social theory, it is easy to be confused about what sorts of issues one should be working on, how this work will ever end up making a difference, and how the things one doesn't like in the world are related to each other. Confronted with the corporate corruption of our government and declining avenues for democratic change, many people choose to drop out of politics altogether. Popular media portray cynicism as cool. The majority of Americans feel hopeless, ineffective, or both.

Understanding the issues from a historical point of view and using theory to analyze them can be very empowering. If we know the places where people's thinking has gotten stuck in the past, we are less likely to repeat their mistakes. If we understand the references people are using, we are more likely to challenge and question, and less likely to be intimidated into agreement. If we understand the underlying issues in a given political situation, we are in a better position to analyze it for ourselves and to understand what should be done.

When I first began to study radical ideas and history, I had to remind myself that I was never going to know about everything. I needed to get used to the situation of knowing that there was a lot I didn't know, and many theoretical issues about which I wasn't sure of my opinion. That is a lesson I carried into the writing of this book. The book presents issues that I'm still wondering about and great debates that I can see both sides of.

There aren't any simple answers to political questions, but there are tools and points of reference that can enrich our understanding of what is going on. I hope this book offers a coherent analysis of the issues and theoretical innovations of current US social justice movements and encourages you to investigate further. People can disagree about important issues and still be on the same side politically. They can accept some ideas from a thinker while rejecting others. When activists use a black-and-white framework, with theorists already pegged as either good or bad, they don't push themselves to do the hard but rewarding work of putting the world together in a way that makes deep sense for themselves.

There are habits of mind that I think are important for a healthy engagement with the political world. One of the most important is openness. When we think we have all the answers, it is easy to become dogmatic and authoritarian. The other is humility. By this, I mean holding on to a sense that no matter how much we know, other people have experiences and perspectives that we have much to learn from. This openness to complexity can also serve us well in political situations, where we learn to value the multiplicity of perspectives that different people bring to a situation.

If I believe that there are simple political truths, then I am likely to make judgments about other people before I have really listened to their perspectives. A vision of the world that includes the possibility for change requires a major reorientation in how we see the world. The biggest reorientation we need is one that enables us to see the ways that ordinary people, when they work together, can make huge changes in their society.

We are encouraged to see history as being made by amazing individuals, by the inevitable flow of things, or by government action. The fact that ordinary people acting together to achieve goals is a crucial part of the history of human society is rarely part of the picture we are given. Yet if we look at the positive changes that have been made in the recent past, almost all were the result of collective struggle.

Women didn't just get the vote in modern electoral democracies when the time for it was inevitable. Rather, thousands of ordinary women and men who supported their cause, in countries all around the world, organized and agitated to get the vote. The elementary school version of the civil rights movement is that Martin Luther King Jr. made it all happen through the sheer force of his personal morality. What's too often left out is that King himself operated in the context of a broad popular movement made up of many ordinary people pushing for what they believed was right. The movement made King as much as King made the movement.

We can see these distortions in the way that Rosa Parks's story is told. Many people learn in school that Rosa Parks was an African American woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who was so tired coming home from work one day that she refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white rider. She was jailed for her action, which led to a boycott of the bus system that lasted more than a year until segregated seating was abolished.

What we aren't told is that Parks was an activist who had gone through organizer training at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, that she was a member of the NAACP, and that King and his organization were looking for a case to draw attention to the issue of segregation. While it wasn't especially uncommon for African Americans to resist giving up their seats— conflicts over segregation happened all the time—what was special about Parks's case was that she was part of a movement to challenge segregation.

Rosa Parks was not an amazing individual when she took action. She was a person of conscience acting as part of a movement. When she refused to give up her seat, she didn't know how the situation would play itself out, but she knew she could count on the movement to back her up. When we're in the heat of a movement, we often don't know the importance of what we're doing. Partly that's because it really is unpredictable how our actions will add up to lasting social change. But we also lack the most basic information about how the actions of those working for change in the past have added up to many of the things we take for granted in our lives.

The eight-hour workday was one of the major goals of the labor movement from the nineteenth century, when the struggle began, until it was enacted in the twentieth. In contrast with the US Labor Day in September, people throughout the rest of the world celebrate International Workers' Day on May 1, to commemorate the May 1886 demonstration for the eight-hour day in Chicago's Haymarket Square and the four anarchists, whom the Illinois authorities hanged for their alleged association with a bomb that exploded at that demonstration. The Haymarket incident was just one of the many events that took place as thousands of ordinary labor movement activists fought to achieve the eight-hour workday. Surprisingly few people in the United States have any idea that it was the labor movement that enabled us to have some reasonable time off from work.

Probably most of the people involved in the movements that have shaped our lives for the better doubted their abilities to make a difference and were ridiculed or persecuted for thinking that they could make a difference. Yet ordinary people acting together for common goals have accomplished incredible amounts. There is nothing magical about making social change happen. What is required is a sense of hope that it is possible to make a difference, and some understanding of the world that helps orient our choices about what kinds of actions to take.

It is easier to see how our actions can make a difference when we can see how the actions of others have made a difference in the past, and when we can understand activists as ordinary people like ourselves.

Activity 1.5.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. How does it feel to you to think about being involved with social change?
2. What do you find intimidating about it?
3. What do you think about how the story of Rosa Parks is taught in school?
4. What do you relate to or find interesting in the Introduction to *Ideas for Action*?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change, 2nd Ed" by Cynthia Kaufman is copyrighted. It has been reproduced with permission from the author and publisher

This page titled 1.5: Liberation Theory Part 1 is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.6: Liberation Theory Part 2

Capitalism, Freedom, and the Good Life

Capitalism is an economic and political system that allows production to be organized for the purpose of creating wealth, rather than for meeting people's needs. It requires a political system to keep institutions in place that support profit-making. Many people suppose capitalism to be natural and inevitable, and they think that capitalism increases our freedom. This section shows the historical roots of capitalism, challenges its connection to freedom, and explores ways to create a world beyond capitalism.

Note

The following is a short excerpt from Chapters 2 and 4 of the book *Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change* by Cynthia Kaufman.

In 2002, I was involved in a struggle in Oakland, California, where I lived, to protect the rights of tenants. For the previous decade, the economy in the Bay Area had been booming. Despite the collapse of the computer and internet-related industries, a lot of money had poured in, and many people who had lived here for generations were displaced by well-heeled newcomers. In Oakland, we had a moderate form of rent control. The landlord could raise our rent only about 3 percent a year, but whenever an apartment went vacant, he or she could raise it to whatever the market would bear. My landlord evicted one of my neighbors, then turned around and rented out the apartment for $600 more a month. African Americans were leaving the city at an alarming rate, many returning to the South.

The organization I worked with, Just Cause Oakland, passed an ordinance that made it illegal to evict people unless they had done something illegal or destructive. As I talked with people on the street about the issue, the tenants eagerly grabbed the petition out of my hands. They were angry and afraid of losing their place to live. But many people I gave the petition to felt differently. They rented out property, and they'd say, "It's my property, shouldn't I be able to do what I want?"

I found it difficult to counter those arguments in a way that made sense to property owners. Belief in the rights of property owners runs deep in this society. Many of the landlords claim that if tenants want more security, they should buy their own homes. They also argue that rent control is the problem. If we were to just let the market work, there wouldn't be such a difference between the rents people pay now and the amount a new tenant would pay. And they believe that if the market were able to do its work, then, somehow, there would be homes available at the prices people could pay.

This is Adam Smith's theory of "the invisible hand of the market": when markets are allowed to operate, resources appear where they are most needed as if put there by an invisible hand. In the housing market, this theory assumes that some landlords will always choose to rent their properties more cheaply than others.

Yet Smith himself knew that markets could accomplish only some social goals. Markets will not provide goods to people who have no money. They won't make it profitable to provide decent homes for the poor, at least not when the wealth gap is as extreme as it currently is in the United States, when the wealthy are willing to pay incredible sums for center-city condominiums.

And markets will never promote forms of life that have nothing to do with buying and selling.

The reaction to Oakland's anti-eviction petition was the clearest example of a class difference that I had seen in years. You could predict with incredible accuracy what viewpoint someone held by knowing which class position he or she occupied. The experience also reminded me of how intensely the dominant view of freedom is mixed up with capitalism.

For the landlords, the law we were trying to pass would indeed limit their freedom. To them, freedom means the ability to do what they want with what's theirs. Landlords believe that the tenants are free to buy homes if they want. And if they can't afford homes, they are free to get a job or go to school to get a better job so that they will be able to do so in the future.

One of the amazing things about the views of freedom that develop in a society dominated by capitalism is that those views focus on the freedoms of those with power. The freedom to live in your rented apartment without fear of eviction somehow doesn't

count. That's because people thinking according to a capitalist logic associate freedom mostly with the freedom of property owners to dispose of their property as they please. This is supposedly fair because everyone has the right to own property. So we are all equal. This way of thinking hides the mechanisms that make it easy for some people to own property and harder for others. And it hides the ways that other sorts of freedoms are limited by this primacy of property.

Those of us brought up in a society dominated by capitalist logic are taught from an early age that capitalism equals freedom, that a free-market economy is the only way for society to produce wealth. We are surrounded by a dazzling array of efficient machines and cool products. We are told that capitalism allows anyone—with effort—to have everything he or she dreams of. And we are told that the alternatives involve poverty, stagnation, boredom, and a police state.

Capitalism has led to an unprecedented development of useful machines, technological abilities, and an endless supply of desirable consumer products. No one in the nineteenth century could have dreamed of the things we now take for granted, from smartphones to Botox, prosthetic limbs to chicken nuggets. The idea we are generally taught is that capitalism is the magic machine that has given us all of these things, and freedom, too. Capitalism means a free market—and, somehow, a free society.

Early ideas about capitalism and freedom

People didn't always associate capitalism with freedom. When it was first coming into being in England in the seventeenth century, many people saw capitalism as taking away their freedoms. For them, members of the rising capitalist class were thieves. While many people worked as serfs under brutal conditions of feudalism during this time, peasants who lived outside of the feudal estates could be relatively self-sufficient. Those living on land known as the commons, which officially belonged to the king, were permitted to build cottages, gather firewood, hunt, and even farm. With the rise of capitalist agriculture, these common lands were increasingly fenced or otherwise enclosed by the aristocracy and entrepreneurs. Deprived of their farming and grazing land, the only option left to the poor was to sell their time for wages. Working for wages was an entirely new arrangement, and the formerly independent and largely self-sufficient laborers resented it tremendously.

According to David Mulder, "Vulnerable to fluctuations in price and wage, dependent on seasonal work, housed in rude one-room cottages, shunted to the fringes of the manor, landless wage laborers had no stable niche in the rural economy."1 Gerrard Winstanley was one of the most renowned anticapitalists of this early period. He was a writer and organizer, and a founder of the movement known as the Diggers. Winstanley had a vision of a society in which everyone had access to the resources each needed to have a decent life. He saw capitalism as taking away this access and forcing people to be even more dominated by the wealthy than they had been before. In 1648, Winstanley and a group of thirty to forty people decided to take back the land they believed to be rightfully theirs. They occupied a piece of unused land called St. George's Hill in the town of Cobham, building huts and planting crops. They intended to set up a communal society in which everyone would work the land and share what they produced. They hoped that the idea of "digging" would spread to all of England and that people would begin to see the error of private ownership.

Winstanley was a religious thinker and saw private property as sinful. "In the beginning, the great Creator Reason made the Earth to be a common treasury." He believed that the wealthy landowners were only able to have their wealth by forcing others to work for them, and he thought that digging would undermine the whole system of capitalist wage labor. Winstanley addressed the landowning class when he wrote,

> The power of enclosing land and owning property was brought into creation by your ancestors by the sword; which first did murder their fellow creatures, men, and after plunder or steal away their land, and left this land successively to you, their children. And therefore, though you did not kill or thieve, yet you hold that cursed thing in your hand by the power of the sword.

Just as the Diggers' crops were beginning to bear fruit, English soldiers, supported by local landowners, went to St. George's Hill and destroyed the encampment, injuring several, destroying the huts, and trampling on the crops. At the time of the Digger resistance to capitalism, there was a three-way battle going on in England between the old feudal aristocracy, the rising capitalist class, and the poor. In the English Civil War, the aristocracy had largely sided with the monarchy, while the rising capitalist class sided with the parliament. They wanted to overthrow the monarchy in favor of a parliamentary system that would act in their interests. In order to have the power to overthrow the monarchy, though, they needed the help of the poor.

Many poor people joined Oliver Cromwell's pro-Parliament army because they were told that they were fighting for liberty and access to land for all. At every step of the way, though, the wealthier members of the movement ended up betraying the interests of the poor people's organizations.

One of the most brilliant theorists of nascent capitalism was John Locke. Locke was born in 1632. He was trained as a medical doctor, but made his living for much of his adult life as an assistant to the Earl of Shaftesbury—one of the important leaders of the English Parliament. He spent many years in France in exile because his ideas were seen as undermining the power of the monarchy. Locke is most famous for developing theories of natural rights and individual freedom.

And yet, he was an investor in the transatlantic slave trade and helped write the constitution for Carolina, a document that included slavery.6 As advisor to Shaftesbury, he advocated for the "enclosures," which threw poor people in England off their land, and he advocated for the expropriation of the lands of indigenous peoples.

From around 1600 through 1850, many European thinkers were interested in ideas of freedom, democracy, individual rights, progress, and politics based on reason rather than traditional authority. This period, called the Enlightenment, has been seen as the birthplace of much that is good in the European tradition. Until very recently, social justice advocates have mostly seen their work as extending the values of the Enlightenment.

Yet anticolonial thinkers have long pointed out that there is a deep contradiction between Enlightenment values and the practices of the very thinkers who espoused them. Many of the same people who supported capitalism and Enlightenment ideas also supported colonialism and slavery. During the Enlightenment, Europe was engaged in some of the most brutal practices in its history: slavery and colonialism. The rise of capitalism in Europe also exacerbated brutal forms of inequality and poverty. As a result of the enclosures, large numbers of previously independent peasants were thrown off their land. Even with the increasing destitution, there remained a shortage of people willing to work under the conditions offered in the new factories. This is one of the reasons England developed the poor laws that effectively outlawed not working for a wage. Poor people were routinely picked up by the police for sleeping outdoors, for not having any obvious means of support, and for vagrancy. They were turned over to poor houses, where they were forced to work.

In Locke's work, we can see all of the complexities and contradictions of a proslavery Enlightenment. In his Two Treatises of Government, Locke makes a powerful argument against the legitimacy of monarchy and feudalism. In the process of making that argument, he lays the foundation for a justification of capitalism, colonialism, and slavery. What is amazing about

Locke's work is that he justifies these things all in the name of freedom. Locke constructs his argument by asking us to imagine we are in a "state of nature" in which people are "all equal and independent [and] no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions."7

This state of nature is what philosophers call a "thought experiment." Locke makes no claims that it ever existed; rather, that we can know our true state by imagining this possibility. Locke argues that this state of independence is our natural state. He wants us to think of ourselves as individuals first and as members of families and of society second. This undermines any sense of social solidarity and mutual obligation and challenges the idea that the world belongs to all of us to figure out how to use and share. In his justification for private property, Locke argues that although God gave us all the Earth to share, those who make the most of God's gifts deserve them the most.

In England in this period, there were many landlords interested in "improving" their property—in making it more profitable. New agricultural techniques made this development possible, and new class relationships allowed these wealthy landowners to rise to political power. Locke was a part of that "improving" class.

In her book The Origin of Capitalism, Ellen Meiksins Wood points out that the word "improve" in English comes from a French root that meant doing something for profit.8 According to Locke, the indigenous people of the Americas did not have a right to their land because they were not generating excess for the market. The same could be said for the poor in England. The land belongs to those who can make the most profit from it or to the capitalist landlords.

Locke's theory of natural rights is another aspect of his argument that helps support the domination inherent in capitalism. He claims that those with reason will all be in a state of nature with each other—meaning that they will all respect each other's natural rights to life, liberty, and property. Some people, however, cannot be expected to use their reason to come to this conclusion. These people are like lions of the forest and cannot be trusted. Because of this, these people are in a state of war with the rest of humanity, and "reasonable" people can do whatever they want to protect themselves.9

It was this argument that Locke used to justify slavery. The idea that some people are rational and to be treated with respect, while others who think differently cannot be trusted, is a fundamental part of the ideology of the Enlightenment.

Locke wants us to see society as an aggregation of independent, reasonable people, all with their own land, entering into contracts voluntarily, as all parties desire them. We are to see these independent people as meeting in an imagined state of nature. By

asking us to think in this way, Locke is asking us to wish away history, and he is helping us develop the habit, very important as capitalism develops, of not seeing the complex realities of social relations.

Locke's philosophy, by positing the state of nature, encourages us to look at people as if they had no history. According to his view, people choose to enter into and exit from contracts. In reality, people are often forced by circumstances and by the law into situations that they do not choose. This habit of making history invisible and supposing that we are all born free and equal is another important part of capitalist ideology. When people complain about inequality, we are told that everyone has the same chance to become wealthy and that wealth is based on our ability and desire to work hard. This leads to the idea that those with wealth should be able to do what they want with the wealth, without any obligations to others. Of course, those without wealth are also free to do what they want with their wealth, never mind that they don't have any.

The vision of society as an aggregation of individuals with no history is, of course, a myth. Even in a society with a large capitalist sector, there are networks of relationships that bind us together. What is unusual about life in such a society is that these interconnections are erased by the dominant ways of thinking. We end up not seeing the social mechanisms that give some people more opportunities to succeed than others. And we end up not noticing the ways that we are all coerced to compete in a particular set of economic relations that we do not choose. Nor are we encouraged to see the ways in which people cooperate and help one another in all spheres of life.

An Enlightenment belief in progress might encourage us to think that Locke and his capitalist class made the world better by overthrowing feudalism. This view, however, would leave out the fact that at that time in England, there was a far more radical alternative: that of the Diggers and many other radical anticapitalists.

According to the British historian Christopher Hill, there were, we may oversimplify, two revolutions in mid-seventeenth- century England. The one which succeeded established the sacred rights of property (abolition of feudal tenures, no arbitrary taxation), gave political power to the propertied (sovereignty of Parliament and common law, abolition of prerogative courts), and removed all impediments to the triumph of the ideology of the men of property—the protestant ethic. There was, however, another revolution, which never happened, though from time to time it threatened. This might have established communal property, a far wider democracy in political and legal institutions, might have disestablished the state church, and rejected the protestant ethic. People who were a part of this second revolution knew full well the problems with capitalism; they saw members of the emerging capitalist class take their land.



Figure 1.6.1: In countries that operate on capitalism, the needs of people are not met. The focus is on profit instead of people. This leads to a large number of unhoused people even in wealthy cities like New York or Los Angeles. (CC0 1.0; Wilfredor via Wikimedia Commons)

Challenging Capitalism

There are many important things we can do to fight capitalism. A few of them are easy, and indeed some of them are huge tasks, but all of them are things that many organizations are doing right now, that can be built upon to develop significant challenges to the reproduction of capitalism. Some of the things we can do to challenge capitalism are to:

Promote the use of alternative economic indicators

If people are told every day in the news that the cause of their experience of poverty is a lack of economic growth, they will support pro-growth policies. We need to help people distinguish what is good for social well-being from what is good for capitalist growth. One important way to wean people off growth is to promote the use of better economic indicators. Sometimes growth leads to more jobs, and sometimes it doesn't. But increases in wellbeing are always good. If we measure an economy based on quantitative measures of things associated with well-being, such as literacy, happiness, and longevity, then we will be able to figure out which policies are good for our economy and distinguish them from policies that increase capitalist activity, which may or may not improve well-being.

Develop social safety nets

In countries without strong national health care systems and other systems of benefits, a full-time job in the formal economy becomes the required path to secure existence. In countries such as Bhutan, where there are strong social bonds that allow people to care for one another, full-time employment is not necessary to obtain this security. Similarly, in strongly social democratic countries, such as Sweden, or socialist countries such as Cuba, it isn't either, because the state takes care of those things. There are a variety of paths to a social safety net, but lessening the economic dependency trap of capitalism requires that they be developed in some way.

Reduce work time

Struggles for shorter workdays can have huge benefits. The move in the industrialized countries to the eight-hour day led to huge improvements in well-being. France's move in 2000 to a thirty-five-hour workweek, without a reduction in pay, was a major advance. Shorter accepted workdays have a variety of great benefits. The individual spends less time working in alienated labor and so has a better life. Also, employers can hire someone else for the other hours, and so shortening the workday can lead to less unemployment. This is especially important in countries with high rates of youth unemployment, because older people have the "good jobs." And generally, the more hours people work, the larger their carbon footprint.

Develop community capital

A community that is under-resourced will go to great lengths to entice companies to locate there, even if the company offers very little to the community. The mere hope of jobs and maybe a small amount of tax revenue is often enough. But what if governments or local communities were to have their own capital to invest in socially useful projects? In contrast to finance capital that is always looking for a short-term return, or venture capital that is looking for the next big thing to generate profits, the more resources we have in patient capital, that comes from communities and from taxes, the more can be invested in the solidarity economy.

Wean ourselves from consumer culture

Given the billions of dollars spent on advertising and on commercial media that promote a high consumption lifestyle, it isn't surprising that many people think that the path to happiness is in ever-higher levels of consumption. High levels of social solidarity and connection are far more important for happiness than high levels of consumption. Above a fairly low level of material culture, money does not contribute to happiness. People need a sense of security, access to food and other basic needs, and a sense of community. Some level of material wealth is needed for those things, but much of what we spend our time producing and consuming does not have any positive impact on our well-being. Working to challenge the cultural forces that lead people to believe consumption is the path to happiness is an important part of a move beyond capitalism.

Promote equality

If the United States currently had completely equal levels of personal wealth, every family of four would make $200,000 per year. If that family were to work half-time, they could have $100,000 per year. Similarly, if worker productivity grows by 3 percent per year, then every twenty-five years, we could cut our work time in half if the benefits of those productivity gains were to go to workers. That means full-time workers could all make their present salary while working twenty-hour weeks. Policies that promote equality include progressive taxation as well as labor struggles to have a larger percentage of profits go to workers.

Challenge ruling-class actions

There is no way we can build a solidarity economy on a planet whose atmosphere has been destroyed by the fossil fuel industry. Similarly, we cannot build a solidarity economy that is based on things such as worker-owned cooperatives, as long as procapitalist forces are able to manipulate governments worldwide to support policies that favor transnational corporations and free trade agreements that make small-scale production uncompetitive.

Conclusion

As we build the new, we must continue to challenge the old. As long as growth and employment rates are the measures of a healthy economy, our environmental interests will be at war with our economic interests, and what is good for capital will be seen to be the same as what is good for people. We need to wean ourselves off the belief that GDP and more work are crucial to improving people's well-being. But we must also transform society such that building solidarity projects can be a real way for people to meet their needs. There are social movements working in all of the areas needed to lessen the economic dependency trap of capitalism. If we see the ways that our work is linked, we are more likely to build solidarity between our movements. And if we have a clear sense of a path forward, we can be more optimistic that our work can add up to real lasting change. If we attend to the context in which small-scale change takes place, and engage in large-scale struggles even as we build that small-scale change, we can build broad-based support for a real transition away from capitalism.

Activity 1.6.1

Reading Response Question

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What was meaningful to you in this reading?
2. How do you think capitalism has impacted your life?
3. Do you think capitalism increases or decreases your freedom?
4. What do you think of the suggestions for ways to challenge capitalism?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change, 2nd Ed" by Cynthia Kaufman is copyrighted. It has been reproduced with permission from the author and publisher.

This page titled 1.6: Liberation Theory Part 2 is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.7: Liberation Theory Part 3

Theorizing and Fighting Racism

Racism is much more than a set of prejudices people hold. It is deeply entrenched in the fabric of society. Challenging racism involves transforming those deep structures.

Note

The following is a short excerpt from Chapter 5 of the book *Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change* by Cynthia Kaufman.

On February 26, 2012, seventeen-year-old Trayvon Martin was walking to his father's fiancée's home where he was staying, in Miami Gardens, Florida. He was on the way back from a convenience store where he had bought iced tea and candy. Martin was confronted by George Zimmerman, who was a neighborhood watch leader. Martin was African American and the neighborhood was largely white. Zimmerman called the police and was told to leave Martin alone. Zimmerman decided to follow Martin anyway. He challenged Martin's presence in the neighborhood, shot and killed him, and then claimed he had done it in self-defense. Police accepted Zimmerman's claim of self-defense and did not arrest him. Outrage around the injustice of the situation ignited protest and other forms of mobilization all around the country. Local officials were pressured to indict Zimmerman, and eventually Zimmerman was brought to trial. That trial resulted in a verdict of "not guilty," setting off another wave of protest.

In the following years, the country began to focus on what had been a largely silent epidemic of black men being murdered by police and their deaths not being taken seriously by the legal system. When Michael Brown was murdered by the police in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014, that town's legal system came under federal scrutiny. It became clear that not only were the police able to murder black men with impunity, but the local government was engaged in systematic harassment of the local population by charging high fees for the smallest of infractions, so that the poor people of color were largely funding government services. A few months after Brown's death, Eric Garner was put into a chokehold by New York City police. He died, shortly after saying "I can't breathe."

Responding to these and several other horrific high-profile cases, Alicia Garza used her Twitter account to communicate with friends. She started #BlackLivesMatter, which became a slogan for a movement to challenge police violence, and other injustices in the legal system, including mass incarceration.

Why was it that many whites could empathize with Zimmerman's concern that Martin was in the neighborhood? How did it come to be that almost one African American person a day was killed by police? How did the country move from having a very successful civil rights movement in the middle of the twentieth century, to a situation where the United States has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, with over 40 percent of those incarcerated being African American?

Just before this time, many people in the United States had begun to claim that our nation was "postracial." Having elected an African American for president, and seeing many famous and powerful people in the public eye of all races, some had begun to think that racism was a problem on its way out, and that the best way to deal with it was by not talking about it.

For as long as racism has existed, there have been people working hard to challenge it, and many of those challenges have been successful. From the movement to abolish slavery to the movement to allow Chinese immigrants to become citizens, people of color have achieved major victories in this struggle. And, while people of color have usually been the ones leading these struggles, many whites have also dedicated their lives to challenging racism.

Mab Segrest is one such activist. In Memoir of a Race Traitor, Segrest tells the story of her work fighting the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis in the 1980s. Born and raised in Tuskegee, Alabama, her antiracist politics were forged in family battles over the civil rights movement. In sharp contrast to the rest of her family, she empathized with the black kids who desegregated her high school just as she entered ninth grade, and with the four girls killed in a church basement by racist bombers that same month in Birmingham, Alabama. After moving to North Carolina for college, Segrest realized that she was a lesbian and recognized the way that this difference from the mainstream further estranged her from the oppressive politics she had been raised to uphold.

In 1984, Segrest helped found North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence and became its first staff member. For many years, Segrest drove all over the state investigating acts of racist violence and or ganizing to challenge them. Looking back at that period in her life, Segrest writes, "What I uncovered in North Carolina in the 1980s will be our legacy into the next century, unless we intervene. The racism, the homophobia, the hatred of Jews and women, the greed accelerate, and they sicken us all. . . .There is a lot to be done, but how we go about it is also important. Because all we have ever had is each other." Reflecting on the title of her book, Segrest writes, "It is not my people, it's the idea of race I'm betraying."

The idea of race

As we have seen in previous chapters, racism has been and continues to be an important part of the US political landscape. Yet, race has not always been an important social category. People's consciousness of the distinctions between their group and others on the basis of physical differences has developed over time, and the values assigned to those differences have been determined more by politics than by science or common sense.

The concept of race has had such powerful effects on our social system that it is hard to imagine a world without racial categorization. The idea of the human species being divided into biologically distinct races goes back only about as far as the conquest of the Americas. Before that, people hated one another on the basis of all sorts of differences, but the nature of those dislikes was not centered on the idea of race.

We often think of race as the description of the natural differences that resulted from human beings evolving in different parts of the world, but biologists do not accept that popular concept of race. People who believe in race as biological fact have never come to agreement on how many races there are or how they are divided. Where on the globe do people stop being Asian and start being white? Are Arabs white or Asian or African? Aren't Native Americans from Asia, and what about Jews and biracial people? Which physical differences mark someone as white as opposed to black? Although we usually refer to race as being marked by skin color, many "white" people have darker skin than many "black" people do. Our racial designations are built upon a complex mixture of skin color, hair texture, eyelid shape, lip shape, noses, family histories, geographic accidents, and political ideology.

All of these complications lead Michael Omi and Howard Winant to assert that

> race is a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies. Although the concept of race invokes seemingly biologically based human characteristics (so-called phenotypes), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process.

To say that our popular ideas about race are not based in biological truths does not mean that race does not exist as a social reality. Race has become one of the most important axes of social power in the modern world.

Racial formation in the United States

The "discovery" of the Americas by English, Spanish, and other adventurers created such a cultural, economic, and physical dislocation as to produce the first "racial" formation in human history. Linked by their common goal of economic exploitation, the competitive English, Spanish, Dutch, and other explorers all began to see themselves as on the same side in one sense. Omi and Winant argue that at the time of Columbus's first voyage to the Americas,

> the "discovery" signaled a break from previous proto-racial awareness by which Europe contemplated its "others" in a relatively disorganized fashion. The "conquest of America" was not simply an epochal historical event—however unparalleled in importance. It was also the advent of a consolidated social structure of exploitation, appropriation, domination, and signification. Its representation, first in religious terms, later in scientific and political ones, initiated modern racial awareness. It was the inauguration of racialization on a world-historical scale.

Although the eighteenth century in Europe saw the rise of ideas of natural rights, it also saw Europeans increasingly involved in practices of colonialism and slavery. The contradiction between belief in equality and their desire to treat others unequally necessitated the development of increasingly sophisticated systems of justification. The idea that human beings can be divided into fundamentally different types helped solve this problem. Thus, Thomas Jefferson, while arguing for equal rights for "all men" simultaneously argued that there were natural differences between people that should determine how we treat them. "Will not a lover of natural history, then, one who views the gradations in all the animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of Man as distinct as nature has formed them?" The gradations between European and Native American "man" was an essential distinction for those who wanted to expand their fortunes in the American colonies.

From its very beginning, the Anglo-Saxon occupation of North America was in the form of settler colonies. This distinguishes it from colonies in which the conquerors go to a place and set up a system of government with the sole purpose of extracting wealth from the indigenous population. The fundamental premise of a settler colony is that the indigenous people are to be eliminated, and a satellite of the original society is to be set up. The rationale of racial superiority was seen as an adequate excuse for the wholesale slaughter of any indigenous inhabitants.

Institutionalized Racism

Sometimes when people talk about racism, they talk as if it were just a matter of attitudes. It is common for people to see racism as existing because some people believe that other people are inferior. While prejudiced attitudes do exist and are an important part of the picture, the way that racial differences have become woven into the fabric of society is far more important.

Racism is anchored and reproduced in people's psyches, but it is also embedded in our social institutions. Slavery and the extermination of Native Americans are two clear examples of institutionalized racism. They were not motivated by the psychic need of whites to feel superior. Rather, they were based on raw economic interests and sanctioned through Anglo-Saxon legal and religious institutions. The psychological dimension developed alongside the institutional to help rationalize the brutality in the eyes of the dominant group.

When we say that slavery was a form of institutionalized racism, what we mean is that it was not merely perpetuated by individual people on other individual people. Rather, it was built into the legal, political, and economic structures of society. It was enshrined in the Constitution. It was built into property law. Some people were considered property, and others had rights to control them as they would any other piece of property. Racism was institutionalized in the structures that determined who got a formal education and who was not allowed access to school, who was allowed to go to church and who was not allowed to read or study religion, and in legal strictures on who was and who wasn't allowed to marry whom. When we say that racism continues to be institutionalized, we mean that there are structures in society that tend to privilege whites and disadvantage people of color. The "playing field" isn't level; the teams have not had access to the same training. One of the most important contributions of the theory of institutionalized racism is that it takes discussions of race outside of the arena of personal morality. Discussions of racism often bog down when one side sees an example of racism, and the other doesn't see that anyone is acting in an immoral way.

The theory of institutionalized racism says that whites are privileged by the system, whether they like it or not, and that there can be racist outcomes even when no one is acting in a malicious way. Whites are privileged by having better access to good schools and housing, by being considered more intelligent and trustworthy, and by being held up as the social models of beauty. Those of us who are white receive this privilege even when we think it is a terrible thing.

While discussions of racism sometimes lead whites to feel guilty for their privilege, often the best way to deal with privilege is to acknowledge its existence and use it to dismantle the systems that perpetuate it. When white people challenge racism, they are more likely to be taken seriously than are people of color. And, often, simply having a white person acknowledge the racism in a given situation can be a powerful force for making others take it seriously.

These patterns of privilege and disadvantage are structured into society in a variety of ways. We can fight racism more effectively if we understand the different ways that it works. Below, I'll describe five different mechanisms through which institutionalized racism works: overtly biased laws; the rules that organizations use; the legacies of racism that perpetuate unequal outcomes; institutional tolerance for racist actions by people in positions of power; and, finally, the ways that racism is embedded in culture.

To understand how each of these forms of institutional racism works, let's look at the example of housing. Housing segregation is one of the most obvious aspects of racial discrimination at the present time. Where we live has an incredible impact on the quality of the education we receive and the kinds of opportunities we will have later in life. The theory of institutionalized racism can help us understand why housing segregation remains so persistent.

For over one hundred years after slavery ended, much US housing was still segregated by law. Towns had laws that prevented people of color from moving into them. Many of these housing covenants excluded European Jews as well as people of color. In the 1960s, legal challenges began to put an end to this practice.

Although the dismantling of this first type of institutionalized racism—overtly racist laws—has been the law of the land for recent decades, more subtle forms of institutional racism persist. The practices of banks have been some of the most powerful forces keeping housing segregated. At times, bank officers have literally taken maps and drawn a line around neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by people of color; they then refused to offer loans within the area marked by that line. "Redlining," as

this practice is called, and restrictive covenants that don't allow people of color to move into certain neighborhoods are now both illegal. Although some financial institutions and housing developers continue these practices through covert rules—our second form of institutional racism—they can be sued when their practices are discovered.

Often, of course, it is hard to prove that an institution uses such discriminatory rules. And discriminatory outcomes—such as fewer or lower quality home loans for people of color—might be explained by our third category of institutional racism: the lack of a level playing field. Fewer people of color may get housing loans from a particular bank simply because they have less money than white people. People of color might not have enough income to get a bank loan because they are subject to job discrimination, which prevents them from getting promotions. Many people of color have little money for a down payment because their parents were not homeowners. And their parents may not have been homeowners because of overt racist laws from an earlier period. Many of the programs developed in the New Deal to promote home ownership among the lower-middle classes specifically excluded people of color.14 This and other earlier forms of institutional racism have led to tremendous differences in levels of home ownership and, thus, inherited wealth between whites and people of color. These differences in wealth are much greater than the differences in income level that people usually focus on when talking about inequality. According to the Field Guide to the US Economy, "In 2001, some 21% of white households reported having received an inheritance at some time, with an average value of $274,000. Only 8% of African Americans and 3% of Hispanic households had received inheritances, averaging $78,000 and $22,000, respectively."

Finally, a person of color may not get a bank loan as a result of the fourth type of institutionalized racism: individual bank employees may be racist and can choose not to approve loans for people of color, or they can be offered loans with worse terms. The housing market crash of 2008 had dramatically disproportionate effects on communities of color. In that period, people of color were 30 percent more likely than whites with similar credit scores to get loans with bad terms. While this was often a result of personal racism, it becomes institutionalized racism when an institution, the bank in this case, allows the person to act in racist ways. In this case, the institution is complicit in the racist behavior through its passivity. In analyzing this type of action, people often talk about gatekeepers: people in key positions within an institution who prevent the promotion of people of color or who use their institutional power to prevent structural and cultural changes from developing in the institution. We see this especially in professional settings, where there are less objective criteria for an employer's decision-making. Tenure committees at universities are a prime example.

The fifth form of institutionalized racism is the way that racist ideas come to be embedded in and perpetuated through cultural practices. In Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong, James Loewen chronicles the numerous ways that children in our schools are taught a history that centers white experience as normative and minimizes the challenges faced by, and accomplishments of, people of color. Attempts to shift the educational system to fair representation have been an important area of struggle, beginning with some huge victories in having ethnic studies programs at colleges and universities.

Civil Rights

One of the most effective strategies of anti-racism has been the demand for civil rights. While human rights are the protections we believe we deserve simply on the basis of being human, civil rights are the protections we ought to have as members of a society. They are usually thought of as the right to equal protection under the law and the right to freedom from discrimination. The demand for civil rights has been at the core of movements for racial justice since at least the end of slavery.

Much of the power of the concept of civil rights is that it uses dominant ideas of "equality and justice for all," which resonate with large numbers of people in the United States. Martin Luther King Jr. was an expert at using the dominant values of the majority society to build support for radical change. As with demands for equality, demands for civil rights can sound moderate but end up being very radical. By pushing these ideas into new areas, by insisting that they apply to everyone, they end up having deeply transformative implications.

The civil rights movement, which began in the 1940s, was probably the single most important movement of the twentieth century. It was enormously effective at achieving its goals. Before the movement, African Americans, especially in the South, were second-class citizens by law. They were not allowed to use facilities, such as local municipal swimming pools, water fountains, and bathrooms that were reserved for whites. They were prevented from voting and were refused housing in white neighborhoods. They were sent to second-rate schools and barred from state universities. And they were required by law to defer to the needs and desires of whites in many arenas of life, such as seating on buses and space on sidewalks. The situation was not very different from apartheid in South Africa.

Thousands of African Americans and their white allies engaged in sit-ins, boycotts, and other forms of protest to challenge segregation. They used the media effectively, appealing to the better aspects of the dominant ideology.

After the civil rights movement, it was no longer legal for states to discriminate. This change led to the elections of African American government officials, from city councilors to senators. It also led to an ongoing struggle for better schools, jobs, and housing. And probably most significantly, it led to a major cultural change, through which African Americans no longer were forced by law to defer to whites.

In addition to its impact on the lives of African Americans, the civil rights movement inspired major changes in US society as a whole. It inspired movements among other groups that were not given their full civil rights as equal citizens. Beginning in the early 1960s, movements for cultural and political equality developed among Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans.

On college campuses, these movements led to demands for ethnic studies and women's studies programs, and, in general, a less biased curriculum. They led to the development of the idea of student empowerment, the demand for free speech on campuses, and the abolition of the principle that colleges were to act like they were the parents of students. This was the beginning of the student movement that would eventually develop into a full-scale movement to oppose the war in Vietnam.

We are at a time of extreme backlash against those wins, and the fight for civil rights and equality in all spheres of life continues.

Activity1.7.1

Reading Response Question

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What was meaningful to you in this reading?
2. How has racism impacted your life?
3. How might it matter if race is a social construct or it is natural?
4. What are some forms of institutionalized racism you see in present day society?
5. What are soem forms of institutionalized racism you could imagine oraganing to challenge in your community?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change, 2nd Ed" by Cynthia Kaufman is copyrighted. It has been reproduced with permission from the author and publisher.

This page titled 1.7: Liberation Theory Part 3 is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.8: Liberation Theory Part 4

Gender Liberation

Many expectations around gender are built deeply into the fabric of society. There are expectations that people assigned male at birth act in masculine ways and that people assigned female at birth act in feminine ways. What masculine and feminine are supposed to mean is also deeply rooted in our cultures. The idea that people bond for life as one man and one woman is also an expectation with deep roots. Along with those, gender and sexuality expectations are social structures that give fewer rights and less pay to women, normalize violence against women, and which structure the economy to make much of the work that women have traditionally done invisible to society. Many people are working to transform those expectations and structures.

Note

The following is a short excerpt from Chapter 6 of the book *Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change* by Cynthia Kaufman.

Feminism

I grew up with uncles who were baseball players and had my own left-handed glove since before I can remember. When I was in the fifth grade, I wanted to play baseball at school. At my school, there was only one girl who would hang out around the baseball diamond. She was there because she was the girlfriend of one of the boys. The rest of us were not allowed there. Something important was happening on the baseball diamond that required that girls not be there, except as admiring onlookers.

Since we weren't allowed to play in the game that was using the real diamond and the school's equipment, I brought equipment from home and my friends and I played by ourselves. Our teacher didn't make the boys let us play. The most we could get out of her was to let us store our gear in the classroom and not tell us we couldn't play in our own game. At the time, I thought the teacher and the boys were being mean to us. It was only much later that I came to understand that our exclusion from the game was part of a much larger picture.

At that time, girls were not supposed to be athletes; we were encouraged to use our bodies as objects of admiration rather than authors of action. And we certainly weren't supposed to compete with boys. Having girls in on the game would have interrupted the rituals the boys were engaged in, such as bonding around common goals and ranking themselves according to skill. And at that time, if a girl played sports, calling her a lesbian was part of the teasing to get her to conform.

Since that time, the relationship between women and sports has changed dramatically. Now, girls are expected to play soccer, and colleges fund women's sports, and a few women's professional sports leagues have even had some successes. Women who play sports are less likely to be called lesbians as a form of harassment, as more high-profile gay, lesbian, and transgender people have become accepted for who they are. What caused these changes in the world of sports—and in the world's expectations for girls and women in all life spheres? One of the main forces forging this change was feminism; the other was the queer liberation movement.

At least since the late 1800s, women and men have organized to demand a better life for girls and women. Women's rights activists worked hard to get the population as a whole to see women as more than mothers, low-paid workers, and sex objects. They pushed for a change in consciousness, for women to be recognized as full human beings, active participants in the game of life, players and not just observers of someone else's sport.

Along with early demands for suffrage and other civil rights, feminists critiqued corsets and invented bloomers to make physical activities possible for more girls and women. Among many other strategies developed over decades of organizing, the women's movement worked hard to pass Title IX in 1972, the federal law that outlaws discrimination on the basis of gender in educational institutions that receive federal funding. Ever since Title IX, schools have been under pressure to equalize the way they fund male and female sports. But feminism has not just been about women finding a way into male games. Many feminists have had a deeper critique of society and have argued for more far-reaching changes, such as an end to hierarchy, competition, and war.

Two of the more important demands of feminist movements have been for seeing the family as a social institution and for seeing violence against women as a political issue. Prior to the women's movement, political issues were those that had to do with participation in the public sphere. Feminists began to see that how these spheres were constituted was a political issue. It is a political issue—meaning an issue having to do with power relations—that many of the concerns of women were, by definition, seen as unimportant. One of the early slogans of the women's movement was "the personal is political." This meant that the ways women are kept in the private world, and the ways that the work done in the private world is ignored and degraded, are political in the sense of being based on operations of power.

Heidi Hartmann wrote an influential article in 1981 called "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Toward a More Progressive Union."24 That article prompted many feminists to look more seriously at how male domination is structured into our predominantly capitalist society. Hartmann went on to found the Institute for Women's Policy Research in 1987, which focuses on economic issues such as better access to childcare, flexible work schedules, and health care for all.

Socialist feminists such as Hartmann are interested in challenging the gendered implications of the labor structure of capitalist societies. Where the dominant order was built upon the ideology of separate spheres, socialist feminists have worked hard to get society to acknowledge the activities of the private sphere as work. One of the most influential books on this subject was Arlie Hochschild's The Second Shift. In that book, Hochschild argues that, while many heterosexual families have an ideology of equality, time use studies show that women still work many more hours a week on average than men, when wage labor and household labor are both counted. Who does the housework is seen by many as a trivial concern, but authors such as Hochschild show that it matters tremendously. Her work shows that a married woman with children works an average of one month a year more than her male partner.

If we think of productive labor as the things that we do to meet our needs, then there is no good reason not to count household labor as labor. Ann Ferguson labels this category of work "sex/affective production." She argues that people must engage in three sets of activities that are largely outside of the sphere of wage labor to meet their basic survival needs. One set of activities is related to our basic personal maintenance. These activities include cleaning up after ourselves, getting and preparing food, and taking care of children's physical needs. Another set involves taking care of our psychic needs. We all need to be listened to and receive emotional support. The third set is related to sexuality, which is a basic human need.

One commonality of these forms of labor in Western industrial societies is that women are disproportionately responsible for them, and because they are performed outside the sphere of wage labor, they are not considered part of the economy in standard economic calculations. Using a Marxist theory of exploitation, Ferguson argues that there are social structures in place that make it such that women tend to do more of this sort of work than they have done for them. They tend to pick up after others more than they are picked up after. They tend to do more supportive listening than they are listened to. And in the sexual arena, they do more to satisfy the sexual needs of others than they have their own sexual needs satisfied. In referring to all of these things as labor, Ferguson is following Marx in arguing that labor is not necessarily a bad thing, it is merely the name given to the things that we do to meet our needs. Things become work when the social relations around them are exploitative. For example, sexuality is a pleasurable human activity unless relations of domination structure it in exploitative ways.

One of the exciting things about the work of socialist feminists is that they are asking radical questions about the concept of work. The issue of how we define labor also has a real impact on women in the Global South. Many development strategies are aimed at increasing productivity. If productivity is defined as engagement in wage labor, then development programs will be aimed at getting more men involved in capitalist processes. Since many people living in poverty in the Global South are mostly engaged in subsistence lifestyles, these policies have tended not to decrease poverty and have often led to the breakup of the family, as men move to areas where wage work is more available. Women are then left with the even greater burden of managing the subsistence economy at home. Poverty reduction plans that focus on women as managers of the household economy have been much more successful at improving the lives of the world's poor.

The gender systems in modern capitalist societies are built upon the myth of the nuclear family: the myth that a two-generation private family with a male wage earner and a female stay-at-home parent is the optimal form for human intimacy and child-rearing. According to the dominant ideology, this family structure is natural and timeless. In her book The Way We Never Were, Stephanie Coontz shows that this family was never very widespread in society. It has been presented as a social ideal in order to keep women in place, and there is nothing natural about it. These expectations around the gender system have been bad for women, and they are part of the reason many societies have been so resistant to people living lives free of gender and sexual expectations. There is a whole patriarchal economic and social order that is upheld by these expectations.

Queer liberation

For much of the twentieth century, gay men and lesbians worked for equal rights in the system as well as for deeper transformations of the gender system. Many activists, in what John D'Emilio has called the homophile movement of the 1950s, were intent on arguing that gays and lesbians are just like everyone else, except in terms of what they did in their bedrooms and in social places such as bars and clubs. And what they did in these places should be no one else's business. An important exception to this tendency was the Mattachine Foundation in Southern California, which theorized in 1950 that gay men and lesbians offered fundamentally distinct and valuable diversity to the culture as a whole. The next flourishing of radical queer organizing coincided with the broader social uprisings of the late 1960s.

Many people date the beginnings of the current, more radical gender liberation movement to the riot that took place at the Stonewall Inn in New York on June 27, 1969. That night, police engaged in what they thought was a routine sweep of a bar where transgender people, gay men, and lesbians, many of them people of color, found community and freedom. The difference that night was that the patrons resisted. According to an article that appeared in the Village Voice at the time,

> Suddenly, the paddywagon arrived and the mood of the crowd changed. Three of the more blatant queens—in full drag—were loaded inside, along with the bartender and doorman, to a chorus of catcalls and boos from the crowd. A cry went up to push the paddywagon over, but it drove away before anything could hap-pen. The next person to come out was a dyke, and she put up a struggle—from car to door to car again. It was at that moment that the scene became explosive. Limp wrists were forgotten. Beer cans and bottles were heaved at the windows, and a rain of coins descended on the cops.

Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera were two of the transgender women of color who were instrumental in starting the riot. Stonewall was not the first or the last high-profile attack on a gathering of queer people. But shortly after it the Eastern Regional Conference of Homophile Organizations decided to commemorate the attack in annual pride marches to be held in June. Those annual pride marches have been an important part of the movement since that time, and have spread to be celebrated all around the world. Stonewall marked a major phase of radicalization in the movement. As Dennis Altman put it, "No longer is the claim made that gay people can fit into American society, that they are as decent, as patriotic, as clean-living as anyone else. Rather, it is argued, it is American society itself that needs to change."3 As gay men and lesbians became more radical, they began to look at the ways that sexuality is organized in society and how important a part of the social structure sexuality is. As these movements developed and became more radical, gay men and lesbians went in very different directions for a number of years, with gay men moving toward more open and unrestricted sexuality, and lesbians becoming more involved in the women's movement and interested in overthrowing patriarchy.

One of the challenges to changing the gender structures of society is that unequal gender roles seem natural and normal to most people. When I think back to my early example of sexism on the playground, I am struck by its everydayness. The roles society sets up for boys and girls are learned through routine interactions. I remember my own childhood experience with some anger, but also with a bit of doubt—it can't have been so bad; these things happen to girls every day. Part of the problem lies precisely in the fact that there was nothing brutal or outrageous in what I experienced. I accidentally bumped up against the walls the society had constructed for gender roles. I pushed against them a bit. But, in the end, my friends and I learned how we were supposed to behave, and eventually we gave up on playing sports.

Our sense of self develops by learning these expectations and taking them into account as we make our life choices. For some of us, staying within these boundaries happens only a small loss to our personal integrity and happiness. And we can resist with only small amounts of personal risk. For others, the loss involved in conforming is huge, and many people have pushed hard against those expectations. And that harder push leads to reactions, often violent ones, from those trying to maintain the gender system. People who don't conform to the gender systems encounter tremendous levels of ostracism and violence.

Approaches to organizing

In both the women's and queer liberation movements, there have been powerful organizations that have taken a mainstream lobbying and lawsuits approach to social change. Two of the biggest organizations at the present time are the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC). These groups use the ideology of civil rights to demand an end to discrimination on the basis of gender or sexual orientation. Radicals often criticize these organizations for being assimilationist and for not putting up enough of a challenge to the status quo.

For much of the later part of the twentieth century, radicals in both the women's and queer liberation movements challenged the institution of marriage, arguing that marriage supports male domination and allows the state to regulate and domesticate sexuality. So, the focus on "gay marriage" was hotly contested in radical queer circles. Those supporting gay marriage have argued that activists should be against state-sponsored discrimination, which is what the prohibition against gay marriage constitutes. A similar argument is made around the question of gays in the military. You don't have to support the military to be against the state being able to keep you out of it. In both of these gender-based movements, there has been a general acceptance among radicals of the goals of the liberals, while at the same time demanding deeper changes that the liberals often do not talk about and sometimes want to distance themselves from. While NOW has worked hard to challenge workplace discrimination, radicals have also challenged the structure of a labor market that was built around the needs of a male breadwinner. And while early second-wave feminism demanded access to abortion, radicals worked to redefine a reproductive rights movement to include opposing forced sterilization.

Many people have noticed the extent to which feminism has been able to accomplish significant changes from within the network of present social relations. Some social justice advocates have taken this success to mean that feminism is not really a radical movement—it is merely a superficial change from within the basic oppressive structure of society. This idea is often at the heart of claims that feminism, queer politics, and antiracist politics are "identity politics." What this expression means is that these are movements about personal identity, and only class-based politics is about transforming the structure of society.

Yet feminist theorists have shown how intertwined the structural and the cultural are. As women begin to feel that they matter and that their role in life should be as more than support people for men and children, they bring complex perspectives into the political mix. When they advocate for pay equality, they often also advocate for workplaces that are less based on competition. Fighting for equal pleasure in the bedroom often leads to a confidence that manifests itself at work. Women of color have argued strongly that for women to be free, society needs to be rid of racism, sexism, and homophobia. Socialist feminists have worked through trade unions and other forums to advocate for more flexible work schedules and for better access to childcare and better pay and working conditions for childcare workers. This change in childcare institutions is linked to women's desires to develop parts of themselves that are not related to the home. Identity and personal desires are intricately connected to the web of structural oppression.

There is a broad world of feminist and queer politics that exists in between liberal demands for inclusion without radical change and radical demands for total social transformation. Within this broad range, there is a general belief that change happens from within the network of social relations; and cultural, personal, and economic demands are interrelated, and can be won through consciousness-raising, direct action, and the power of many people refusing to settle for less than justice.

Radical social change happens when many heterosexual women fight with their partners about who does the housework; it happens when feminists or queers develop styles of dress that challenge dominant expectations; it happens when women insist on wearing comfortable clothes and not shaving their legs.

But these personal struggles only have a significant social impact when they exist as parts of a movement that links these acts and gives them social meaning. Feminists and queer activists have been at the forefront of theoretical developments that help us to understand the psychological and cultural aspects of movements toward social change. Much of the social change work done by feminists and queer activists takes place in the cultural and personal spheres. Changes of consciousness are important for transforming the social fabric.

Activity 1.8.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What was meaningful to you in this reading?
2. How have sexism and other forms of gender based oppression impacted your life?
3. How are the oppression of women and of queer people related to each other?
4. What do you think about the differences between more radical and more liberal approaches to organizing for gender liberation?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change, 2nd Ed" by Cynthia Kaufman is copyrighted. It has been reproduced with permission from the author and publisher

This page titled 1.8: Liberation Theory Part 4 is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

1.9: Liberation Theory Part 5

Environmental Justice

There is much important work we can all do to fight for a livable environment. Many people think only of personal lifestyle choices, such as recycling or driving less, when they think about the environment, and they often feel discouraged about how small those actions are compared to how vast the problem is. It is still possible to keep the world livable for the human species and to keep other species from going extinct. But getting there will require that we challenge the powerful forces that are driving the climate and biodiversity crises.

Note

The following is a short excerpt from Chapter 7 of the book *Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change* by Cynthia Kaufman

When Al Gore's film An Inconvenient Truth came out in 2006, it got a lot of people to take climate change seriously. In the popular imagination, it became clear that on the horizon of our existence, horrific things were going to happen. The polar ice caps would melt, coral reefs would die, hurricanes and droughts would become more severe, and the oceans would rise. Gore ended his film with a list of things one could do to address this catastrophic problem: change the kind of light bulbs you use, drive less, write your congressperson. There was something deeply disturbing to many of us who do social justice work about the end of the film. Were those solutions really enough to deal with a problem of such apocalyptic proportions?

Many people in the environmental movement feel that their job is to ring the alarm bells and get everyone to see the depth of the problems. The hope is that people will be shocked into action. It turns out that the opposite is the case. Most people know climate change is a serious problem, and the more they get a sense that the things they can do are tiny compared to the scope of the problem, the more disempowered they feel. This all leads to a sense of paralysis that looks like apathy and denial.

I shared in that general sense of paralysis that followed that film, until I read George Monbiot's book Heat: How to Stop the Planet from Burning.1 In the book, Monbiot shows that the kinds of changes needed to solve the climate crisis are challenging, but within reach. He argues that we need policies to push a shift toward massive investments in public transportation, policies that invest in new energy infrastructure, policies that get people to make their houses more energy efficient, and serious investments in renewable energy. The main takeaway I got from the book was that there are enough resources for everyone to live well on this planet in sustainable ways, and that the actions needed were more political than individual.

Many people are working on cheaper and better sources of renewable energy, more sustainable processes for making things, and better ways of organizing our cities. Even with existing technical knowledge, we could build a world in which everyone has a comfortable life, and we stay within our ecological limits. But we won't be able to get there simply by each of us being green consumers. Rather, what needs to happen is the development of policies that promote the use of renewable energy and efficient ways of doing things. That is a political problem. Once I realized all of that, I became a climate change activist.

Currently, I am working to get institutions to divest from fossil fuels. The idea behind the fossil fuel divestment movement is that the main thing blocking a move to the kind of things that are needed to make this massive shift is the power that the fossil fuel industry has over our political systems. And there are reasons for them to push for things to stay the same. If we are to stay within safe levels of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, then more than 75 percent of the assets of fossil fuel companies will need to remain unburned.2 Those companies have a lot to lose, and they are some of the most powerful entities in the world, with economies larger than most countries.

In her book This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate, Canadian journalist Naomi Klein writes that dealing with the climate crisis is in alignment with a set of practices necessary for building a more socially just world. She argues that as she came to understand the things needed to solve the problem of climate change, she

began to see all kinds of ways that climate change could become a catalyzing force for positive change—how it could be the best argument progressives have ever had to demand the rebuilding of local economies: to reclaim our democracies from corrosive corporate influence; to block harmful new free trade deals and rewrite old ones; to invest in starving public infrastructure like mass

transit and affordable housing; to take back ownership of essential services like energy and water; to remake our sick agricultural system into something much healthier; to open borders to migrants whose displacement is linked to climate impacts; to finally respect indigenous land rights—all of which would help to end grotesque levels if inequality within our nations and between them.

For much of the twentieth century, environmental politics were on a different path from the rest of the world of social justice. Many environmentalists had argued that people were the problem, and that nature was something to be kept pristine and separate from people who were seen as a scourge. Others were convinced that if we each changed our personal consumption habits, the problem would go away. Klein is part of a growing environmental justice movement that sees the deep connections between environmental problems and other problems in the social world.

Environment and race

Many people see Warren County, North Carolina, as the birthplace of the environmental justice movement. It was there, in 1982, that the first demonstrations took place that explicitly linked issues of race to the environment. The state of North Carolina had decided to place a toxic landfill in Warren County, which was overwhelmingly populated by people of low income and people of color.

Over five hundred protesters were arrested in demonstrations led by some of the nation's leading civil rights organizations. The Congressional Black Caucus, United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and others came together to raise the issues of race, class, and the environment.

While the demonstrations were not able to stop the landfill, the protests had a few successes. They resulted in the Government Accounting Office doing a nationwide study on race, income, and environmental destruction. Residents were able to force the county to monitor the leaching of PCBs out of the landfill and into their drinking water. And they forged a powerful coalition that has since been working nationwide to fight against racial and economic discrimination in the impact of environmental destruction.

The environmental justice movement focuses on race and the ways that environmental destruction has disproportionate impacts on people of color. It also focuses on class and the ways that the poor are disproportionately impacted, and on capitalism as an important force in generating poverty and unaccountable corporate behavior.

There is a tradition in the environmental movement of seeing environmental problems as fundamentally about wilderness. This part of the movement was developed by people who liked to visit the wilderness and were concerned that it be protected. Thus, they tend to focus on the development of national parks and the protection of endangered species.



Figure 1.9.1: This is a devastating reality for many places like this, where waste is dumped and not properly disposed of. As a society we consume more than we can safely dispose of, and this inevitably affects the most marginalized communities. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Averyaudio via Wikimedia Commons)

Since its beginning in the early part of the twentieth century, the mainstream environmental movement has also focused on issues

such as urban air pollution, clean water, and occupational health and safety. Still, the image of the movement and the cultural politics of many in it led to an impression that environmentalism was something for middle-class white people to pursue. And many of the white and middle-class people in the movement carried their racial and class blind spots into the work they did, often not valuing the different perspectives brought by people of color or their leadership.

People in the environmental justice movement define the environment as the whole set of relations between people and the rest of nature. The environment includes the air we breathe, the water we drink, the ways our cities are designed, the ways food is grown and marketed, etc. By looking at environmental destruction through the lens of the experiences of people of color, the environmental justice movement has forced a major shift in perspective in other parts of the environmental movement.

The environmental justice movement started out in communities of color, wanting to challenge the racial politics of the movement as a whole. The organization Urban Habitat, based in San Francisco, is a leader in this movement. It started the journal Race, Poverty and the Environment, which links environmental issues with movements to protect farm workers, immigrant rights organizations, those concerned with the quality of life in urban areas, and struggles against neocolonialism and for the sovereignty of indigenous people in the United States and throughout the world.

The disproportionate impact of environmental destruction can be seen in the following facts, outlined by Mark Dowie in Losing Ground:

More than 200 million tons of radioactive waste lie in tailings piles on Indian reservations. The rate of cancers affecting the sex organs among Navajo teenagers is 17 times the national rate. Every year, 300,000 farm laborers (mostly Hispanic) suffer pesticide-related illnesses and disorders. Black urban male children are almost three times more likely to die of asthma than their white counterparts.

People in the movement have found that when whites complain about environmental problems, they are much more likely to be taken seriously and have their problems addressed than when problems are raised by people of color.

In 1994, the Sierra Club had a bitter internal fight over these issues. At that time, voters in the state of California were considering a ballot initiative, Proposition 187, aimed at limiting the civil rights of undocumented immigrants. Many members of the Sierra Club supported this move because they believed that as the population of the state increased, there would be an increase in stressors on the environment. One way to protect the environment was to limit population by making immigration less attractive. Many other people inside the Sierra Club supported the politics of the environmental justice movement and promoted the view that the mainstream environmental movement needed to be more hospitable to the interests of people of color. They argued that the population increase caused by immigration was not a significant cause of environmental destruction, and that the proposition amounted to nothing more than scapegoating. The internal fight was intense, and in the end, those advocating for the rights of immigrants won.

Environment and capitalism

In addition to the focus on race and the importance of voices of people from low-income communities of color, environmental justice advocates point to capitalism's drive for profit as an impulse toward environmental destruction. Capitalism allows producers to externalize many of their costs so that the producers don't need to pay for the costs associated with what they produce.13 This means, for example, that even though cars clearly create smog, and smog significantly increases the rate of asthma, car manufacturers are not taxed for the cost of caring for people who develop asthma. Cars remain relatively cheap, and health care remains a separate, and for many people, impossible to afford expense.

Because of this externalization, the pressures to limit automobile use or lessen the pollution they generate must come from social movements. To some extent, the government has represented the interests of those negatively affected by cars, but it often capitulates to the power of the automobile manufacturers and the ideology that they are not responsible for the pollution created by their products. And capitalism has led to a situation where corporations have a disproportionate amount of influence on government policy.

In his book Divided Planet: The Ecology of Rich and Poor, Tom Athanasiou focuses on the drive for profit among transnational corporations (TNCs) as the main engine of environmental destruction. These corporations "play country against country, ecosystem against ecosystem, simply because it is good business sense to do so. Low wages and safety standards, environmental pillage, ever-expanding desires—are all symptoms of economic forces that, embodied in TNCs, are so powerful they threaten to overcome all constraints by the society they nominally serve."

Solving the climate crisis involves deep challenges to entrenched power. Given the power that fossil fuel companies have over

our political system, solving our environmental problems will not be easy. It will require an end to subsidies that make fossil fuels so cheap, strong regulations and planning for improved building and transit practices, massive investment in better energy grids, and massive incentives for renewable energy. But as Naomi Klein argues, dealing with the climate crisis "could become a galvanizing force for humanity, leaving us all not just safer from extreme weather, but with societies that are safer and fairer in all kinds of other ways as well."15

As we move to a greener economy, many environmental justice activists are working hard to make sure that the solutions chosen are ones that benefit everyone. Organizations such as Green for All and the Emerald Cities Project are working to get resources to low-income communities of color to get jobs in the emerging areas of solar installation and weatherization of older homes. All of these authors see a transition to a new, sustainable, and socially just economy growing from our work to solve the climate crisis.

Conclusion

The environmental problems before us are immense. Solving them will require a deep transformation of the capitalist tendency to hold no one responsible for protecting the common good. Global survival will require the development of transnational mechanisms, such as the very successful Montreal protocol on ozone depletion, that force national governments to keep companies from producing chemicals that destroy the atmosphere. It will require the phasing out of fossil fuels as the primary energy source for industrial, home heating, and transportation applications. And it will require new ways of meeting the needs of the global population while addressing the economic aspirations of low-income people in the Global South.

Most people are concerned about the environment and want to see policies enacted that will protect it. Environmental issues might serve as an important unifying set of interests for people to work together for a better world for everyone. This will only happen if people are brought to understand the ways that their fates are tied together with the fates of those living in the Global South and the nonhuman parts of the biosphere.

People all around the world are fighting against trade deals that favor transnational corporations, against genetically modified organisms, and for sustainable and just economic policies. There is still time to make the transitions required for a sustainable planet, and more people are seeing with more clarity what is needed to get us on that path.

Activity 1.9.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What was meaningful to you in this reading?
2. What do you think about focusing on personal lifestyle choices versus focusing on larger solutions to environmental problems?
3. Based on the reading, what do you see as connections between racism and the environmental crisis?
4. Based on the reading, what do you see as connections between capitalism and the climate crisis?
5. What gives you hope for keeping our planet livable for our species?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Ideas for Action: Relevant Theory for Radical Change, 2nd Ed" by Cynthia Kaufman is copyrighted. It has been reproduced with permission from the author and publisher

This page titled 1.9: Liberation Theory Part 5 is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

2: INSPIRATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Introduction

Starting in the 1930s and working for decades, Larry Itliong inspired farm workers in California to organize to form unions. His work started with his fellow Filipino farm workers, and later involved building coalitions across ethnic differences. Itliong inspired others through the example of his courageous action, his ability to build strong relationships, and his ability to inspire others to take action.

Itliong gives us an example of powerful inspirational leadership, the kind of leadership we will be exploring in this section.

Learning Objectives

In this section, you will

1. Explore the nature of Inspirational Leadership
2. Learn about Larry Itliong and the farm worker struggle in California
3. Develop your inspirational leadership by giving a speech to the class called a Public Narrative

2.1: Characteristics of Inspirational Leadership

2.2: Story of an Inspirational Leader

2.3: Public Narrative

This page titled 2: Inspirational Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

2.1: Characteristics of Inspirational Leadership

What is Inspirational Leadership?

Many people think only of inspirational leadership when they think of leadership. In fact, as we go through this book, we will see that there are several types of leadership, and each has its crucial role to play. Inspirational leadership is not more important than the others, but it is often the most visible to people outside of a movement, so it is the style that we often think of first.

Social change doesn't happen without people developing strategies, keeping people engaged, taking care of logistics, and ensuring that the group stays on track with its intended values. When people think about the civil rights movement in the US in the 1950's and 1960's, they often think of Martin Luther King Jr, and suppose that the movement happened because of him. But the movement was very well developed before King came along and continued after he was assassinated in 1968. The legendary organizer, Ella Baker, argued that the movement made King as much as King made the movement. King was swept to prominence by a large and dynamic movement, which fostered his leadership and pushed him to fame. His ability to inspire crowds and speak to the country was just one part of a large, complex process of making change happen.

An inspirational leader is one who moves others to action. They give people a sense that getting involved and taking action will make a difference. Often, an inspirational leader is someone who has a strong sense of justice, of the difference between right and wrong, which they are able to communicate to others. They also often have a vision of a better world that they are fighting for. If an organization doesn't have strong inspirational leadership, it can lose energy. Inspirational leaders often keep people passionate about their work.

Inspirational leaders are often charismatic as people. People tend to listen to them and take their ideas seriously. Sometimes these are people with big personalities who take up a lot of other people's attention. But there are also quiet inspirational leaders who move others by example and by the rightness of what they say and do. Union organizers call these "natural leaders." When a union organizer goes to a worksite to figure out who to invest their time trying to recruit, they will ask people whom they see as a natural leader. This doesn't mean that this person was born with those skills. But it does mean that their leadership feels natural to others.

The charisma of inspirational leaders comes from many places. It could be that this person speaks from their heart in ways that lead other people to trust them and to trust their vision. It could be that the person speaks in a way that resonates with other people's fears, desires, or pain. It could be that this person has a sense of optimism and of where it is useful to put the group's attention. Some inspirational leaders are very good at speaking, either by finding the right words or by speaking in a style that has just the right pauses, emphasis, and body language. Maybe people believe what a person says because they say it with confidence.

Some of those sources of charisma are better reasons to follow an inspirational leader than others. If a leader speaks to people's resentments and fears, they might not be a good person to follow. If a person is charismatic because they have confidence, but there isn't substance to back that confidence up, they might lead people in the wrong direction. Inspirational leadership should always be looked at carefully to make sure that the leader is taking people down the right path and that they exercise their leadership with integrity.

Even with these concerns, a leader who channels the passions of a group, keeps people motivated, keeps them inspired, and on track for the work is a gift to an organization.

You can develop your inspirational leadership by:

- Checking in with yourself and staying connected to the reasons the work you're doing matters to you and to the people and things you care about.
- Developing and keeping in mind a bigger vision of why the work you are doing matters.
- Practicing speaking to others in ways that show your passion and vision.
- Working on developing your confidence and your ability to communicate your sense of the importance of what you are working on.

Activity 2.1.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Who is a leader you have worked with who you have found inspiring?
2. What about them inspired you?
3. If you were to try to inspire others, what would it be about?
4. Is there anything you don't like about inspirational leadership?
5. What gets in the way of you exercising inspirational leadership?
6. What would help you be better at it?

This page titled 2.1: Characteristics of Inspirational Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

2.2: Story of an Inspirational Leader

Larry Itliiong

Modesto "Larry" Dulay Itliong (October 25, 1913 – February 1977), also known as "Seven Fingers", was a Filipino-American union organizer. He organized West Coast agricultural workers starting in the 1930s, and rose to national prominence in 1965, when he, Philip Vera Cruz, Benjamin Gines and Pete Velasco, walked off the farms of area table-grape growers, demanding wages equal to the federal minimum wage, that became known as the Delano grape strike. He has been described as "one of the fathers of the West Coast labor movement."



Figure 2.2.1: Larry Itliong was a trailblazing Filipino American labor leader and civil rights activist who co-founded the United Farm Workers (UFW), which many people do not learn about. Known for his trademark cigar and dynamic organizing style, he was the driving force behind the historic 1965 Delano Grape Strike. (CC BY 2.0 ; dignidadrebelde via Flickr)

Itliong was a native of San Nicolas, Pangasinan, Philippines (then a territory of the United States). One of six children of Artemio and Francesca Itliong, he only had a sixth grade education. He immigrated to the United States in 1929 and joined his first strike in 1930; Itliong was only 15 when he came to the United States. Itliong was an excellent card player, and avid cigar smoker, who spoke multiple Filipino languages, Spanish, Cantonese, Japanese, and taught himself about law. Itliong married six times, had seven children, and raised his family in the Delano area and in the Little Manila community of Stockton, California.

As a farmworker, Itliong worked in Alaska; where he organized cannery and agricultural unions, Washington, and up and down California; he also worked in Montana and South Dakota. While living in Alaska, he helped found the Alaska Cannery Workers Union (which later became Local 7 of the United Cannery and Packing and Allied Workers Union, then Local 7 of the International Longshoreman's and Warehouse Workers Union). He lost three fingers in an accident in an Alaskan cannery, which earned him the nickname, "Seven Fingers."

Some of the labor organizers whom Itliong met in his early days had ties to the Communist Party. Filipinos in California led the way in unionization efforts among farmworkers in the 1930s and 40s. During World War II, Itliong served on a U.S. Army transport ship as a messman. After the war, he settled in the city of Stockton in California's Central Valley. In 1948, Itliong (along with Rudy Delvo, Chris Mensalvas, Philip Vera Cruz, and Ernesto Mangaoang) became involved in the 1948 asparagus strike, which was the first major agriculture strike after World War II. Itliong served as the first shop steward of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 37, in Seattle, and was elected its vice-president in 1953. He served as secretary of the Filipino Community of Stockton from 1954 to 1956. In 1956, Itliong founded the Filipino Farm Labor Union in Stockton. In 1957, he was elected president of the Filipino Voters League in Stockton. By 1965, Itliong was leading the AFL–CIO union Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee; the majority of members of the committee were Filipinos who had in the 1930s arrived in the United

States.

A vote was held on May 3, 1965, in which the committee voted to strike against Coachella Valley grape growers. Although the strikers weren't able to negotiate a contract with the growers, they did succeed in winning higher wages.Following the success in Southern California, on September 8, 1965, the Agriculture Workers Organizing Committee voted to strike against grape growers in Delano, California, where the grape season starts in September. This strike became the first time Mexican workers, due to the decision of Cesar Chavez, did not break a strike of Filipinos; later, on September 16, 1965, Chavez's National Farm Workers Association joined the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee on the picket lines. These strikes occurred around the same time when younger Filipino Americans began a period of political self-reflection and awakening.

The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and National Farm Workers Association merged to form the United Farm Workers; Itliong was skeptical of the merger, as he believed that Mexicans would become dominant over the Filipinos when the organizations merged, and that improving work conditions would come at the expense of Filipino farmworkers, but Itliong kept those feelings to himself at the time. In 1966, the California Rural Legal Assistance was founded as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, with Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and Itliong sitting on the founding board. Itliong served as assistant director of the United Farm Workers under Cesar Chavez, and in 1970 he was appointed the United Farm Workers' national boycott coordinator. In 1971, Itliong resigned from the United Farm Workers because of disagreements about the governance of the union; another reason for resigning from the United Farm Workers, was that Itliong felt that the union was not willing to support aging Filipinos. Alex Fabros, a doctoral candidate at University of California, Santa Barbara, called the merger "devastating for the Filipinos who participated in the UFW."

After leaving the United Farm Workers, Itliong assisted retired Filipino farmworkers in Delano and was a delegate at the 1972 Democratic National Convention. Together with Vera Cruz, Itliong worked towards building a retirement facility for UFW workers, known as Agbayani Village. Although no longer in the United Farm Workers, Itliong continued to support others in the organized labor movement, such as helping others plan a strike against Safeway supermarkets in 1974. Itliong also served as President of the Filipino American Political Association, a bipartisan lobbying organization. He died in Delano in February 1977, aged 63, from Lou Gehrig's disease.

Learn more about the inspirational leader Larry Itliong via this tribute video calles "Larry Itliong: Labor Activist" by the California Museum's Hall of Fame.

Activity 2.2.1

Reading Response Questions:

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. In what ways did Larry Itliong show visionary leadership?
2. What were some ways he challenged power over?
3. What were some ways he developed power with?
4. What were some ways he developed power for?

Attributions

- Adapted from “Larry Itliong” by Wikipedia is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA.

This page titled 2.2: Story of an Inspirational Leader is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

2.3: Public Narrative

Creating a Public Narrative

One important aspect of visionary leadership is your ability to tell your own personal story in a way that engages others and inspires them to action. If you want people to get involved with something you are working on, your own example of why that issue matters to you, and what got you to be involved, is one of the most effective ways to move others to action. The more sincere, vulnerable, and relatable you are, the more you are likely to inspire others to take action.

Public narrative is a technique for practicing this. This common organizing tool of using personal stories to motivate others was given the name Public Narrative by the legendary organizer Marshal Ganz. Ganz grew up in Fresno California and went away to Harvard for college. Before completing his Bachelor's degree, he dropped out to join the civil rights movement. Then in 1965, he moved back to California's Central Valley to become an organizer for the United Farm Workers. After doing that and other organizing work for many years, Ganz finally returned to Harvard in 1991 to finish his Bachelor's degree and go on to get Masters and Doctoral degrees. Since that time he has taught organizing at Harvard.



Figure 2.3.1: Marshall Ganz, renowned organizer and Harvard lecturer known for developing the "public narrative" framework and helping shape the grassroots field strategy for Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Cmichel67 via Wikimedia Commons)

A Public narrative is a speech that has 3 parts: the story of me, the story of us, and the story of now (Adapted from workshop by Marshall Ganz)

The Story of Me is where you tell why you're interested in the issue you are trying to mobilize support for. You tell something personal that gets the listeners to feel your passion for the work and to understand why you have that passion.

In **The Story of Us** you bring the listener in and give them a sense of how the issue you are working on will impact the listeners. It tells them why they should care about what you are working on. You should pull on their heartstrings. Imagine your audience as someone who has never even thought of this as an issue. Many people often forget that there's a lot of things going on outside of their own lives that they might have never experienced.

The Story of Now is your "ask." What do you need from them? Do you need support on a petition? Attendance at an event? Inviting them to come to join your organization? It really can be anything, but leave your listeners with a task to do.

One aspect of the Public narrative that is very important for Ganz is that you show a place where you faced a challenge, had a choice to make and you chose to take action. When you show others that when they face a challenge they can make a choice, that

helps them to see that it is possible to make a difference in difficult situations. For your public narrative you can integrate a point where you faced a challenge and made a choice or you can leave that aspect out.

In the videos, there are two examples of Public Narratives from Cynthia Kaufman's 2025 class. In each of them, the student tells their own story, makes connections to the issues they are working on, and invites listeners to take action on that issue.

Public Narrative: Alisa Phanvongkham

Duration: 1 minute 36 seconds

Video introduction: In this video, Alisa shares her public narrative about her family's survival during the Vietnam War. Alisa grew up in the U.S. but is aware of her privilege, which shows up as she witnesses injustices in health care and health insurance access. She found a way to get involved with an organization called SURJ (Showing Up for Racial Justice).

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this Interactive Content online

Begin to think about your own Public Narrative and pay to attention to how Angel transitions between the story of me to the story of us, and also between the story of us and the story of now.

Public Narrative: Angel Castillo

Duration: 1 minute 41 seconds

Video introduction: In this video, Angel shares his public narrative as a organizer with New Hope for Youth. He talks about growing up in struggle financially and finding a sense of belonging in the streets as a young person. As a justice impacted person, he found he could transfer his pain into purpose as he gives back and support other youth in his community.

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this Interactive Content online

For both of these public narratives, Alisa and Angel connect to some of their personal experiences and how they have shaped them. Vulnerabilities and reflection are a huge part of this activity. Take a deep breath as you think about your own public narrative.

Activity 2.3.1

Develop Your Skills

Write a Public Narrative- a three-minute, three-part speech that is related to something you want to motivate others to be involved with. If you are doing a civic engagement project, then make sure it is related to the work you are doing for that. The story of now can be a made up ask if there is nothing relevant to invite people to do. Include the following three sections in the narrative: a "story of me," a "story of us," and a "story of now."

Here is a description of what should go into each part:

- **Story of me**- Why do YOU care about the work you're involved in? This should be related to your internship placement.
- **Story of us**- and why SHOULD other people care? - Pull on their heartstrings. Imagine your audience as someone who has never even thought of this as an issue. Many people often forget that there's a lot of things going on outside of their own lives that they might've never experienced.
- **Story of now-** This is your ask! What do YOU need from them? Do you need support on a petition? Attending an event? Inviting them to come to join your organization? It really can be anything. It's okay if this part is made up you just want to leave them with a task essentially.

Note

For resources about sharing your pubic narrative online, check out the Storytelling Toolkit: Why Digital Storytelling. This toolkit was inspired by the work of Marshall Ganz and was created by 350. 350 is an organization that gathers tools and resources for ordinary people to build a better future and know the pathways they can take to make that happen.

Attributions

- Adapted from "Leadership, Organizing, and Action" by Abel R. Cano, is used under a limited license agreement.
- Adapted from "Public Narrative: Alisa Phanvongkham" by Alisa Phanvongkham is Licensed CC BY 4.0.
- Adapted from "Public Narrative: Angel Castillo" by Angel Castillo is Licensed CC BY 4.0.

This page titled 2.3: Public Narrative is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3: PROCESS LEADERSHIP

Introduction

Ella Baker was one of the most important leaders in the US civil rights movement, but she was not interested in being the public face of the movement. Her biggest strengths were developing leadership in other people and helping organizations to have strong internal processes. She helped to launch the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as well as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). Baker's approach to organizing is a great example of process leadership.

When an organization has a good process, people feel welcomed and useful. They feel that it is worth their time to put energy into the work. When people stay in an organization and are willing to do work, an organization has more capacity and can accomplish more.

There is a lot that goes into an organization having a good process. Strong organizations are built on strong relationships. And we have strong relationships when we attend to what makes them strong. A good process does not come about by accident.

This section explores the parts of organizing that are related to having a good process.

Learning Objectives

In this section you will

- Learn about process leadership.
- Reflect on Adrienne Maree Brown's Emergent Strategy.
- Explore what it takes to make a team work well.
- Study Ella Baker as an example of a great process leader.
- Learn how to help others in their journey to leadership development.
- Study what is involved in running good meetings, a core part of organizing.
- Engage in a One on One relational meeting.

3.1: Characteristics of Process Leadership

3.2: Story of a Process Leader- Ella Baker

3.3: Emergent Strategy

3.4: Build Your Team

3.5: Getting People to Join

3.6: One to One Relational Meetings

3.7: Facilitation

3.8: Leadership Inventory

This page titled 3: Process Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.1: Characteristics of Process Leadership

What is Process Leadership?

A good process leader notices group dynamics and takes action to improve them. That person notices who is speaking and who is disengaged. They notice how the situation feels, and they work to make the feelings better. They notice what is getting accomplished and where there are gaps in the work. They figure out how to fill those gaps.

People stay in an organization when it feels good to them, and they build meaningful relationships. They also stay when they feel that their time is being used well and that the organization is accomplishing its goals. Sometimes organizations are so focused on process and relationship that they don't get much done. Other organizations are so focused on outcomes that they don't pay attention to relationships. They can develop toxic cultures or lose people because those people don't feel valued or seen. Healthy organizations find ways to balance the needs of process and productivity.

A great facilitator can do a lot to make a process positive. They can be welcoming and encouraging of people who are hesitant to speak. They can set gentle but firm limits on people who dominate or act in ways that are unhelpful to a group. They can structure agendas in ways that encourage participation, honesty, and a sense of belonging. They can get the group to spend just the right amount of time checking in and breaking the ice. They can close a meeting by asking everyone to share something they appreciated, which makes people leave a meeting feeling good.

Everyone in a group can be a process leader. If you are not in charge of a meeting, you can still make suggestions to the facilitator. You can encourage others to speak. You can affirm the comments of people who are hesitant to speak. You can interrupt when something harmful is happening and ask that it be addressed right away. You can facilitate from behind, by gently filling in gaps and moving things to closure or moving them along when the facilitator does not do those things well.

Outside of meetings, you can follow up with people individually and ask them about themselves and about their experience with the group. You can help them find the right place so they feel useful and fulfilled by their work with the organization. A good process leader will also pay attention to the things getting in the way of people getting along well and will figure out ways to address those things.

When things go wrong in an organization, some people prefer that it not be mentioned and hope that the problem will go away on its own. On the opposite side, some people like to call people out and criticize them for doing things they see as bad for the group. The concept of “calling in” is intended to encourage people to make note of a problem but in a way that does not shame the person being addressed. Finding just the right balance of slowing down to build a culture that works for everyone, addressing problems early, while also not making people worry that they will be judged, requires skill. It also requires a culture that values positive relationships. Adrienne Maree Brown says that organizations must “move at the speed of trust.” That is, processes must be slowed down to build strong and trusting relationships.

Organizations work well when people treat each other with kindness and respect. An organization needs to have space in its process for addressing problems and for self-correcting. There are many ways that organizations can build into their formal structures time for reflection, evaluation, and ways to continually improve.

Activity 3.1.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling. If you have not been in an organization or on a team, you can use a class or a group in a class to draw lessons from.

1. What are some things you like a facilitator to do?
2. What do you do when you see a problem in your organization?
3. Do you just jump into a situation and begin to contribute, or do you hang back and watch?

4. Do you think your leadership would be improved by you doing more of one or the other?
5. What are the kinds of things that trigger you when working in a group?
6. What do you do to manage your emotions when you are triggered by something happening in a group?
7. How have you seen people work actively to make a process better?
8. Share an example where you have seen people facing unhelpful behavior in an organization, where they either ignored it, called it out, or called it in? What did you like or not like about how it was dealt with? What lessons do you draw from what you saw?

Answer available at the end of this section.

Answers

Activity 3.1.1

This page titled 3.1: Characteristics of Process Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.2: Story of a Process Leader- Ella Baker

Ella Baker

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was one of the most impactful organizations in the Civil Rights movement. There would not have been a SNCC without Ella Baker. While serving as Executive Secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), she organized the founding conference of SNCC, held at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, during the Easter weekend of 1960. She had immediately recognized the potential of the students involved in the sit-in movement and wanted to bring leaders of the movement together to meet one another and to consider future work. Miss Baker, as the students usually called her, persuaded Martin Luther King to put up the $800 needed to hold the conference. Rev. King hoped they would become an SCLC student wing. Ella Baker, however, encouraged the students to think about forming their own organization.



Figure 3.2.1: Ella Baker (1903–1986) was a pioneering, behind-the-scenes organizer known as the "Backbone of the Civil Rights Movement" (Public Domain; Jewish Daily Forward via Wikimedia Commons)

Addressing the conference, Rev. King asked the students to commit to nonviolence as a way of life, but for most in attendance, nonviolence was simply an effective tactic. Speaking to the conference, Ella Baker told the students that their struggle was “much bigger than a hamburger or even a giant-sized coke.” In presenting this bigger picture and encouraging them to form their own organization, Ella Baker displayed a talent she had been employing for more than two decades: assisting people to empower themselves. The students decided to form their own organization: SNCC. And with the formation of SNCC, she encouraged the new organization to organize from the bottom up.

Because of her work as NAACP Director of Branches in the 1940s, Baker had a network that she was able to put at the new organization’s disposal. For example, in the summer of 1960, she sent Bob Moses to meet local NAACP leader Amzie Moore in Cleveland, Mississippi, and out of this meeting emerged SNCC’s first voter registration project. Her belief was always that organizing people meant that they could lead themselves. After all, who else was better qualified to articulate their needs? She often said, “strong people don’t need strong leaders;” but facilitating this required extensive travel, conversation, and meetings. Baker was well-known for her indefatigable spirit.

Born in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1903 and raised in Littleton, North Carolina, she was known by those around her as “a whirlwind.” Her tireless pursuit of change echoed the stories that Baker told about her maternal grandmother. Born a slave in Halifax County, North Carolina, “Bet” Ross refused to marry the man her master had chosen and was punished for her insubordination with hard labor plowing fallow fields. Despite the work, she nevertheless attended every celebration on the plantation, dancing until the early hours of the morning to show that her spirit remained unbowed. That was the energy that young SNCC organizers, some nearly four decades her junior, saw in Miss Baker. And Baker recognized that “the young people were the hope of any movement…They

were the people who kept the spirit going." As she knew, "the average Baptist minister didn't really know organization." But Ella Baker did, and the students, sensing her abilities, listened to her, ushering in a new era in grassroots organizing.

Activity 3.2.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. How did Ella Baker show process leadership?
2. What aspects of her approach to leadership stand out to you, and what lessons can you take for your work?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Ella Baker" by SNCC Digital, licensed under CC BY NC-ND 4.0.

This page titled 3.2: Story of a Process Leader- Ella Baker is shared under a CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.3: Emergent Strategy

Understanding Emergent Strategy

In her book *Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds*, Adrienne Maree Brown offers the following list of advice for organizers. Her approach to organizing leans heavily toward process leadership. These statements are a bit poetic and require some reflective thought to understand. Try to get something out of them by guessing what they mean.

- Small is good, small is all. (The large is a reflection of the small.)
- Change is constant. (Be like water.)
- There is always enough time for the right work.
- There is a conversation in the room that only these people at this moment can have. Find it.
- Never a failure, always a lesson.
- Trust the people. (If you trust the people, they become trustworthy.)
- Move at the speed of trust. Focus on critical connections more than critical mass—build the resilience by building the relationships.
- Less prep, more presence.
- What you pay attention to grows.

Activity 3.3.1

Critical Thinking

Pick two of these items and interpret them. What do you think they mean, and what can you learn from them for your organizing? Don't worry about being "right." There are many different ways to understand these statements!

References

Brown, Adrienne Maree, *Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds*, AK Press, 2017.

This page titled 3.3: Emergent Strategy is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.4: Build Your Team

How to Build a Team

Almost all organizing takes place in teams, small groups that work together to accomplish goals. Whether we are starting a team from scratch or you are looking at an existing team and wanting to improve it, the following advice can be helpful.

Here is some advice on building a team:

- **Have a vision.** A team needs a vision to be passionate about. This vision can be developed in a number of ways:
  - *It may be the vision of a strong and creative leader.*
  - *It may simply be putting flesh on the bones of what the team is already doing.*
  - *It may come out of an organization-wide or community-wide strategic planning process.*

Regardless of how the vision is arrived at, the team needs to buy into it if it is going to be successful. That means either the vision has to be consistent with what team members are already committed to, or that they have to be part of its development.

- **Build team bonds.** At the outset, it's often useful to build cohesiveness through some type of bonding activity appropriate to the nature of the group Some possibilities:
  - *A retreat.*
  - *Specific bonding activities.*
  - *Socializing.*
  - *Creating team traditions.*
- **Involve the team in jointly planning how it will function and what the team and each of its members will do.** The more control team members have over their work, the more likely they are to do it well.
- **Address personal issues.** Any personal issues that get in the way of the smooth functioning of the team need to be confronted and resolved. Some of these can be worked out privately with a single person, while others may need the whole group's attention. Some common issues to address:
  - *Conflicts or other issues between or among members of the group.*
  - *A need for individual recognition.* Individuals may put themselves forward constantly (correctly or incorrectly) as the originators of ideas, the solvers of problems, the driving force behind team successes, etc. There are times when this is appropriate, but if it's constant, it can destroy the cohesiveness of the team.
  - *An inability to compromise or let go of ideas.*
  - *Lack of commitment to the work.*

Problems arising from these kinds of issues can be the hardest to solve, but if they're left to fester, they can destroy a team.

- **Establish team norms.** Teams should be in agreement about the ways members treat one another and how issues are resolved. The team standards should be generated by the team as a whole, and hashed out so that everyone sees them as fair and reasonable.
  - *Civility.* Even in the heat of argument, there should be general agreement that name-calling, personal attacks, threats, and the like are off limits. Discussion can be heated, but shouldn't threaten the glue that holds the team together.
  - *Conflict resolution.* There should be clear avenues for dealing with conflict that minimize the possibility of leaving it unresolved, or of it resulting in permanent splits between or among team members.
  - *Communication.* Team members need easy and direct access to one another, and also need to pass information around quickly and efficiently, so that no one is left out of the loop. Establishing systems to maintain this level of communication is an important piece of team formation.
  - *Responsibilities.* Team members already know their job responsibilities, but they also need to understand their personal responsibilities for maintaining the team. Someone having a problem with another team member's behavior, for instance, should be responsible for bringing it up in the appropriate way, rather than waiting for the other to change, or for someone else to notice and take care of it. Other similar responsibilities might include helping to keep everyone focused on the task, offering help when others are struggling, calling attention to problems in the work or among team members, etc.
  - *Importance of the team and the mission.* It can't be forced, but it adds greatly to team effectiveness if one of the norms is that the collective goal comes first, and if everyone on the team buys into it. If that can be established, the team is

almost sure to be successful.

- **Hash out the logistics of working as a team.** How does a team work best? Your team needs to establish how it can do its best work. Who's going to be responsible for what? What kind of meeting, conference, and consultation schedules can you establish to make sure that everyone always knows everything she needs to know? How can you keep team thinking and decision-making dynamic, i.e., able and ready to change a course of action or an idea when needed? All of these and many other questions must be addressed in order for the team to work smoothly and well.
- **Establish a good system of communication.** Team members should know what others are doing and how decisions are made. There should be good communication about when things are supposed to happen and who is doing what. Communication tools should be clear and not cluttered with unnecessary information.
- **On a regular basis, go back over both successes and failures to understand what happened and learn for the future.** It's important to look at errors and failures as chances for learning, not occasions for blame.
- **Provide both individual and team support.** Make sure that everyone has what she needs to do her job. Pay attention to team members' personal needs as well. They'll work better if they don't have other things gnawing at them. If they need flexibility because of the needs of small children or elders, make sure they have it. If it will help the team to have food or amusement, or just space available for breaks, see what you can do about accommodating it. If people need resources such as a library, access to particular Internet sites, etc., try to provide it for them. If someone needs an afternoon off, make sure she takes it. In other words, do everything you can to make people happy, comfortable, and functional. It will pay dividends in quality of work life and quality of work for everyone.
- **Reward accomplishments like crazy.** Reward the whole team for successes, and reward individuals for particularly good work. You may want to institute a system whereby team members recommend their colleagues for recognition. Use praise unsparingly, and criticism only when it's absolutely necessary, and your team will accomplish wonders.

Activity 3.4.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Use the ideas above to analyze a group you have worked with; it can be your team in a class. Pick a few ways that things are going well and a few where they are not going well. Describe ways that the examples are related to the ideas in the reading.
2. Pick a quote from the reading and analyze why it is meaningful to you.

Attributions

- Adapted from "Building Teams: Broadening the Base for Leadership" by Community Tool Box, is licensed under CC BY NC-SA 4.0.

This page titled 3.4: Build Your Team is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.5: Getting People to Join

Why People Join

We often join organizations because they match our values and we believe in their mission. We stay in organizations when we feel welcomed and valued.

Often, people come to an event or a meeting, and then they leave and don't come back. If you want people to come back, you need to reach out to them and give them a reason to stay. Every person who comes into contact with your organization is an asset to be treasured. Make sure you follow up with people and give them a reason to come back. That can be as simple as reaching out to them individually after your first contact and asking them how it went for them. You can do the same thing if they stop coming around.

Activity 3.5.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What led you to join the organization you joined?
2. How did it feel?
3. What, if anything, did people do to make you stay?
4. What could they have done better?

This page titled 3.5: Getting People to Join is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.6: One to One Relational Meetings

How-to Guide

If you want to organize people to create change, few things are more important than one-to-one relational meetings. One-to-ones are at the heart of community organizing. They are also at the heart of leadership. These conversations are not about converting the person or running through a list of intrusive, personal questions. One-to-ones are about establishing a professional relationship with someone and sharing stories as a way to understand their personal interests, motivations, and how your common interests and values might engage them to act in support of the change you are both interested in trying to create. This mix of personal, sometimes intimate knowledge leading to public, professional action holds unique value.

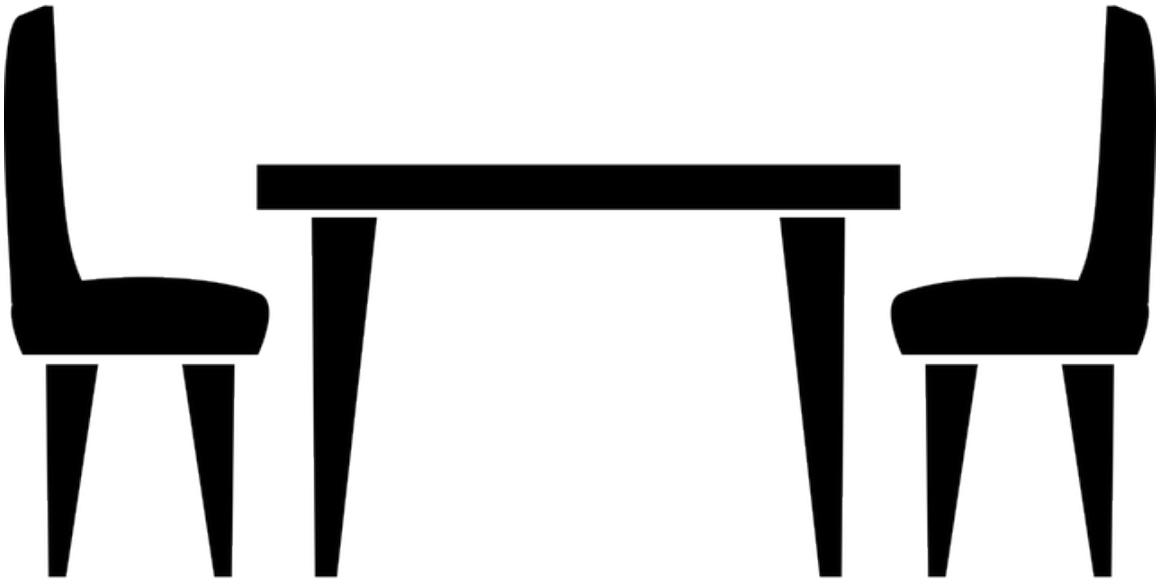


Figure 3.6.1: Communication is a great way to build relationships and get to know what issues you each care about. (CC BY-NC 4.0; John Hamerlinck via Leading Differently)

If I ask you to tell me a piece of your life story as part of one of these conversations, my goal is not personal friendship (though that could always happen as a result of professional familiarity). The intended outcomes of one-to-ones are:

- to form a basic relationships across a community (community of place, or community of interest);
- to understand common self-interests as well as a person's passions;
- to understand not only what they believe, or want, but why they hold those beliefs and desires;
- and to gain insight on how that person's unique talents and insights might be leveraged to support your common goals.

Conversation logistics and strategies

In a one-to-one relational meeting, you reach out to the person you want to talk to. Introduce yourself. Explain what you are doing and how their name came up as someone you would want to speak with. Ask them for 30-45 minutes of their time. Make it clear that you are not selling anything and that you are interested in their thoughts and ideas. Do as much homework as you can to understand what you think their interests may be — like you might if you were going to a job interview.

Arrive on time. Enter having thought about the questions you want to ask, but do not arrive with a pen and paper in hand. This isn't a survey. You can make notes after you leave. There is no script. Listen closely. Keep the conversation relaxed. Let the other person's interests guide your inquiry. They should talk more than you.

Ask the person about their interest in your issue of concern. Listen for indicators of how the issue is personal to them. When they express concerns that they also share, ask them to explain their views further, then try to build on those shared values.

As you near the end of your conversation, ask about their interest in committing to a specific action. Don't be too pushy. If they can't commit to anything immediately, find a way to keep the door open for further exploration at a later time. If they can commit to some action, ask them how you can be of assistance. Follow up later and thank them for their commitment.

If the conversation is moving in the direction that you had hoped it would, here are some examples of the type of questions you might want to ask:

- Have you been involved in this issue? If so, how?
- Are there things related to this issue that you wish you knew more about?
- What, in your mind, is an ideal outcome on this issue?
- In what ways do you think you could best contribute to the effort?
- Can you recommend anyone else I should talk to?

Activity 3.6.1

Develop Your Skills

Conduct a One-to-One Relational Meeting related to an organization you are working with. It can be with anyone you work with or would like to join your organization. If you are not in an organization, it can be someone in class or someone you know but would like to know better.

After your meeting, answer the following questions:

1. Who did you meet with and when?
2. How are you connected to them?
3. What was interesting about this process?
4. What was hard?
5. What do you think about this as an organizing tool?

Attribution

- Adapted from "One-to-One Relational Meetings" by John Hamerlinck, Leading Differently, licensed under CC by NC 4.0.

This page titled 3.6: One to One Relational Meetings is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.7: Facilitation

Becoming an Effective Facilitator

Many organizations have meetings where there is one person designated to be the facilitator. Their job is to make the process run well. It can be a good idea to rotate that role, and facilitation is a good skill for everyone to develop because it means that there is shared responsibility for the meetings and the conversation.

Characteristics and Responsibilities of an Effective Facilitator

- **Remain impartial about the subject.** Avoid expressing your own opinion or evaluating the comments of the participants (be careful with saying, “Good point!”). However, facilitators are not “neutral” or disengaged, and in fact they should be passionate about the process itself
- **Helps the group set and abide by its own rules.** When participants set their own rules on how they will act toward one another (for example, “wait until someone is finished before speaking” or “listen with empathy”), they are more likely to abide by them. The Facilitator can help by asking people to propose rules and posting them where everyone can see them
- **Allows the participants to own the process and topic as much as possible.** Facilitators facilitate (that is, help others achieve their goals more productively), they don’t control or dominate. Based on their other responsibilities, they must intervene as necessary but should also realize that doing too much may be worse than not doing enough
- **Models cooperative attitudes and skills.** By exhibiting strong listening skills and asking good questions, you can model the behaviors you are hoping the participants will develop
- **Keeps the discussion focused and on track.** When comments go astray, bring participants back to the goals of the session. Make sure the goals are clear, even if the conversation is wide-ranging. Manage time actively.
- **Reminds people to focus on issues rather than personalities.** If the conversation begins to focus on personalities rather than issues, gently remind the group of its ground rules or refocus the dialogue on the issue. An effective facilitator creates an atmosphere of acceptance of all ideas and persons and helps give an equal hearing to all perspectives
- **Ask clarifying questions when necessary.** If you are not sure what a participant means, chances are good that others are unclear also. You may ask participants to clarify what they are trying to say and ask if you have understood correctly
- **Ensures that no one person dominates the discussion.** Facilitators should be aware of who has spoken and who has not, ensure that all voices get heard if possible, and see that no voices dominate the discussion.
- **Helps people prioritize their ideas for action.** Helping people move from exploratory dialogue to concrete action planning is an important role for a facilitator
- **Brings items to closure.** Once an item has been discussed, be sure to end with clarity on what the outcome of the discussion is and who is going to do what.

Challenges to Facilitating Conversations

- One person dominates the conversation
- Some people don’t participate in the conversation
- Participants continue to speak directly with the facilitator rather than with other participants
- Experts or participants with more background information inhibit the conversation
- A participant rambles on (and on, and on…)
- There is conflict among the participants
- Participants take the conversation off track

Activity 3.7.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling. If you are not in an organization that has meetings that are facilitated, use the process you experienced in your class team to answer these questions.

1. Pick one of the pieces of advice in the *Characteristics and Responsibilities of an Effective Facilitator* and explain why it is important to you.
2. Give an example of where you have seen one of those principles used effectively.
3. Give an example of where you have seen a group suffer from one of them not being used well.
4. Give an example of one of the *Challenges to Facilitating Conversations* being dealt with well
5. Give an example of one of the *Challenges to Facilitating Conversations* being dealt with poorly.
6. What do you think your strongest skills and biggest places to develop are as a facilitator?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Facilitation Challenges and Interventions: Video-based Training for Facilitators" by League for Innovation in the Community College, licensed under CC by NC-SA 3.0.

This page titled 3.7: Facilitation is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

3.8: Leadership Inventory

Creating a Leadership Inventory

Process leadership involves reflection. We can reflect on how our organization is doing at reaching its goals. We can reflect on how we are doing in our relationships with one another. We can reflect on how we are communicating and coordinating with one another. And we can reflect on ourselves and our own growth as leaders.

Acitvity 3.8.1

Develop Your Skills

This multi-part activity asks you to develop a survey and give it to people who know you as a leader, and for you to reflect on what you learned in the process.

STEP 1: Prepare your Survey

Go to the Leadership Inventory Template

Make a copy to edit. To make a copy, go to the three dots at the top right of the form. Hit "make a copy". That copy is now yours to edit. Rename it with your name. In the upper right-hand corner, hit Publish.

Then: Add at least two questions to the Additional Questions section. In the Additional Questions Section, hit the plus sign on the right to add a question. Write your questions and choose if it should be a short answer, multiple choice, etc. Then hit the plus sign again to add another question.

Then turn it in to your instructor: To turn in, please turn in a link to your inventory with two questions added. Make sure it is accessible by making your instructor a collaborator. To do that, go to the upper right-hand corner, three dots, then choose "add collaborators", then add your instructor's email as a collaborator.

Step 2: Get People to Take Your Survey

Once your inventory has been approved by your instructor, get the link for the survey by going to the 3 dots at the top right of the inventory. Click "Add collaborators." Within the "add collaborators" view, you will see "copy responder link." Click that to get the link that you will then use to fill out the survey, and you will send that same link to the people who will be evaluating you.

Use that link to take the survey yourself first.

Then send your survey out to at least 10 people who know you as a leader.

If you have not done much leadership, that could be friends or family. Bug those people until you get at least 8 people answering.

Keep bothering people until you have at least 8 responses in addition to your own. You can see your responses by going to your original Inventory and in the white section at the top, it says "Questions, Responses, Settings." Go to responses and choose 'view in sheets." The sheet that opens will include your own entry. Yours will be the first one if you take it before sending it out.

Step 3: Assess Your Results

First, go to your own inventory link. In the top white section, you will see "Questions, Responses, Settings." Go to responses and choose "view in sheets." The sheet that opens will include your own entry. Yours will be the first one if you take it before sending it out.

Take the average of your responses for each question for all responses except your own and put that average below the responses.

To do this, 1. Highlight the responses you are trying to capture. Then on the right side of the taskbar at the top of the page, you will see three dots. Click that. Then click the ∑ symbol. Under that symbol, click Average. That will give you an average of your respondents' scores. For those questions. Do that for all of the questions. Then, average all of your self-scores for a section and average all of your respondents' scores for that section. Do that for all six sections.

Now look at your results and try to make meaning from it. What do the differences between your self-score and the scores of others say to you? Pick a few questions where the results are interesting. Do the same for each of the leadership styles.

Write one paragraph for each of the 6 leadership styles. For each paragraph, compare and contrast your assessment of yourself in relation to those who assessed you and your leadership abilities. Refer to a few specific questions nd to the section as a whole. For the summary analysis, write a summary of what you learned in this process.

Start each section with: Self score: Total of scores from others:

Example:

Process Leader: Self score 3.4, Total of scores from others 4.2

You are welcome to use the Leadership Inventory Assessment Template for the assignment. Make a copy for yourself in google docs.

This page titled 3.8: Leadership Inventory is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4: STRATEGIC LEADERSHIP

Introduction

In the 1990s, many big companies hired contracting firms to manage the janitorial services at their buildings. Janitors worked hard jobs for low wages with very few workplace protections. Gaining rights for workers by unionizing those janitorial service contracting firms was difficult. Each contracting firm was a very small business, not well known to the public, and each of them did not hire very many janitors.

The Service Employees International Union (SEIU) realized that if it went after the big companies that hired those janitorial companies, it could shame them into requiring the firms they hired to do janitorial services to recognize a union. The campaign to make that happen was called "Justice for Janitors." The campaign was a brilliant example of strategic organizing. Organizers analyzed the relations of power and influence before them; they analyzed their own forms of power, and they found a pathway to building community power by developing a strategy that leaned on their strengths.

Strategic leaders pay attention to the chess-game aspect of organizing. They think about the assets on their side, the obstacles they face, the forms of power their opponents have, and their opponents' vulnerabilities. They engage in research to find these things. They think about how to bring other players onto their side, and how to split support for their opponents.

When organizers don't have a clear strategy for obtaining their goals, they can engage in a lot of work that can feel satisfying and can build organizations, but it can end up not actually creating significant social change. A good strategy makes the difference between effective and ineffective organizing.

Learning Objectives

In this section, you will

- Learn about strategic leadership
- Study the story of Justice for Janitors
- Practice identifying a good issue to organize around
- Develop a strategy

4.1: Characteristics of Strategic Leadership

4.2: Justice for Janitors Part 1

4.3: Justice for Janitors Part 2

4.4: Cutting the Issue

4.5: Choosing an Issue

4.6: Action Star

4.7: Accessible Text Descriptions

This page titled 4: Strategic Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4.1: Characteristics of Strategic Leadership

What is Strategic Leadership?

Very few people use strategic leadership naturally. It takes a lot to apply the kinds of thinking you use when you play a strategy-based game like chess, go, or poker, to the work you are doing. And yet most successful campaigns have some piece of serious strategy behind what they do. A campaign without a strategy can generate a lot of action. A campaign with a good strategy can generate real outcomes.

A strategic leader is always asking the question of how a group is going to achieve its goals. They think about all of the steps along the way to achieving those goals. They help others to understand all of the parts of an action plan and to keep the focus on doing things that help build toward those goals.

Power analysis, sometimes called power mapping, is a core tool for strategic leadership. A power analysis involves 1- being very clear what your goal is; 2- analyzing who it is who can give you what you want; 3- figuring out how to move that power holder or target; 4- figuring out who, or what, supports them, and what can be done to undermine that support; 5- doing an inventory of what power and resources you have on your side and how you can use them; 6- Figuring out who are people, organizations, or institutions that might end up on either side, and how you can move them to your side, or get them to remain neutral.

Note

For more information and tools, you can check out The Commons Social Change Library.

Many of the pieces of work done in a power analysis require research. That research can help you figure out who actually holds what power in the situation you are trying to change and who different stakeholders are accountable to. Research can also help you find ways in which your target is vulnerable to legal challenges. Good research is an important part of strategic leadership.

Sometimes, strategic leaders can be so focused on their goals that they can forget about the importance of relationships and good inclusive processes. A good strategic leader is able to work with others to develop a good strategy that has some chance of winning, and they are able to get others to see their strategic goals and to focus their work on doing the things that help move the strategy that the organization decides on forward. A good strategy is only good if an organization has the capacity and the focused attention to organize to win it.

Activity 4.1.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What are some ways you use strategy in your everyday life?
2. What are some ways you would benefit from using strategy more often?
3. How have you seen people be strategic in ways you didn't like?
4. What gets in the way of you being better at strategic leadership?
5. Evaluate an organization you work with, or some group you are associated with, for how well it uses strategic leadership.

This page titled 4.1: Characteristics of Strategic Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4.2: Justice for Janitors Part 1

Background to Justice for Janitors

The Justice for Janitors campaign is a great example of strategic leadership. Organizers took a creative approach to organizing a sector of the workforce that has been hard to unionize. Their strategic innovations have led to real improvement in the lives of janitors all around the country. Their example encouraged other unions and movements to ask deep questions about what strategies might lead to success. This is an overall history of Justice for Janitors. The next entry is the story of one particular fight.

In 1985, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) began the Justice for Janitors campaign, which took an innovative approach to organizing. It focused on the large companies that hire janitorial contractors, rather than the small contracting companies that actually hire janitors. They pressured the large companies to only use union contractors.

The Janitors for Justice campaign began with Stephen Lerner, a former United Farm Workers (UFW) organizer and later head of SEIU's janitorial division in D.C. Lerner was placed in Denver for his first janitor's organizing drive. Lerner acknowledges the influence of his work with United Farm Workers, and Justice for Janitors "was enormously influenced by the tactics...of the farmworkers movement." Janitors for Justice employed UFW tactics, such as vivid imagery of the exploitation of workers, demonstrations, street theater, hunger strikes, vigils, blockades, clergy–labor alliance, and community organizing. In Washington, D.C., the Justice for Janitors Strike alongside SEIU Local 82 fought against U.S. Service Industries; U.S. Service Industries was a private janitorial company of nonunion workers that was hired for their services at the downtown luxury buildings. In March 1995, the movement conducted several demonstrations that blocked off street/traffic movement as well as other forms of civil disobedience to protest their rights and demands, which resulted in over 200 arrests. The protesters were clear and direct with their demands; they wanted to end tax breaks for real estate developers and cut back social programs designated for the poor. Manny Pastreich, spokesperson of the union, even declared, “This isn’t just about 5,000 janitors; it’s about issues that concern all D.C. residents - what’s happening to their schools, their streets, their neighborhoods.” In the end, the strike resulted in being more than just a traditional strike; as expressed earlier, it was now a powerful mass movement looking out for everyone, no matter age, race, status, or anything, no matter building, location, or object. Justice for Janitors even adopted the rallying cry of the United Farm Workers: "*Sí se puede!*"

The Justice for Janitors campaigns often use strong tactics to get their point across. SEIU sends trained organizers to local unions in order to organize campaigns. The campaigns of Justice for Janitors also use master contracts that are then shared market-wide. One contract in a certain market will apply to all union janitors across that market. This allows union workers to fight for different rights while applying any accomplishments to all workers in that market.

Justice for Janitors organizers drew upon lessons from the civil rights movement to conduct demonstrations that increased public awareness of the economic grievances and racial discrimination that service workers encountered in large urban areas, such as Los Angeles and Washington, D.C.

In Los Angeles, starting in April of 1990, janitors marched and held demonstrations during the daytime for 3 weeks. To help their cause, many religious leaders, community leaders, and politicians joined the janitors' action of the janitors and supported their protests. The archbishop of Los Angeles, Cardinal Roger Mahony, held a special mass for the janitors. Also, Mayor Richard Riordan joined the campaign by voicing his support for the janitors and their union. The janitors in Los Angeles stayed on strike until April 22. By this time, they had reached a contract that guaranteed at least a 22% raise over the next three years.

The percentage of janitors unionized in Los Angeles had significantly increased from 10 percent of the workforce in 1987 to 90 percent of the workforce in 1995, greatly because of the movement. The connections the movement had with community leaders, such as the Black and Latino organizations, churches, and activists, allowed the strikers to receive the attention needed to be granted their demands throughout the entire city of Los Angeles.

The Los Angeles strike was significant to the future of Justice for Janitors as it spurred a nationwide campaign involving over 100,000 SEIU janitors in 2000. The campaign sought to raise wages for all janitors as well as improve overall working conditions. SEIU's Los Angeles Justice for Janitors campaign was portrayed in the motion picture *Bread and Roses*.

Activity 4.2.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What did the Justice for Janitors campaign do to make it easier to unionize janitors?
2. Why do you think making the campaign public helped get the companies to recognize the union?
3. What do you like or not like about the approach taken by Justice for Janitors?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Justice for Janitors" by Wikipedia licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

This page titled 4.2: Justice for Janitors Part 1 is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4.3: Justice for Janitors Part 2

A Justice for Janitors Campaign

In 1994, after ten years of organizing, the Janitors Union in Washington, D.C., had only organized about 20 percent of the commercial real estate buildings downtown — not nearly enough to have the power to raise wages in the sector. A change in strategy was required. Over the next two years, Justice for Janitors organized a series of "Days of Rage": creative escalating actions weaving together corporate campaigns, worker organizing, community support, and direct actions. Within the year, 5,000 janitors — 90 percent of those working in D.C. — were unionized and had won wage hikes and benefits. It was a huge victory. Justice for Janitors had hit upon one of the most successful union organizing strategies in recent US history, and the Days of Rage model has been repeated in many places since then.

Note

In this article from Beautiful Trouble Toolbox, the author Lisa Fithian writes a first-person perspective on her work with the Justice for Janitors campaign in Washington, D.C. She describes how they used multiple strategies to advocate for justice.

The Justice for Janitors model requires several key components:

1. A visibility campaign designed to reach the collective consciousness,
2. Strategic research and campaign planning to create a map and calendar of opportunities, and
3. Creative and escalating direct actions focused on a clear target. Combined, these elements help create a political crisis that forces the opponent to either resolve the issues or lose standing in the community.

"D.C. Has Carr Trouble" was our main slogan in December of 1994. Oliver Carr was the biggest commercial real estate owner in D.C., and we thought our little pun was creative, given how traffic was sure to be impacted by our bridge-blockading actions. We blocked buildings and parking garages of real estate giants, took over lobbies and the streets, and got arrested throughout the week.

In March, we went to the homes of real estate moguls and blocked the roads to the Capitol building by erecting mock houses in traffic lanes. Then we simultaneously took over the City Council Chambers, the office of Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, and disrupted Congress from the House Gallery right after the morning prayer, demanding that the wealthy pay their fair share.

September culminated in a massive action shutting down a major bridge from Virginia into D.C. In the middle of the highway, hundreds of janitors erected a classroom, complete with desks and chalkboards. We also parked a school bus and a school van across all four lanes, effectively closing the bridge.

When called out for blocking the bridges, SEIU President John Sweeney replied: "I believe in building bridges whenever [we can] be a full partner with our employers and a full citizen of the communities we live in. But I believe in blocking bridges whenever those employers and those communities turn a deaf ear to the working families we represent."

The September actions had an impact beyond our expectations. Some Cabinet members couldn't commute in. Flights were delayed at Reagan National Airport and the Senate had to delay votes. Needless to say, it was soon made a felony to block a bridge in D.C. Meanwhile, though, we had captured the hearts and minds of people in D.C. for whom janitors were no longer invisible.

The Justice for Janitors creative direct action model of organizing has been used again and again to great success, including the series of street actions in New York during the week of May 12, 2011, which to some degree set the stage for Occupy Wall Street and the growing movement against big banking.

Activity 4.3.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. A target is the person or entity that has the power to give organizers what they want. Who was the target of this campaign?
2. What gave the target the power to give organizers what they want?
3. What power and resources did the organizers have
4. What is their strategy to win? Break that strategy down into a set of steps.

Attributions

- Adapted from "Justice for Janitors" by Lisa Fithian, Beautiful Trouble, licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

This page titled 4.3: Justice for Janitors Part 2 is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4.4: Cutting the Issue

Turn a Problem into a Campaign Issue

A "problem" is something that is wrong in society, such as racism or unconstrained government power. In community organizing, an "issue" is something that a community decides to organize around. It is a partial solution to the problem you want to work on. Organizers call the thing a campaign organized to achieve the "issue" and use the word “problem” to describe the broader situation. Racism is a problem, but you will not solve the problem once and for all with any given piece of organizing. An organization can choose to fight for fair hiring practices, or a diverse curriculum in school, or changes to bank lending practices. Those are a winnable issues that chip away at the problem of racism. We get rid of racism in society by challenging it in a variety of ways. Taking a large, broad problem and turning it into bite-sized bits that can be organized around is called "cutting the issue."

When deciding what to work on, community organizations generally engage in a process of issue identification, where they spend time analyzing which of the root causes of the problems the community experiences they can successfully organize to challenge. They cut the issue down to the right size for their organization. Then, they analyze whether or not it is a good idea to focus on that issue.

Cutting the Issue

One method to help you decide on an issue to organize around is to break the process into three steps:

- The first step is to identify a broad problem
- The second step breaks the broad problem into three symptoms or causes
- The third step breaks each symptom or cause into a campaign issue. The campaign issues can draw from more than one symptom or cause

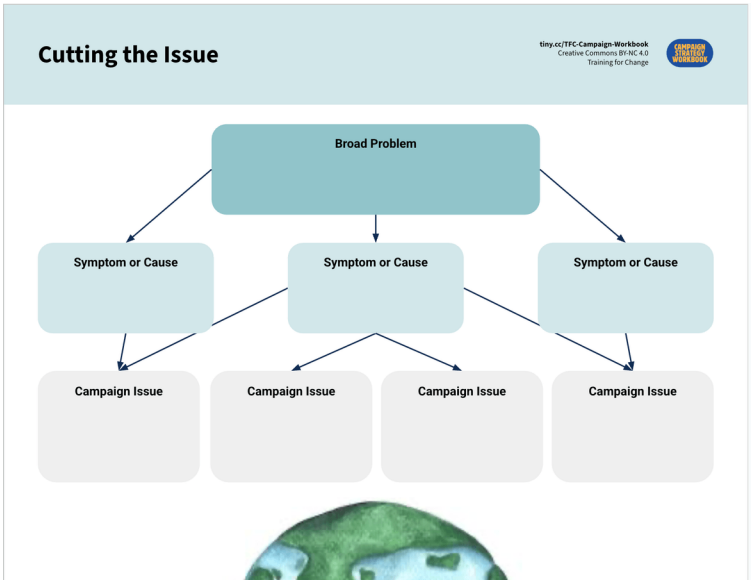


Figure 4.4.1: demonstrates how you can visualize breaking down a broad problem into smaller issues that you can address in your organization or social movement. You want to do this because you can more easily identify what steps you need to take for each of the issues. (By-NC 4.0; via Campaign Strategy Workbook) Access a detailed description of Figure 4.4.1

Activity 4.4.1

Developing Your Skills

Follow the steps in this section to help you cut the issue.

1. Pick a social problem that concerns you.
2. Then break that problem into three symptoms or causes.
3. Then break each symptom or cause into three campaign issues. The campaign issues can draw from more than one symptom or cause.
4. Then pick one issue as the basis of a hypothetical campaign that a community-based organization could organize around.
5. The issue you pick should be something that requires some building of community power to win, and it should have a clear target.
6. Write a statement about the campaign you could develop to organize around the issue.

You can refer to this example to help you understand each level: increased inequality in the wake of The Great Recession.

Attributions

- Adapted from "Cutting the Issue" by Campaign Strategy Workbook licensed under CC By NC 4.0.

This page titled 4.4: Cutting the Issue is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4.5: Choosing an Issue

Step by Step

Here is how Joan Minieri and Paul Gestos describe the qualities of a good issue in their book, *Tools for Radical Democracy: How to Organize for Power in your Community*.

What Makes an Issue the Right Issue? The right issue moves people to participate and inspires them to lead a successful campaign.

Here's how you know you have chosen the right issue:

- **It resonates.** The issue is important to the people who experience the problem it resolves. It makes them animated and angry.
- **It delivers.** Winning on the issue delivers a concrete, positive change that will make people's lives better.
- **It's winnable.** It is possible to achieve your goal.
- **It has a clear target.** There is one specific person who can give members what they want. This person is known as the target of the campaign.
- **It builds power.** The issue strengthens your organization and brings in new resources, members, relationships, allies, and funds. It unites rather than divides people in the organization.
- **It supports your mission and values.** The right issue is within the parameters of your organization's work.

Activity 4.5.1

Develop Your Skills

For an issue you identified in the activity *Cutting an Issue*:

1. Name the issue.
2. Evaluate how good an issue it is by saying something specific about each of the 6 criteria given by Minieri and Gestos above. A good issue does not have to be good on all six criteria.
3. End your assignment by making a statement about how you could go about organizing around that issue.

This page titled 4.5: Choosing an Issue is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4.6: Action Star

Key Factors for Planning & Evaluating Actions

Sometimes, swept up by outrage or excitement, we leap into action without much forethought or care. If we're lucky, it all works out. But we're much more likely to win if we thoughtfully choose tactics and stage actions that not only advance a larger campaign strategy but also take into account the art and science of successful action design.

> **Note**
>
> In this article from the Beautiful Trouble Toolbox, the author Jonathan Matthew Smucker (2013) helps you to develop a strategy for a campaign by thinking through different aspects of an action.

The action star tool is a great place to start. It helps you evaluate, refine and plan your action by asking you a series of key questions, including: Who or what is the political target of our action — and why? How is our action designed to pressure this target?

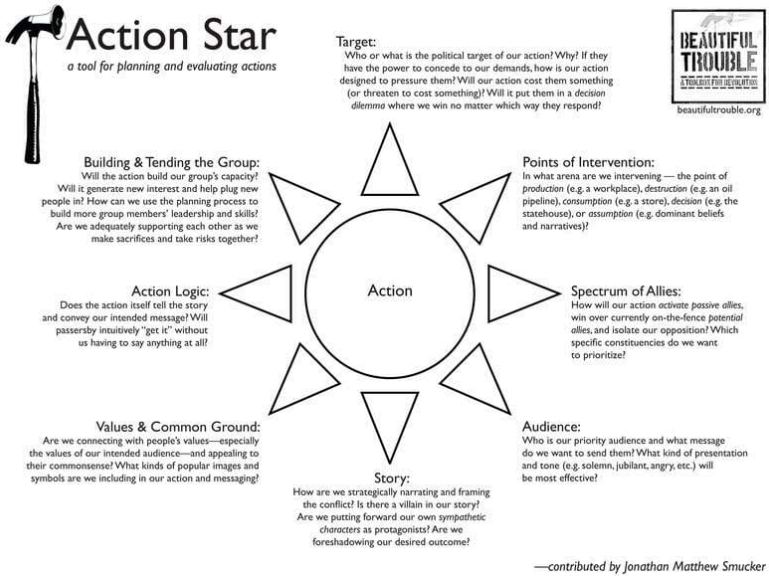


Figure 4.6.1: The Action Star Diagram is a helpful way for you to organize all of the aspects of your campaign. (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; Jonathan Matthew Smucker via Beautiful Trouble). Access a detailed description of Figure 4.6.1

Target

In political mobilization, the *target* is the person, institution, or system that has the power to grant demands or make change happen. Effective organizing begins with identifying who actually holds decision-making authority rather than who is simply visible or symbolic.

A strong political action asks:

- Who has the power to change the policy or condition?
- What pressure points matter to them?
- What political, financial, reputational, or public consequences might motivate action?

Mobilizations are often most successful when they create what organizers call a "decision dilemma," where the target loses political ground regardless of how they respond. For example, a protest may force elected officials to either concede demands or

publicly defend an unpopular stance.

Points of Intervention

Points of intervention refer to *where* activists choose to disrupt or intervene within a political, economic, or cultural system. Political mobilizations are more strategic when they identify leverage points rather than acting randomly.

The framework identifies several intervention points:

- Production (e.g., workplaces, labor strikes)
- Consumption (e.g., boycotts)
- Decision-making (e.g., city councils, legislatures)
- Assumptions and narratives (e.g., media campaigns challenging dominant beliefs)

For example, climate activists may intervene at oil pipelines (production), pressure banks funding fossil fuels (finance), or reshape public narratives about environmental justice through storytelling and media.

Spectrum of Allies

Political organizing is rarely about convincing everyone. Instead, mobilizations focus on moving people along a *spectrum of support*. The spectrum generally includes:

- Active allies
- Passive allies
- Neutral groups
- Passive opponents
- Active opponents

Strategic mobilization asks:

- How do we activate passive supporters?
- Which groups are persuadable?
- How do we isolate hardline opposition?

For example, labor movements may focus less on converting anti-union executives and more on mobilizing undecided workers and community members into active participation.

Audience

The audience is the group organizers are trying to influence emotionally, politically, or socially through the action. Political actions are designed not only for participants but also for:

- Media audiences
- Community members
- Voters
- Policymakers
- Potential allies

Organizers consider:

- What message should different audiences receive?
- What tone will resonate most effectively?
- What visuals or symbols communicate urgency or legitimacy?

For example, a student protest may use hopeful and inclusive messaging when speaking to the public but adopt sharper accountability language toward administrators.

Story

Political mobilizations rely heavily on storytelling and framing. Movements compete not only over policy outcomes but also over how events are interpreted publicly.

A movement's story helps answer:

- Who is being harmed?
- Who is responsible?
- What future is possible?
- Why should people care?

Strong political narratives humanize issues and create emotional connection. Civil rights movements, labor struggles, and environmental campaigns all use storytelling to transform abstract policy concerns into relatable human experiences.

Framing also matters strategically. A movement framed as "public safety" may gain broader support than one framed narrowly as partisan conflict.

Values and Common Ground

Mobilizations are more effective when they connect to shared public values rather than speaking only to insiders already committed to the cause.

This involves appealing to:

- Fairness
- Dignity
- Safety
- Democracy
- Community responsibility
- Economic justice

Political movements often succeed when they bridge ideological divides through commonly understood moral principles. For example, advocates for accessible education may frame tuition reduction not only as an economic issue but also as a matter of opportunity and equity.

Symbols, language, and imagery also matter because they communicate cultural values quickly and emotionally.

Action Logic

Action logic refers to the strategic reasoning behind *why* a particular action will communicate a message or create pressure.

Every political action sends signals. Organizers therefore ask:

- What does this action communicate?
- Will observers understand its purpose?
- Does it dramatize the issue effectively?

Strong action logic creates symbolic clarity. For example:

- Sit-ins demonstrate exclusion
- Strikes demonstrate worker dependence
- Boycotts demonstrate consumer power
- Marches demonstrate public scale and solidarity

An action becomes politically powerful when people immediately understand both the grievance and the demand without extensive explanation.

Building and Tending the Group

Sustainable political mobilization depends on internal community-building, not just external protest.

Movements must continually ask:

- Are participants developing leadership skills?
- Are responsibilities shared equitably?
- Is the group preventing burnout?
- Are relationships and trust being strengthened?

Historically, successful movements invest heavily in political education, mutual support, mentorship, and leadership development. Organizing is not only about winning immediate demands but also about building long-term collective capacity.

Strong internal culture helps movements survive setbacks, repression, and long political struggles.

Activity 4.6.1

Developing Your Skills

Take the issue you chose for the “picking an issue” activity. Then answer the following questions for that issue. Really think about what would make a good action and why. Try to think strategically!

1. Name your campaign.
2. Target: Who or what is the political target of our action and why? How is your action designed to pressure them? Will it threaten to or cost them something? Will it put them in a decision dilemma where you win no matter which way they respond? For example, they are in a situation where they need to give you what you want or they will end up with bad publicity, which will strengthen your campaign.
3. Research: What information will you need to understand and do research on to succeed in your campaign?
4. Allies: How will your action activate passive allies, win over potential allies, and isolate your opposition? Which specific constituencies do you want to prioritize?
5. Audience and Message: Who is your priority audience and what message do you want to send them? What kind of presentation and tone (solemn, jubilant, angry, etc.) will be most effective?
6. Story: How are you strategically narrating and framing the story? Is there a villain in your story? Are you putting forward your own sympathetic characters as protagonists? Are you foreshadowing your desired outcome?
7. Values and Common Ground: Are you connecting with people’s values—especially those of your intended audience—and appealing to their common sense? What kinds of popular images and symbols are you including in your action and messaging?
8. Action Logic: Does the action itself tell the story and convey your intended message? Will a passerby intuitively “get it” without you having to say anything at all?
9. Building the Group: Will the action build your group’s capacity? Will it generate new interest and help plug new people in? Are you adequately supporting each other as you make sacrifices and take risks together?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Action Star" by Jonathan Matthew Smucker, licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

This page titled 4.6: Action Star is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

4.7: Accessible Text Descriptions

Figure 4.4.1: Cutting the Issue Chart

This image is a worksheet-style flowchart titled “Cutting the Issue.” The purpose appears to be helping users break a large social or organizational problem into smaller causes, symptoms, and specific campaign issues.

Overall Layout

The chart is arranged in three levels from top to bottom:

1. One large box at the top labeled “Broad Problem.”
2. Three medium-sized boxes in the middle row labeled “Symptom or Cause.”
3. Four boxes in the bottom row labeled “Campaign Issue.”

Dark blue arrows connect the boxes, showing how a broad problem can be analyzed into causes or symptoms, which can then be narrowed into campaign issues.

Header

- The title “Cutting the Issue” appears in large bold black text in the upper left.
- In the upper right are attribution and branding elements:
  - Text reading: “tiny.cc/TFC-Campaign-Workbook”
  - “Creative Commons BY-NC 4.0”
  - “Training for Change”
  - A circular logo containing the words “Campaign Strategy Workbook.”

Flowchart Structure

- Top Level
  - A large rounded rectangle centered near the top is labeled:
  - “Broad Problem”
  - This box is empty except for the label.
- Middle Level
  - Three rounded rectangles sit beneath the Broad Problem box:
  - Left box
    - Label: “Symptom or Cause”
  - Center box
    - Label: “Symptom or Cause”
  - Right box
    - Label: “Symptom or Cause”

Connections from the Broad Problem

- An arrow points diagonally down left from the Broad Problem box to the left Symptom or Cause box.
- A second arrow points straight down from the Broad Problem box to the center Symptom or Cause box.
- A third arrow points diagonally down right from the Broad Problem box to the right Symptom or Cause box.

Bottom Level

- Four rounded rectangles are aligned across the bottom row. Each is labeled:
  - Campaign Issue (leftmost)
  - Campaign Issue (left-center)
  - Campaign Issue (right-center)
  - Campaign Issue (rightmost)

Connections from Symptoms/Causes to Campaign Issues

- Left Symptom or Cause
  - Two arrows emerge from the left middle box:
    - One arrow points down to the leftmost Campaign Issue box.
  - Another arrow points diagonally toward the left-center Campaign Issue box.
- Center Symptom or Cause
  - Three arrows emerge from the center middle box:
    - One arrow points diagonally left toward the left-center Campaign Issue box.
    - One arrow points downward toward the area between the two center Campaign Issue boxes.
    - One arrow points diagonally right toward the right-center Campaign Issue box.
  - Overall, the center box appears to contribute to both center campaign issues.
- Right Symptom or Cause
  - Two arrows emerge from the right middle box:
    - One arrow points diagonally down left toward the rightmost Campaign Issue box.
    - Another arrow points down toward the same rightmost Campaign Issue box.
  - This suggests that multiple symptoms or causes may converge on a single campaign issue.

Visual Style

- Background is light gray.
- The Broad Problem box is a darker blue-green color.
- The Symptom or Cause boxes are a lighter blue-green.
- The Campaign Issue boxes are light gray.
- All labels are bold, black, and centered within their boxes.
- Arrows are dark blue.
- At the very bottom edge of the image, only the top portion of a globe or Earth illustration is visible, partially cut off by the image boundary.

Figure 4.6.1: Action Star

Edit section This image is a atrategic planning worksheet titled “Action Star: a tool for planning and evaluating actions.” It presents a star-shaped framework for designing or assessing a social change action, campaign, protest, or organizing effort.

The diagram consists of a large circle in the center labeled “Action,” surrounded by eight triangular points arranged like a star. Each point corresponds to a planning question or consideration. Explanatory text appears around the outside of the star, describing each category.

Header and Branding

- In the upper left corner is a drawing of a hammer standing upright.
- To the right of the hammer is the title:
  - “Action Star”
  - Subtitle: “a tool for planning and evaluating actions”
- In the upper right corner is a logo reading:
  - “Beautiful Trouble”
  - Tagline: “a toolbox for revolution”
  - Website: beautifultrouble.org

Central Diagram

- At the center is a large circle labeled: Action
- Surrounding the circle are eight evenly spaced triangular points, forming a star-like shape. Each point corresponds to one planning dimension.

Target (Top)

- Located above the central circle.
- Heading: Target

- Questions:
  - Who or what is the political target of our action? Why?
  - If they have the power to concede to our demands, how is our action designed to pressure them?
  - Will our action cost them something, or threaten to cost something (or threaten to cost them something)?
  - Will it put them in a decision dilemma where we win no matter how they respond?

Points of Intervention (Upper Right)

- Located to the upper right of the circle.
- Heading: Points of Intervention
- Questions:

  - In what arena are we intervening- the point of production (for example, a workplace), destruction (for example, an oil pipeline), consumption (for example, a store), decision-making (for example, a statehouse), assumption (for example, dominant beliefs and narratives)?

Spectrum of Allies (Right)

- Located directly right of the circle.
- Heading: Spectrum of Allies
- Questions:
  - How will our action activate passive allies, win over currently on-the-fence potential allies, and isolate our opposition?
  - Which specific constituencies do we want to prioritize?

Audience (Lower Right)

- Located below and right of the circle.
- Heading: Audience
- Questions:
  - Who is the priority audience and what message do we want to send them?
  - What kind of presentation and tone (for example, solemn, jubilant, angry, etc.) will be most effective?

Story (Bottom)

- Located directly below the circle.
- Heading: Story
- Questions:
  - How are we strategically narrating and framing the conflict?
  - Is there a villain in our story?
  - Are we putting forward our own sympathetic characters as protagonists?
  - Are we foreshadowing our desired outcome?

Values & Common Ground (Lower Left)

- Located below and left of the circle.
- Heading: Values & Common Ground
- Questions:
  - Are we connecting with people's values- especially the values of our intended audience- and appealing to their common sense?
  - What kinds of popular images and symbols are included in the action and messaging?

Action Logic (Left)

- Located directly left of the circle.
- Heading: Action Logic
- Questions:
  - Does the action tell a story and convey our intended message?
  - Will passerby intuitively "get it" without us having to say anything at all?

Building & Tending the Group (Upper Left)

- Located above and left of the circle.
- Heading: Building & Tending the Group
- Questions:
  - Will the action build the group's capacity?
  - Will it generate new interest and help plug new people in?
  - How can we use the planning process to build more group members' leadership and skills?
  - Are we adequately supporting each other as we make sacrifices and take risks together?

Attribution

- In the lower right corner appears the credit:
- “contributed by Jonathan Matthew Smucker”

Visual Style

- Black-and-white line drawing.
- Minimalist worksheet design.
- Large central circle with eight triangular points creating a sunburst or star appearance.
- Text blocks are arranged around the perimeter, each associated with one point of the star.
- The layout encourages users to consider an action from eight strategic perspectives simultaneously.

This page titled 4.7: Accessible Text Descriptions is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

5: TASK LEADERSHIP

Introduction

Complex organizing requires a lot of logistics. Task leadership involves managing the complex details of a campaign. One famous example of a very successful use of task leadership was the Montgomery Bus Boycott. After Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery Alabama bus in December of 1955, the community organized a boycott of the bus system that lasted until December of 1956. The boycott ended when the Supreme Court declared segregation in buses to be unconstitutional.

Getting anything done requires a lot of small tasks to be done, and a good task leader can take something big that needs to be done and break it up into small tasks. Task leaders also work to get other people to do tasks and they keep track of who needs to do what when.

Learning Objectives

In this section, you will

1. Learn what task leadership is and reflect on your task leadership skills
2. Study the Montgomery Bus Boycott
3. Learn how to use a spreadsheet to organize an event
4. Explore the Iron Rule of community organizing

5.1: Characteristics of Task Leadership

5.2: Story of Task Leadership

5.3: Developing Leadership in Others

5.4: Event Planning

This page titled 5: Task Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

5.1: Characteristics of Task Leadership

What is Task Leadership?

Getting anything done requires a huge number of small tasks. Any organization requires many different people to do many different things, and it only works when all of the pieces come together in a coordinated way.

Some people love doing tasks, and they are very good at doing them. Being a really excellent task leader means that you are good at doing and keeping track of your tasks, and that you are also good at delegating tasks. Many people who are good at task leadership are so worried that something may get dropped that they tend to hold too much of the work themselves. Building leadership in others is often as important as actually getting the work done. Sometimes the process is as important as the product. So a good task leader follows the Iron Rule of Community Organizing: never do for someone something they can do themselves.

There are many tools that task leaders use to keep themselves organized and to coordinate the work of a team. One of the most useful is a spreadsheet. Spreadsheets are like complex to-do lists. They help us organize information in ways that make the information easy to digest and keep track of. There are also many tools that organizations use to keep track of different parts of the work, such as Discord and Slack.

Task leadership is very different at different levels:

- Task leadership starts with being able to take on simple tasks that you can reliably accomplish. You can build your relationships in an organization by carrying out your part of the work. To do this, you need a system for keeping track of your commitments.
- At a higher level, a good task leader can take a large set of goals and break them down into smaller tasks. This often requires a tool such as a spreadsheet.
- A really excellent task leader can delegate tasks to other people and make sure that those tasks are done when they need to be done. This requires working well with others, being respectful of their skills and abilities, and knowing when to jump in and find alternatives when things are not being done how and when they are needed.

Activity 5.1.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What systems do you have in place to make sure you do the things you are committed to doing?
2. How are you at breaking a job into small, doable tasks?
3. Give an example of a time when you took a large problem and broke it into bite-sized tasks. How did it go?
4. What do you think is a good way to hold people accountable for their part of the work?
5. What do you do when others do not do the things they have committed to doing?
6. Where would you put yourself on the levels of task leadership?. What would help you move to a higher level?

This page titled 5.1: Characteristics of Task Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

5.2: Story of Task Leadership

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The Montgomery bus boycott was a political and social protest campaign against the policy of racial segregation on the public transit system of Montgomery, Alabama. It was a foundational event in the civil rights movement in the United States. The campaign lasted from December 5, 1955—the Monday after Rosa Parks, an African-American woman, was arrested for her refusal to surrender her seat to a white person—to December 20, 1956, when the federal ruling Browder v. Gayle took effect, and led to a United States Supreme Court decision that declared that the Alabama and Montgomery laws that segregated buses were unconstitutional.

In 1955, Rosa Parks completed a course in "Race Relations" at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, where nonviolent civil disobedience had been discussed as a tactic. On December 1, 1955, Parks was sitting in the foremost row in which Black people could sit. When a white man boarded the bus, the bus driver told everyone in her row to move back. While all of the other black people in her row complied, Parks refused, and she was arrested for failing to obey the driver's seat assignments, as city ordinances did not explicitly mandate segregation but did give the bus driver authority to assign seats. Found guilty on December 5, Parks was fined $10 plus a court cost of $4.

On the night of Parks' arrest, the Women's Political Council, led by Jo Ann Robinson, printed and circulated a flyer throughout Montgomery's Black community that read as follows:

> Another woman has been arrested and thrown in jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down. It is the second time since the Claudette Colvin case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped. Negroes have rights too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negro, yet they were are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother. This woman's case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday. You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus. You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off all buses Monday.

To publicize the impending boycott, it was advertised at Black churches throughout Montgomery the following Sunday.

On Saturday, December 3, it was evident that the Black community would support the boycott, and very few Black people rode the buses that day. On December 5, a mass meeting was held at the Holt Street Baptist Church to determine if the protest would continue. Given twenty minutes notice, King gave a speech asking for a bus boycott and attendees enthusiastically agreed.

According to Samantha Shain,

> At least 29 women worked as regular carpool drivers or dispatchers. Ann Smith Pratt, a hairdresser, was the chief dispatcher. She worked the ham radio directing taxi drivers and the church station wagon crew to urgent pickups at 32 designated sites.
>
> Rev. Benjamin J. Simms set up three repair shops, designated official gas stations, instituted a uniform pay scale for drivers and a system for keeping track of them, oversaw dispatchers working around the clock, and demanded meticulous record keeping. (Shain, 2020)

The boycott proved extremely effective, with enough riders lost to the city transit system to cause serious economic distress. Martin Luther King later wrote, "[a] miracle had taken place." Instead of riding buses, boycotters organized a system of carpools, with car owners volunteering their vehicles or themselves driving people to various destinations. When the city pressured local insurance companies to stop insuring cars used in the carpools, the boycott leaders arranged policies at Lloyd's of London.

Black taxi drivers charged ten cents per ride, a fare equal to the cost to ride the bus, in support of the boycott. When word of this reached city officials on December 8, the order went out to fine any cab driver who charged a rider less than 45 cents. In addition to using private motor vehicles, some people used non-motorized means to get around, such as cycling, walking, or even riding

mules or driving horse-drawn buggies. Some people also hitchhiked. During rush hours, sidewalks were often crowded. As the buses received few, if any, passengers, their officials asked the City Commission to allow stopping service to Black communities. Across the nation, Black churches raised money to support the boycott and collected new and slightly used shoes to replace the tattered footwear of Montgomery's Black citizens, many of whom walked everywhere rather than ride the buses and submit to Jim Crow laws.

Also important during the bus boycott were grassroots activist groups that helped to catalyze both fundraising and morale. Groups such as the Club from Nowhere helped to sustain the boycott by finding new ways of raising money and offering support to boycott participants. Many members of these organizations were women, and their contributions to the effort have been described by some as essential to the success of the bus boycott.

Activity 5.2.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What were some of the logistical tasks needed to make the Montgomery Bus boycott successful?
2. What skills did the task leaders use to accomplish their goals?
3. What do you think of the fact that Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King became very famous while Ann Smith Pratt and Rev. Benjamin J. Simms are almost unknown?
4. What was something interesting to you about the story of the Montgomery Bus Boycott?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Montgomery bus boycott" by Wikipedia is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

This page titled 5.2: Story of Task Leadership is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

5.3: Developing Leadership in Others

Using the Iron Rule

If an organization is going to grow, it needs to cultivate leadership capacity in its members. If one person always runs meetings and does most of that talking, then other people are not given the opportunity to develop their leadership skills, people don't feel responsible for the work, the insights of others are missed, and the work does not get spread out in ways that develop capacity.

According to The Iron Rule of Community Organizing: You should never do for someone what they can do for themselves. As you work with people in your organization, always think about ways to delegate work to others and to develop their capacity for more responsibility.

If you give someone too much responsibility too quickly, you may scare them away, and they may fail at their tasks. A good organizer starts with small things and helps a person develop skills and confidence. At the same time, the organization is building a sense of trust that the person can be relied on to do what they commit to. In this way, relationships of trust and accountability are developed.

Sometimes helping someone to grow involves doing something with them before you ask them to do it themselves.

One example of a place to start with delegating is by bringing snacks to an event. The event won't fail if the snacks are not brought. Asking someone to bring snacks shows you trust them, and it makes them feel like they are a part of the work. They feel a sense of responsibility for the event. While it might be easier for you to bring the snacks yourself, and you might worry that the snacks won't be there, delegating the task is good for building the organization.

Activity 5.3.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Share an example of when you have used the Iron Rule or when you have seen others use it.
2. How did it go?
3. What makes it difficult for you to use the Iron Rule?
4. What do you think about this rule?

This page titled 5.3: Developing Leadership in Others is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

5.4: Event Planning

Planning Spreadsheet

A big part of community organizing is organizing events. These events can help you recruit members, promote your campaign or issue, and are a great way to bring people together. When you are planning something complex, it can be very helpful to use a spreadsheet.

Note

A great tool for staying organized is using Google Sheets or Microsoft Excel.

Here are two examples of using the online platform on Google:

- Generic Conference Planning Sheet
- Project Timeline

A good Event Planning Spreadsheet will:

- Have time along the horizontal axis
- Have categories and subcategories for the work
- Some way to keep track of who is doing that when, such as places to put the names of people who are responsible for a given piece of work

Activity 5.4.1

Developing your Skills

Create a spreadsheet, such as a Google Doc Sheet, with a timeline to plan an event related to community organizing. The event can be made up. Have time be on the horizontal axis. You are welcome to use a template. You can find the templates in the upper left-hand corner of the Google Sheet page. Templates can be more beautiful, but sometimes they are difficult to make changes to.

If you are using a Google Doc, go to SHARE in the upper right corner, name the sheet, then make it visible to anyone with a link, and make anyone edit. You can now share this with your team or turn in the shareable link for assignments.

Watch Google Sheets tutorials as needed.

This page titled 5.4: Event Planning is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6: VISIONARY LEADERSHIP

Introduction

In the 1990s, many people organizing for social change in many parts of the world were pessimistic that it was possible to build a world that was not based on the rich getting richer and the destruction of the environment. Then, in 1994, in a dramatic gesture, members of an indigenous group in southern Mexico came out of the Lacandon jungle wearing ski masks to hide their identities and holding guns to show their resolve. They were not a typical guerrilla army trying to overthrow an oppressive government. Instead, they used the drama of their entry onto the world stage to grab attention and to offer a new vision of a better world. They called themselves the Zapatistas, in honor of the Mexican revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata. Their vision continues to inspire people all around the world who are working for a world that works for everyone.

Visionary leaders help create new understanding of the predicaments we are in and new ways of thinking about the world we are trying to build. They are good at communicating those messages and inspiring others to work to bring society into alignment with those visions.

A good strategy will not have much chance of success if people don't get behind what the strategy is trying to accomplish. Communicating your message and getting people on board with the goals you are trying to achieve are crucial for social change.

Learning Objectives

In this section, you will

1. Learn about visionary leadership and reflect on your skills as a visionary leader
2. Study the example of the Zapatistas
3. Learn to develop a clear Action Logic
4. Develop a piece of compact communication that speaks for an issue
5. Develop a flyer and email to promote a message you develop

6.1: Characteristics of Visionary Leadership

6.2: Story of Visionary Leadership

6.3: Story of Visionary Leadership Continued

6.4: Action Logic

6.5: Framing a Message

6.6: Flyers

6.7: Compact Communication

6.8: Accessible Text Descriptions

This page titled 6: Visionary Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.1: Characteristics of Visionary Leadership

What is Visionary Leadership?

Visionary leaders help people understand what they are doing and why they are doing it. They develop visions for a better world. They think about ways to communicate those visions. A visionary leader thinks deeply about messaging. They spend time thinking about how to design events and communications in ways that will forward the group's mission. Visionary leaders talk about communication, and they attend to the internal communications within an organization as well as to communication with the outside world.

Messaging is the story you tell to help others make sense of what you are doing. When we interpret a situation, we always bring our past experience and our opinions to the situation. A good communicator thinks about ways to tell a story that resonates with the values of their audience. Two concepts that are useful for thinking about messaging are framing and hegemony.

Jim A. Kuypers defines framing as "a process whereby communicators, consciously or unconsciously, act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner. Frames operate in four key ways: they define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Frames are often found within a narrative account of an issue or event, and are generally the central organizing idea."

A famous example of this is the way those arguing for abortion rights frame abortion as about a pregnant person's choice over what happens in their body. Whereas anti-abortion activists frame their movement as favoring the life of the unborn fetus. This has come to be boiled down to two very different frames: pro-choice or pro-life. Each way of framing the issue tries to get you to see the issue in a way that encourages you to support their cause. They put a picture frame around the issue that makes it make sense from their point of view.

Another helpful concept for messaging is hegemony. The philosopher Antonio Gramsci argued that oppressive social forces can use violence to coerce people into doing what they want. But a much more effective way to maintain power is to convince people that the current social order is good for them. Systems of domination rely on a combination of force and consent. He called the way ideas help to anchor a system of domination "hegemony." And he argued that movements against oppression need to work to create "counter-hegemonies." That means ways of understanding the world that show the ways mainstream views prop up oppression.

An important part of a social movement involves working to challenge dominant hegemonic ideas and developing counter-hegemonic cultures. The expression "decolonize your mind" is based on this idea. Our minds have been colonized by ways of thinking that prop up social systems that are not good for us. Social movements can present alternative ways of understanding the world, and they can criticize dominant ways of seeing the world. This visionary work can help people to see the pathways toward a better future.

Visionary leaders are cultural workers who help us to inspire others to imagine a better world, to imagine pathways to getting there, and to see what is wrong with the current social order. A good vision is not just a far-off utopia. Instead, it calls us from where we are to do real, practical things to take steps toward a better society.

Activity 6.1.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Explain the concept of framing in your own words and give an example of two different ways to frame the same thing.
2. Explain the concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony in your own words and give an example of a mainstream idea that supports domination. Also give an example of a counter-hegemonic idea.

3. For an organization you are working with, or interested in, look at their communications and evaluate how well they do at messaging and framing. What do you find effective and what do you find less effective?
4. What are your strengths as a visionary leader?
5. What are ways you would like to develop as a visionary leader?

This page titled 6.1: Characteristics of Visionary Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.2: Story of Visionary Leadership

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN)

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) controls a substantial amount of territory in Chiapas, the southernmost state of Mexico. The Zapatistas' main body is made up of mostly rural indigenous people, but it includes some supporters in urban areas and internationally. The group takes its name from Emiliano Zapata, the agrarian revolutionary and commander of the Liberation Army of the South during the Mexican Revolution, and sees itself as his ideological heir.

The EZLN aligns itself with the wider alter-globalization, anti-neoliberal social movement, seeking indigenous control over local resources, especially land. Since their 1994 uprising was countered by the Mexican Armed Forces, the EZLN has abstained from military offensives and adopted a new strategy that attempts to garner Mexican and international support.

The Zapatistas describe themselves as a decentralized organization. Political decisions are deliberated and decided in community assemblies. Military and organizational matters are decided by the Zapatista area elders who compose the General Command (Revolutionary Indigenous Clandestine Committee – General Command, or CCRI-CG).

In 1974 an indigenous conference brought indigenous peoples from across Chiapas together to discuss their conditions. Promoted and organized by the Catholic church, this event helped foster an indigenous political identity in the region. In the 1980s, they joined with the Rural Collective Interest Association – "Unión de Uniones" (ARIC-UU).



Figure 6.2.1: This sign is located at the entrance of Zapatista rebel territory. It reads, "You are in Zapatista territory in rebellion. Here the people command and the government obeys." It is part of their vision of how they operate as a self-sustaining and governing community. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Paolo Massa via flickr)

The Zapatista Army went public on January 1, 1994, releasing their declaration on the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect. On that day, they issued their First Declaration and Revolutionary Laws from the Lacandon Jungle. The declaration amounted to a declaration of war on the Mexican government, which they considered illegitimate. The EZLN stressed that it opted for armed struggle due to the lack of results that had been achieved through peaceful means of protest (such as sit-ins and marches). Until recently, the EZLN's main spokesperson was Subcomandante Insurgente Galeano, previously known as Subcomandante Marcos.

Note

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was an agreement signed by Canada, Mexico, and the United States that created a trilateral trade agreement across North America with few restrictions. The EZLN was in opposition because they believed it would destroy indigenous livelihoods and rights, privatize communal lands, and affect poor Mexican's the most.

They used their uprising as a platform to call attention to their movement to protest the signing of the NAFTA, which the EZLN believed would increase inequality in Chiapas. Prior to the signing of NAFTA, however, dissent amongst indigenous workers was already on the rise in 1992 with the amendment of Article 27 of the Constitution. The amendment called for the end of land reform and the regularizing of all landholdings, which ended land redistribution in Mexico. The end of land distribution heralded the end of many communities that had been growing of the past decade, as they had been waiting for further distribution that was on an agrarian backlog according to the government.

The Zapatistas hosted the Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism to help initiate a united platform for other anti-neoliberal groups. The EZLN also called for greater democratization of the Mexican government, which had been controlled by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party, also known as PRI) for 65 years, and for land reform mandated by the 1917 Constitution of Mexico, which had been repealed in 1991. It also advocated for protection from violence and political inclusion of Chiapas's indigenous communities.

On January 1, 1994, an estimated 3,000 armed Zapatista insurgents seized six towns and cities in the Chiapas highlands. The Zapatistas soon retreated to the forest to avoid a federal military offensive. "The EZLN listed a series of other demands that were a compendium of long-standing grievances of the indigenous communities of Chiapas, but also found echo in broad sectors of Mexican society outside of Chiapas: work, land, housing, food, healthcare, education, independence, liberty, democracy, justice, and peace."

On June 28, 2005, the Zapatistas presented the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, declaring their principles and vision for Mexico and the world. This declaration reiterated the support for the indigenous peoples, who make up roughly one-third of the population of Chiapas, and extended the cause to include "all the exploited and dispossessed of Mexico". It also expressed the movement's sympathy to the international alter-globalization movement and supported leftist governments in Cuba, Bolivia, Ecuador, and elsewhere, with whom they felt there was common cause.

In late 2006 and early 2007, the Zapatistas, along with other indigenous peoples of the Americas, announced the Intercontinental Indigenous Encounter. They invited indigenous people from throughout the Americas and the rest of the world to gather on October 11–14, 2007, near Guaymas, Sonora. The declaration for the conference designated this date because of "515 years since the invasion of ancient Indigenous territories and the onslaught of the war of conquest, spoils and capitalist exploitation". Comandante David said in an interview, "The object of this meeting is to meet one another and to come to know one another's pains and sufferings. It is to share our experiences, because each tribe is different."

On December 21, 2012, tens of thousands of EZLN supporters marched silently through five cities in the state of Chiapas: Ocosingo, Las Margaritas, Palenque, Altamirano and San Cristóbal. Hours after the march, a communiqué from the CCRI-CG was released in the form of a poem, signed by the Subcomandante Marcos. This mobilization, which included the participation of around 40,000 Zapatistas, was the largest since the 1994 uprising. Of this number, La Jornada estimated that half would have marched through the streets of San Cristóbal de las Casas, 7,000 in Las Margaritas and 8,000 in Palenque; for its part, El País calculated that San Cristóbal would have seen the concentration of some 10,000 participants.

Beyond the number of people, the silence with which they marched and the lack of an opening or closing speech were the elements that marked this action. The poet and journalist Hermann Bellinghausen, specialist in coverage of the movement, ended his chronicle in this way:

Able to "appear" suddenly, the rebellious indigenous "disappeared" as neatly and silently as they had arrived in this city at dawn that, two decades after the EZLN's traumatic uprising here on the new year of 1994, received them with care and curiosity, without any expression of rejection. Under the arches of the mayor's office, which today suspended its activities, dozens of Ocosinguenses gathered to photograph with cell phones and cameras the spectacular concentration of hooded people who filled the park like a game of Tetris, advancing between the planters with an order that seemed choreographed, to get the platform installed quickly from early on, raise their fist and say, quietly, "here we are, once again".

The Zapatistas invited the world to a three-day fiesta to celebrate ten years of Zapatista autonomy in August 2013 in the five

caracoles of Chiapas. They expected 1,500 international activists to attend the event, titled the Little School of Liberty.

At the end of August 2019, Subcomandante Insurgente Galeano announced the expansion of EZLN into 11 more districts. In response, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador stated that this expansion was welcome, provided it was done without violence.

In November 2023, the EZLN announced the reorganisation of the MAREZ into thousands of "Local Autonomous Governments" (GAL) which form area-wide "Zapatista Autonomous Government Collectives" (CGAZ) and zone-wide "Assemblies of Collectives of Zapatista Autonomous Governments" (ACGAZ).

On August 4, 2025, during the Meeting of Resistances and Rebellions "Some Parts of the Whole", held at the Caracol IV of Morelia, in the municipality of Altamirano, the EZLN condemned the genocide in Gaza, calling for international solidarity, defining it as a "systematic aggression against the Palestinian people", and tying it directly to the capitalist system.

The ideology of the Zapatista movement, Neozapatismo, synthesizes Mayan tradition with elements of libertarian socialism, anarchism, Catholic liberation theology, and Marxism. The historical influence of Mexican anarchists and various Latin American socialists is apparent in Neozapatismo. A Zapatista slogan is in harmony with the concept of mutual aid: "Everything for everyone. Nothing for us" (Para todos todo, para nosotros nada).

The EZLN opposes economic globalization, arguing that it severely and negatively affects the lives of its indigenous support base and oppresses people worldwide. The signing of NAFTA also resulted in the removal of Article 27, Section VII, from the Mexican Constitution, which had guaranteed land reparations to indigenous groups throughout Mexico through collective land tenure.

The Zapatistas have used organizations like the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to raise awareness for their rebellion and indigenous rights, and what they claim is the Mexican government's lack of respect for the country's impoverished and marginalized populations. Appealing to the ECOSOC and other non-governmental bodies may have allowed the Zapatistas to establish a sense of autonomy by redefining their identities both as indigenous people and as citizens of Mexico.



Figure 6.2.1: Zapatista children show the intergenerational participation of the Movement (CC By-NC-ND 3.0 via Common Dreams)

The Zapatistas' communication strategy evolved to incorporate mythopoetic techniques, blending Indigenous storytelling traditions with political messaging and magical realism. This approach allowed the Zapatistas to transcend the constraints of standard Spanish prose, which they viewed as embedded with colonial and hegemonic biases. By employing mythopoetics—a style characterized by metaphorical narratives, allegories, and cultural symbolism—they effectively communicated Mesoamerican philosophical tenets while broadening their appeal to both local and international audiences.

Zapatista communities build and maintain their own health, education, and sustainable agro-ecological systems, promote equitable gender relations via Women's Revolutionary Law, and build international solidarity through outreach and political communication, in addition to their focus on building "a world where many worlds fit".

The Zapatistas continue to control the Chiapas area with around 300,000 people across 55 municipalities. These poor communities run and train their own civic programs (education, health, government, justice) autonomously, with little interference from the Mexican government.

Activity 6.2.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What do you think about the Zapatistas' approach to organizing?
2. In what ways do they show visionary leadership?
3. What do you think of their vision?
4. What is their critique of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and what do you think of global trade agreements?

Attribution

- Adapted from "Zapatista Army of National Liberation" by Wikipedia is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA.

This page titled 6.2: Story of Visionary Leadership is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.3: Story of Visionary Leadership Continued

Zapatista Film

The film "Zapatista: A Big Noise Film" (19991) on the Zapatista movement shares the history of the movement and the many struggles the community has gone through, as well as the movement's many successes. From the film, you will learn about their practices and their demands.

> Note
>
> The film has both Spanish and English audio with English captioning and transcription.
>
> The film includes some graphic images of mistreatment.

Zapatista Practices

The Zapatistas operate by centering Mutual Aid practices. This means they provide all of their needs as a community without the help and involvement of the Mexican government. This includes food, shelter, healthcare, education, and safety. They use the land to grow their own food and raise animals. They all participate in keeping the community safe from external threats. It is a great example of long-term mutual aid efforts, especially in places where they have little to no government resources like water and electricity. Instead, they have learned to work with what they have and have relied on more localized solar panels for electricity as needed. This does not mean they do not face challenges or poverty, but they stand behind their beliefs and self-sustaining practices.

Group decisions are another key practice of the EZLN since the beginning of their movement. They especially value and include women in the decision-making process. In 1994, about half of their general command and one-third of the armed forces were women. In the film, we see women as part of the leadership of the EZLN. Comandanta Ramona was one of the most important public figures during the first stages of the uprising of the movement. In her role, she consulted with the women in the community and created the "Revolutionary Law on Women," which would advocate for women's rights within the EZLN movement and through direct peace talks with the Mexican government. She was instrumental for gathering many indigenous women from all over the country and helping bring to light their demands.



Figure 6.3.1: Comandanta Ramona (1959-2006) was a key leader in the movement as an advocate for women's rights and artisanship alongside so many other women. For the EZLN, the voice, ideas, and participation of women are as important as the participation of men. (CC BY-NC 2.0; duncan cumming via flickr)

Their Demands

Through the film we hear directly from Zapatista members that their biggest demands include justice, dignity, and recognition. They demand justice for their members who are constantly being threatened, displaced, and even killed by the Mexican military. Each member of the Zapatista force carries a gun and a face covering because they need to protect themselves from outside threats, but they do not want to engage in violence. They also demand that they be treated with dignity and respect as indigenous people who have the right to the land and to organize. They should not be marginalized or exploited by the Mexican government. Lastly, they want recognition of the Zapatistas as a group that is part of Mexico's history and community. By gaining recognition, they can bring to light issues such as poverty, systemic exploitation, and land loss as a result of NAFTA and other government agreements abroad.

Zapatista: A Big Noise Film

Duration: 54 minutes 39 seconds

Video Description from YouTube: Zapatista is the definitive look at the uprising in Chiapas. It is the story of a Mayan peasant rebellion armed with sticks and their word against a first-world military. It is the story of a global movement that has fought 175,000 federal troops to a standstill and transformed Mexican and international political culture forever.

As you watch the film, think about what some of the other demands are by the Zapatistas and what they are trying to create.

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this YouTube Video online

Watch directly on the Youtube site.

This film was releasen in 1991, but there the Zapatista movement continues today, many of their demands still hold today and their movement continues to grow as more poeple learn about their movement and want to support their efforts.

Activity 6.3.1

Critical Thinking

Think about the following questions and answer them for yourself.

- What are the key takeaways of the Zapatista movement and efforts? What can we learn from the Zapatistas?
- How does the Mexican military justufy their actions?
- What are some examples of Mutula Aid work in your area?

This page titled 6.3: Story of Visionary Leadership Continued is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.4: Action Logic

Developing an Action Logic

Your action should speak for itself. Its inner logic should be obvious to the outside eye. When a protest has good action logic, its dramatic challenge to power tells a clear and compelling story.

> Note
>
> In this article from the Beautiful Trouble Toolbox, the author Andrew Boyd helps you take action in any community organizing work.

"Actions speak louder than words."- Ruckus Society motto

Have you ever looked at a protest and wondered what the heck these people were so angry about? Perhaps it was a bunch of kids blockading an intersection. Who are they?

What do they want?

With good action logic, nobody needs to ask those questions; an outsider can look at what you're doing and immediately understand why you're doing it. For example, people doing a tree-sit so the forest cannot be cut down — the logic is clear and obvious. The action speaks for itself.

Action logic creates powerful stories that move hearts and change minds. Not only is it true that actions speak louder than words, but, particularly in a hostile media climate where activists are often flagrantly misrepresented, it's important that our actions speak for themselves. It may sound paradoxical, but it often requires lots of thought and care to design actions that make intuitive sense.

Civil disobedience actions — for example, the lunch counter sit-ins of the American civil rights movement — tend to have inherent action logic because their purpose is to violate an unjust law in order to highlight exactly that injustice. The lunch counter sit-ins during the civil rights movement had remarkable action logic. When legal segregation was enforced, Black and white students violated the law by sitting at lunch counters and waiting to be served. Any outsider looking at the act immediately knew why they were there. They didn't need to carry signs. In fact, their action foreshadowed victory and prefigured the world they wanted to live in: They were living the integration they wanted to.

Communicative actions also need to foster action logic. The pedestrian death puppets action, in which student activists hung full-sized human foam core cut-outs over a dangerous highway in Beirut to draw attention to pedestrian fatalities, had powerful action logic. So did the single moms in Rhode Island, US, who pressured a public housing official for a daycare centre by not just sitting in at his office, but bringing their kids with them and, for a few hours, turning his office into the daycare centre they needed.

Most successful actions have this kind of inherent, transparent logic. They speak for themselves. When your action has this kind of clarity at its core, then no matter how the target responds or how things play out, the action will continue to make your point and make sense to observers.

A famous application

The lunch counter sit-ins during the civil rights movement had remarkable action logic. When legal segregation was enforced, black and white students violated the law by sitting at lunch counters and waiting to be served. Any outsider looking at the act immediately knew why they were there. They didn't need to carry signs. In fact, their action foreshadowed victory and prefigured the world they wanted to live in: They were living the integration they wanted.

Activity 6.4.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Explain the concept “action logic”
2. Pick some social action you know about or find one online and describe the action logic.
3. Evaluate what you think its organizers did well and what they could have done better.

Attributions

- Adapted from "Action Logic" by Andrew Boyd via Beautiful Trouble Toolbox is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

This page titled 6.4: Action Logic is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.5: Framing a Message

Developing a Well-Framed Message

Having the right messaging can make a big difference in a campaign. The activity below will help you think through the elements of a good message.

When companies fight against regulations, they often talk about the freedom of business owners to do what they want. Freedom is a powerful concept. Those fighting for regulations will argue that we need to put people over profit. This shifts the frame of reference from the owners of the business to the impacts of the business on others. Messaging always involves framing.

Activity6.5.1

Develop your Skills

Consider you are working on a specific issue or topic, or a hypothetical campaign; answer each of the questions below, which were created by the Campaign Strategy Workbook. Number 7 is the most important!

1. Stakeholders and Audience: Who needs to hear your message? Who will it activate?
2. Framing: What words and rhetoric can we use to counter our opponent's framing?
3. Story: What specific series of events do we highlight? Who are our heroes and villains? What is the beginning, middle, and end of our story?
4. Narrative: What archetypes, symbols, and general narratives support our goals?
5. Values: What widely held principles, ideals, or truths will connect our audience to the campaign?
6. Messengers: The people, constituencies, or institutions that will be seen as trustworthy are...
7. Messages: Some possible slogans, talking points, images, or phrases we could use, given all of the above, are:

Attributions

- Adapted from "Campaign Strategy Worksheets" by Campaign Strategy Workbook is licensed under CC BY-NC 4.0.

This page titled 6.5: Framing a Message is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.6: Flyers

Making a Flyer

Making Flyers and knowing how to distribute them is an important part of most campaigns.

A good flyer:

- Has the basics of who, what, when, where, and why
- Has some way to contact the organizers
- Has something to get the viewer interested in what you want them to do
- has visuals that align with the intent of the campaign
- Is visually appealing
- Is accessible by having colors that work for people with different visual needs and has alt-text that includes text and description.

Example: VIDA Open House Flyer

When student fellows in the Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action (VIDA) come up with an idea for an event, one of the first tasks they prioritize is to create a flyer. This ensures they begin promoting their event with enough time to do effective outreach. For any event, you want to think about who you are inviting. In the following examples, VIDA Fellows are inviting their peers to events on campus that center volunteering and voting.

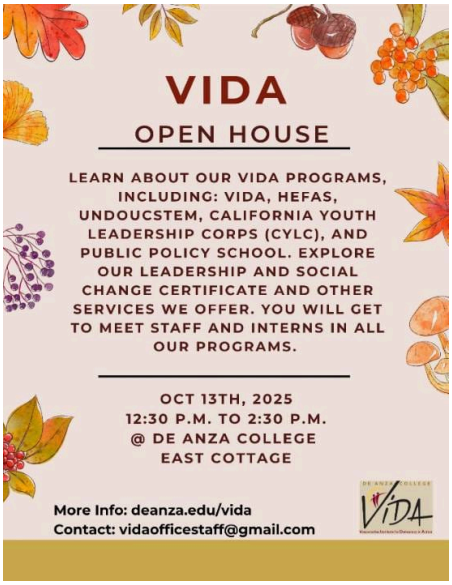


Figure 6.6.1: This flyer was used to bring new and returning members of VIDA to the Open House to learn more about the programs, eat, and visit the center. Visually, the theme is Autumn since it was hosted during the Fall Quarter. (CC BY 4.0 via VIDA Fellows) Access a detailed description of Figure 6.6.1

Example: Know Your Ballot! Flyer

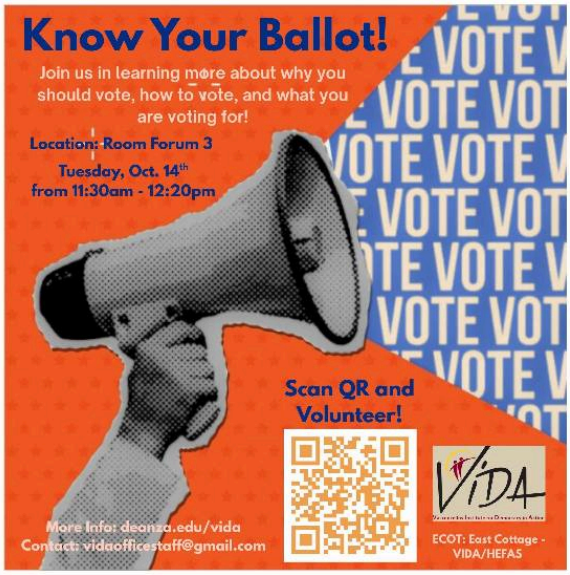


Figure 6.6.2: This flyer was used to promote a voter information session in the Fall quarter. This was an opportunity for students to empower others to vote and to feel confident in their civic participation. (CC BY 4.0 via VIDA Fellows) Access a detailed description of Figure 6.6.2

Activity 6.6.1

Developing Your Skills

In organizing, the best way to develop your skills is to practice what you are learning in this class. After you have done this activity, you will be more ready to volunteer for this task with your favorite organization and movement.

1. Create a flyer for something you are working on. It can be a hypothetical event.
2. Create a professional email message that explains what the event is and shares the details of the event, so those using screen readers can access the information without being able to see the flyer.
3. Send the email message with the flyer both embedded and attached to your instructor.

This page titled 6.6: Flyers is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.7: Compact Communication

Creating Compact Communication

A lot of how social values and beliefs change is through the sharing of posts on social media. Most organizations have someone in charge of communications, or comms, and that person is often in charge of social media.

People often communicate messages with images, slogans, or combinations of the two. These forms of communication are often short, clear, and easy to interpret. Sometimes they are a bit obscure, but fun or interesting to try to make sense of. They often resonate with people's existing understandings and to strike them emotionally. These forms of communication are important for spreading values and ideas, and inciting people's passions.

Note

Try it yourself: think about a message and use a meme generator. Have fun with it!

They can be shared as social media posts, videos, memes, stickers, or T-shirt designs.

Activity 6.7.1

Develop Your Skills

Create a compact piece of communication that helps to promote the message you developed for your framing a message activity.

It can be a social media post, video, meme, sticker design, or T-shirt design.

This page titled 6.7: Compact Communication is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

6.8: Accessible Text Descriptions

Figure 6.6.1: VIDA Open House Flyer

Flyer for a “VIDA Open House” event at De Anza College.

The flyer has a light beige background with watercolor-style illustrations of flowers, leaves, berries, grapes, and fruit arranged decoratively around the border in autumn colors such as orange, red, yellow, and purple.

Centered near the top in large dark red capital letters is the title:
“VIDA”

Directly below, in smaller capital letters:
“OPEN HOUSE”

The main body text reads:
“Learn about our VIDA programs, including: VIDA, HEFAS, undocumented, California Youth Leadership Corps (CYLC), and Public Policy School. Explore our leadership and social change certificate and other services we offer. You will get to meet staff and interns in all our programs.”

A horizontal divider line separates the body text from the event details.

Event information:
“Oct 13th, 2025
12:30 P.M. to 2:30 P.M.
@ De Anza College
East Cottage”

At the bottom left, additional information reads:
“More Info: deanza.edu/vida
Contact: vidaofficestaff@gmail.com”

At the bottom right is the VIDA logo with the words:
“Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action.”

The flyer uses centered text throughout and combines decorative seasonal illustrations with dark red typography for emphasis.

Figure 6.6.2: Know Your Ballot Flyer

A flyer for a "Know Your Ballot!" event at De Anza College

The flyer uses a bold orange, blue, black, and white color palette with a social justice theme.

The top of the flyer features a large orange banner with the headline in large, bold, dark blue text: "Know Your Ballot!"

Below the title, centered in smaller white text, it reads:

"Join us in learning more about why you should vote, how to vote, and what you are voting for!"

On the left side beneath the description, dark blue text lists the event details:

- Location: Room Forum 3
- Tuesday, Oct. 14th
- From 11:30am – 12:20pm

The right third of the flyer has a blue background filled with the repeated word "VOTE" in large white capital letters, creating a patterned backdrop that reinforces the voting theme.

The center-left of the flyer is dominated by a large black-and-white halftone-style illustration of a person holding a megaphone. Only the person's hand, part of their face, and the megaphone are visible, with the megaphone pointing toward the upper right of the page.

Near the lower right, dark blue text reads:
"Scan QR and Volunteer!"
Directly beneath this text is a large orange-and-white QR code inside a white square.

To the right of the QR code is the VIDA logo inside a white rectangle. The logo features the word "VIDA" in stylized black lettering with a red figure incorporated into the design. Below the logo, small text reads:
"ECOT: Last Cottage – VIDA/HIEFAS."

At the bottom left of the flyer, small white text provides additional information:

- More Info: deanza.edu/vida
- Contact: vidaofficestaff@gmail.com

The overall design uses high-contrast colors, large graphic elements, and bold typography to promote a campus event encouraging students to learn about voting, understand their ballot, and volunteer through the organization's QR code.

This page titled 6.8: Accessible Text Descriptions is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

7: ETHICAL LEADERSHIP

Introduction

Transparency International is an organization that works in countries all around the world to help strengthen systems of accountability that keep people in government from abusing their power. Transparency International challenges unjust uses of power at the highest levels. By working to get governments to act in ethical ways, they exercise ethical leadership. Ethical leadership can involve holding outside actors to account, holding one's own organization to account, and holding oneself to high standards of ethical action.

Learning Objectives

In this section, you will

1. Learn about ethical leadership.
2. Explore two examples of work done by Transparency International.
3. Learn to distinguish harmful gossip from strategic conversations about people.

7.1: Characteristics of Ethical Leadership

7.2: Story of Ethical Leadership

7.3: Strategic Conversations about People versus Negative Gossip

This page titled 7: Ethical Leadership is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

7.1: Characteristics of Ethical Leadership

What is Ethical Leadership?

An ethical leader is one who stays true to their core values and helps an organization stay true to its core values. Sometimes a desire to achieve a goal can lead people to forget about what they value and to engage in action where they "ends justify the means," in ways that can lead a group astray. Sometimes people are so concerned not to make waves that they do not bring attention to what they know is wrong. A good ethical leader has the courage to bring a problem to the attention of others and to ensure that it gets dealt with. An ethical leader is someone who engages regularly in reflection and who sets up processes for people to challenge things in an organization. An organization with a strong culture of ethical leadership has processes in place to reinforce accountability.

> **Note**
>
> These reflections on Ethical Leadership come from Phil Rabinowitz to help you understand how an Ethical Leader thinks.

Ethical behavior, in its simplest terms, is knowing and doing what is right. The difficulty is in defining "right." Different individuals, different cultures, and different religions define it in different ways.

For our purposes, ethical behavior reflects a value system that grows out of a coherent view of the world, based on equity, justice, the needs and rights of others as well as oneself, a sense of obligation to others and to the society, and the legitimate needs and standards of the society.

Given that even the definition of ethics can be unclear, how do you ensure that your decisions and actions are ethical? One good set of answers takes the form of four questions to ask yourself about any decision or action you take:

- Kid on Your Shoulder: Would you do it if your kids were watching?
- Front Page of the Newspaper: Would you like to see it published on page 1 of your local newspaper?
- Golden Rule: Would you be happy being on the receiving end of the decision or action? (i.e., "Treat others as you would like them to treat you.")
- Rule of universality: Would it be okay if everyone did it?

If you can honestly answer "yes" to all or most of these questions, then it's likely that your decision or action is truly ethical.

An ethical leader will put the good of the organization and the general good before their own interests and ego. One of the true tests of ethical leadership is making the decision that's best for the organization even when it's not in the leader's self-interest to do so. (An organization's director might cut her own salary in lean times, for instance, or, less drastically, expand others' decision-making power at the expense of her own.)

People in positions of power exercise ethical leadership when they institutionalize ways for people to question their authority.

All should have some share in decision-making – at least in areas that affect them directly – and should have at least enough power to do their jobs well without interference.

Depending upon where you're starting from and what's necessary, this might include:

- Improving your understanding of nonverbal communication – body language, facial expression, tone and pitch of voice, etc..
- Using nonverbal communication to indicate attention and respect (or other attitudes when appropriate).
- Maintaining or improving active listening skills.
- Striving for clarity in all communication, spoken and written, so that there are no misunderstandings.
- Learning how you're perceived by others and other groups, and using that learning to adjust your behavior if necessary.
- Increasing empathy.
- Constantly striving for a better understanding of interpersonal relationships.
- Constantly striving for a better understanding of yourself.

Ethical leadership requires from the leader a coherent ethical framework that will guide her decisions and actions all the time, not only in specific situations. Among the most important of the characteristics that define an ethical leader are openness and honesty; the willingness to make the discussion of ethical issues and decisions a regular part of the organizational or group conversation and culture; the urge to mentor others to lead; the drive to maintain and increase competence; the capacity to accept and seriously consider feedback, both positive and negative; the ability to put aside personal interest and ego in the interest of the cause or organization; the appropriate use of power, which is never abused or turned toward the leader's own ends; and consciousness of the human beings behind the labels of "opponent," "ally," "staff member," "participant," etc..

Finally, and perhaps most important, an ethical leader never stops reexamining their own ethical assumptions and what it means to be an ethical leader. Like so many other important tasks, maintaining ethical leadership is ongoing; like only a few others, it can last a lifetime.

Activity7.1.1

Reading Response Questions:

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. What do you think of the four questions to ask to decide if you are being ethical?
2. Pick a quote from the passage above and explain why it is meaningful to you.
3. In what ways do you exercise ethical leadership?
4. How have you seen the exercise or the lack of it cause a problem?
5. What gets in the way of you exercising ethical leadership?
6. What can you do to strengthen your ethical leadership?

Attributions

- Adapted from "Section 8. Ethical Leadership" by Phil Rabinowitz, Community Tool Box licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

This page titled 7.1: Characteristics of Ethical Leadership is shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

7.2: Story of Ethical Leadership

Climate Integrity in Action

Transparency International has chapters in many countries that work to increase ethics in government. Here are two stories of their work.

Note

This blog is posted on Transparency International in 2025, which features powerful examples from Colombia and Zambia, where chapter-led advocacy has strengthened whistleblower protections and helped shape fairer climate policies. These stories show how fighting corruption is essential to protecting people and the planet. Stay tuned throughout the year as we share more stories of local action driving global impact.

Speaking up for the environment: How whistleblower protections are strengthening environmental governance in Colombia

A civil society leader from the Colombian Amazon basin planting seeds during a capacity-building workshop on environmental governance organised by TI chapters in Colombia and Peru. Photo: Transparency International Colombia.

In Colombia, environmental degradation is not only driven by illegal activities and poor regulation, but also by corruption within the institutions meant to protect natural resources. For years, concerned officials and citizens who witnessed misconduct in the environmental sector felt silenced. Despite the Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development (MADS by its acronym in Spanish) having a whistleblower channel, the lack of regulations on whistleblower protection rendered it ineffective.

Among those concerned was a group of civil servants within MADS, professionals committed to environmental protection but deeply frustrated by their inability to safely report wrongdoing. The heart of the problem was not just environmental mismanagement, but a broken reporting system. Whistleblowers lacked trust in existing mechanisms, fearing job loss, harassment, or worse. These factors have historically fostered a culture of silence around environmental crimes, which, without safe and reliable channels, went unreported and unpunished.

In 2024, Transparency International's chapter in Colombia stepped in to assess the shortcomings of MADS' whistleblower system. Their evaluation revealed key procedural gaps and structural weaknesses. More importantly, they provided a roadmap for reform. MADS responded, initiating a comprehensive overhaul of its whistleblower procedures, marking a pivotal shift from neglect to accountability.

Our chapter in Colombia played a key role in driving this transformation, partnering with MADS to co-develop targeted reforms and clear action plans. They also created educational materials on corruption reporting and whistleblower protections, now embedded in MADS' training programmes, helping to rebuild trust and promote a culture of accountability. As a result, what was once a neglected system is becoming a cornerstone of more transparent and participatory environmental governance. Colombia is not only confronting environmental misconduct but also breaking the silence that once enabled it, demonstrating the power of collaboration between civil society and public institutions.

When advocacy sparks reform: Embedding transparency in Zambia's carbon market regulations

Participants during the round table meeting with Members of Parliament (MPs) from the Zambia Parliamentary Caucus on the Environment and Climate Change (ZPCECC). Photo: Transparency International Zambia.

In Zambia, the rise of carbon markets brought both promise and concern: local communities and civil society organizations began raising questions about transparency and fairness. By 2023, the Ministry of Green Economy and Environment had begun drafting the Green Economy and Climate Change Bill - a legislation poised to shape the country's climate future. However, without clear

safeguards and oversight, there was a risk that carbon market mechanisms could benefit a few at the expense of many.

At the heart of this legislative process were civil society actors like Transparency International's chapter in Zambia, who, along with a coalition of organizations, brought a clear and persistent voice to the table, demanding openness in how carbon deals were made and ensuring local communities would not be left in the dark.

A breakthrough came during a roundtable with Members of Parliament, where our chapter in Zambia successfully pushed for the disclosure of carbon market agreements and the inclusion of regulatory frameworks to protect environmental and community interests. Their sustained advocacy resulted in several of their recommendations being incorporated in the final version of the Bill. Beyond participating in consultations, the chapter mobilized public awareness and presented clear, actionable recommendations.

Enacted in December 2024, the legislation now includes enforceable carbon market regulations, public disclosure requirements, and safeguards to ensure community participation. It marks a major step forward in climate governance, showing that transparency and inclusive policymaking are essential for fair and effective climate action.

Today, Transparency International's chapter in Zambia continues to monitor the law's implementation, helping to ensure it delivers lasting impact for both people and the environment.

As a new market with a developing architecture, the carbon market has proven susceptible to corruption and other integrity risks. These risks are significant because any attempt to undermine the carbon market jeopardises one of the major elements of our global response to climate change. This paper examines these risks and the carbon market's vulnerability in terms of both its environmental and financial integrity.

Exercise 7.2.1

Reading Response Questions

Please reflect on this reading by writing a short response to these questions. Your answer can include personal experience, and the writing does not need to be formal or polished. You are welcome to write as little as a sentence and as much as a paragraph. Think of it like journaling.

1. Why was it important to have whistleblower protections in Colombia?
2. Explain the "collaboration between civil society and public institutions" in the Colombia example.
3. Why is transparency important in government policies?
4. How do these kinds of projects hold power to account?

Attribution

- Adapted from "Climate integrity in action: Stories of reform and lasting impact" by Transparency International is licensed under CC BY-ND 4.0.

This page titled 7.2: Story of Ethical Leadership is shared under a CC BY-ND 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

7.3: Strategic Conversations about People versus Negative Gossip

Talking about People Productively

When you are organizing, you often need to talk about people. This can involve issues such as dealing with problems someone is causing in the organization, a desire to help someone grow, or managing conflict between people. There is a fine line between negative gossip and a strategic conversation about a person. It is negative gossip when you are talking about people in ways that undermine relationships and don't serve a positive purpose. Many people hesitate to talk about other people because they see it as negative gossip. But engaging in strategic conversations when they are needed can be crucial for solving problems that arise in organizations. This activity asks you to reflect on the difference between strategic conversations and negative gossip, so that you can permit yourself to have the conversations needed to improve the relationships within your organization.

Activity 7.3.1

Critical Thinking

Think about the following questions and answer them for yourself.

- Share a time when you have seen negative gossip hurt a community?
- Share an example of a useful strategic conversation about someone you have seen or participated in.
- Think of a strategic conversation you could have with someone about something you are working on. What might you say? How might it turn into negative gossip? How might it be productive? What could you do to keep it productive and prevent it from turning into negative gossip?

This page titled 7.3: Strategic Conversations about People versus Negative Gossip is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

8: CONCLUSION

Final Thoughts

Now that you have learned about and practiced six leadership styles, developed your sense of yourself as a leader, gained confidence and a wide variety of skills, and learned about the world of organizing for social change, you are ready to be an effective advocate for social change. In this last section, you can reflect on what keeps you motivated, set some personal goals, and reflect on what you have learned and how you have grown.

Learning Objectives

In this section, you will

- Share something that gives you hope
- Develop a set of specific goals for yourself
- Develop a presentation that highlights ways you have grown in your leadership

8.1: Tapping into the Power of Hope

8.2: Leadership Goals

8.3: Celebration of your Growth

This page titled 8: Conclusion is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

8.1: Tapping into the Power of Hope

Hope Activity

Hope does not come from a “look on the bright side” point of view. It comes from a belief that change for the better is possible and that you might be able to do something about it.

In organizing, we try to develop in people a critical hope. “Critical hope means People envision that another world is possible, that they have power because they know that change has been made in the past, and that history is now, and that they take goal-directed action to try to make change, and when they feel a sense of community around these views. All of this leads to people developing a sense of agency and confidence and understanding that they themselves can create change, including material well-being, emotional healing, and critical consciousness for themselves and with others.” Community Learning Partnership

Here are two other quotes about hope that you might find helpful:

“Hope is the belief in the plausibility of the possible rather than the necessity of the probable.” Moses Maimonides

“You should work for pessimism of the intellect and optimism of the spirit” Antonio Gramsci

One thing that gives us a sense of optimism is seeing that we are agents who make up the world and not bystanders just viewing the world. To help you see this, here is an activity that helps you see your own agency.

Activity 8.1.1

Critical Thinking

Think of a time when you faced a challenge and you faced it well, and answer the following questions with respect to it:

- Challenge: Why did you feel it was a challenge? What was so challenging about it? Why was it your challenge?
- Choice: Why did you make the choice you did? Where did you get the courage – or not? Where did you get the hope – or not? How did it feel?
- Outcome: How did the outcome feel? Why did it feel that way? What did it teach you? What do you want to teach us? How do you want us to feel?

This page titled 8.1: Tapping into the Power of Hope is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

8.2: Leadership Goals

Goal Setting

Being an effective agent for social change involves regular and honest self-reflection. It is a good idea to regularly set goals for your development as a leader.

Activity 8.2.1

Critical Thinking

Answer these questions to help you reflect on your leadership development.

1. What do you think your greatest strengths are as a social change agent?
2. What gives you those strengths?
3. What do you want to be able to do better?
4. What would you need to be able to improve in that area?
5. What steps will you commit to make that improvement?
6. What do you do to keep yourself feeling good and being effective as a social change agent?

This page titled 8.2: Leadership Goals is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

8.3: Celebration of your Growth

How You Have Grown

Now that you have learned many skills and grown as an organizer, it is time to share what you have learned!

Activity 8.3.1

Critical Thinking

Please do a 5-minute presentation that shares your growth path in your leadership: where you have come from, where you are, where you are going, what obstacles you have overcome, and your goals for overcoming future obstacles.

You can use your five minutes as you like, but here are some ideas to help you think about it:

- You can do a slide show and share highlights from the class
- You can write a poem or song or share a piece of visual artwork
- You can just speak from your heart about your path
- You can have others talk about you and your growth

Steps:

- Think about the most important aspects of your growth in this class
- Think about the best way to share that with the class
- If you are using a slide show, decide what the different slides will say
- Create the slides if you are using them. Write the poem if you are sharing a poem...etc.
- Practice and time yourself. You have a maximum of five minutes

This page titled 8.3: Celebration of your Growth is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

9: INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

Hello Instructors!

Most of the material needed to teach an Introduction to Community Organizing class is integrated into the chapters of this book. There were a few assignments that did not fit neatly into the chapters of the book. They are posted here for you to integrate into your course as you see fit.

9.1: Creating Community in Your Class

9.2: Building Student Support for Each Other

9.3: Supporting College Level Reading

9.4: Community Engagement Assignment

9.5: Student Team Presentations

This page titled 9: Instructor Resources is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

9.1: Creating Community in Your Class

Building your Team for Class

Many of us put our students into groups for our classes. Most community organizing has small teams as part of the way work is organized. This assignment helps students to be intentional about how they work together in small groups. It helps them build skills they can take into organizing contexts. The assignment takes place at the beginning of the course over several days and supposes that students are in one team for the duration of the course. We have included some resources and tips for creating these groups in your class.

Day 1 Tasks

1. Break off into squads of 4-6 students. Choose a facilitator, timekeeper, got-it-monitor, reporter, and documentarian.

    - The jobs of the facilitator are to make sure everyone is included, that you stay on task, that you bring each item to a close, and that you move on to the next task at a good moment.
    - The job of the timekeeper is to watch the time and remind people when it seems like time to move along.
    - The job of the got-it-monitor is to check and make sure everyone understands everything that should be understood: vocabulary in class, instructions, and assignments.
    - The job of the reporter is to document your answers once you have come to closure, then share your work with the whole class.
    - The job of the documentarian is to keep a copy of this document and get it to your instructor once it is completely done.
    - Every time you meet in squads, you should assign these roles as needed, and they should rotate.

1. Pick Buddies in pairs or groups of 3. If you have an uneven number. This is the person who you will check in with and support and ask for support from.
2. Put together a Squad Roster and develop a means of communication. Decide who will keep this document to share with instructor when it is done.
3. Talk about and be ready to share a) a hope for the class b) a fear about the class c) a question for the instructor. It does not need to be serious or important. Make sure the reporter has at least one answer to each to share with the class
4. Evaluate how each person did their role. Write that on this sheet.
5. Once time is up, you will rejoin the whole class. The reporter should be prepared to share the results of your work.

Team Roster

Once you have put students into groups, have them share the following information, so that they can communicate with each other and begint o build community with each other. You can create a template that collects this information of have them write it in a piece of paper and submit to you so you can keep track of the teams.

- Name and pronouns
- Email address
- Phone number
- Who is your buddy?

Even within the groups, you can have 1 buddy who will be the person each student reaches out to by default if they do not want to reach out to the whole squad. The buddy system also holds more responsibility with each other, by checking in when their buddy is missing.

Evaluation of Roles Day 1

Write a few words of praise and encouragement for each of the people who did the roles the first day:

- Facilitator:
- Timekeeper:
- Note taker:
- Reporter:
- Got-it-monitor:

Day 2 Tasks

1. Develop your shared purpose using the worksheet that follows. Review your shared values and interests as a starting point.
2. Decide on collaborative norms that will enable you to function with shared commitment: how you will make decisions, how you will honor your commitments, how you will resolve conflicts, how you will keep learning. Use the worksheet that follows.
3. Create a team name and chant.
4. Evaluate how each person did their role. Write that on this sheet.
5. Once time is up, you will rejoin the whole class. The reporter should be prepared to share the results of your work.

Shared Purpose

Use a box that is one by 2 (one row and 2 columns) where students write out their answers for the following prompts.

- In the first column, write down the purpose or purposes of your team.
- In the second column, write down the kinds of activities that your team could engage in to fulfill its purpose.

Example of a shared purpose sentence:

- We are working together to support each other in doing well in the class and to complete all squad assignments in a way that is fulfilling and fun for all of us and that balances the work each person does.

Team Norms and Expectations

Review the sample team norms below. Add, subtract, or modify to create norms for your team. Be sure to include group norms on each theme below and how you will self-correct if the norm is broken. (If you don't self-correct, the new norm will be breaking the norms.)

- Decision-making: What is the process by which we will make decisions?
  - Majority rules: Whatever gets the most votes wins.
  - Consensus: Everyone must agree.
  - Modified consensus: Work toward consensus, and default to majority rules when the squad seems stuck.
  - Delegation: Nominate one or two people on your team to be the ultimate decision-makers.
  - Coin flip: Leave the decision to fate!
  - Other
- Discussion and Decision-making: How we will discuss options and reach decisions as a squad to ensure vigorous input and debate?
  - Always Do
    - Engage in open, honest debate
    - Ask open-ended questions
    - Balance advocacy with inquiry
  - Never Do
    - Engage in personal attacks
    - Fail to listen to what others say
    - Jump to conclusions
- Meeting Management: How will we manage meetings to respect each other's time?
  - Always Do
    - Start on time; stay on time
    - Be fully present throughout the meeting
  - Never Do
    - Come to meetings unprepared
    - Answer cell phones or do email

- Accountability: How we will delegate responsibilities for actions and activities? How will we follow through on commitments?
    - Always Do
        - Clarify understanding
        - Invite quiet people to speak
        - Invite people to speak too much to step back
        - Ask for/offer support when there is a need
    - Never Do
        - Assume you have agreement
        - Assume tasks are getting done
        - Commit to a task that you know you won't do
- How will you "self correct" if norms are not followed?

Team Name and Chant

Students can create a name and a chant for their team. Get creative and share things you share as a team to find similarities.

Evaluation of Roles Day 2

Write a few words of praise and encouragement for each of the people who did the roles the first day:

- Facilitator:
- Timekeeper:
- Note taker:
- Reporter:
- Got-it-monitor:

Day 3 TASK

Share a copy of this document with the instructor and be sure that each team member got evaluated at least once.

Make sure the document has the sharing setting on "anyone with link can access."

Attributions

- Adapted from "Team Presentation" by Angélica Esquivel and Cynthia Kaufman, is licensed CC BY 4.0

This page titled 9.1: Creating Community in Your Class is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

9.2: Building Student Support for Each Other

Buddy Assignment

Instructor note: This assignment asks students to be proactive in supporting one another for the duration of the class. Students are assigned partners and are asked to check in with them three times over the course of the term and to report on their interaction to the instructor. Many students report that this helps them tremendously.

To help build a supportive learning community and encourage meaningful peer connection, each student will be paired with a class buddy (or placed in a group of three if needed). Throughout the quarter, you will check in with your assigned partner(s) at least three times.

The purpose of this activity is to practice supportive communication, relationship-building, active listening, and mutual academic encouragement.

Instructions

During each check-in:

1. Ask your buddy how they are doing academically and personally in the course. Move beyond a simple “I’m fine” response and engage in a meaningful conversation about their experiences, challenges, goals, or successes.
2. Offer support or assistance. This could include sharing reminders, helping clarify assignments, encouraging participation, discussing study strategies, or simply providing encouragement and accountability.
3. Submit a brief reflection to the instructor after each check-in.
    - Your reflection should include:
        - the date of the interaction,
        - how you connected (Zoom, text, phone, in person, Canvas, etc.),
        - a short summary of the conversation,
        - any support you offered or received, and
        - one thing you learned from the interaction.

Expectations

- Check-ins should be respectful, supportive, and professional.
- You are not expected to disclose private or sensitive information.
- The goal is to help foster connection, communication, and mutual support within the class community.

Submission

You will complete and submit three short buddy check-in reflections over the course of the quarter. Due dates will be listed in Canvas.

Attributions

- Adapted from "Buddy Assignment" by Angélica Esquivel and Cynthia Kaufman, is licensed CC BY 4.0

This page titled 9.2: Building Student Support for Each Other is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

9.3: Supporting College Level Reading

Active Reading Strategies

Use this as a guide for helping you prepare to actively read assignments that can often be long, dense, or challenging. This is about what you can do before, during, and after reading to help you determine if you are engaged with the material and can use it in class discussions, assignments, and essays.

Note to Instructor

This set of suggestions can be given to students before their first assignment that includes academic reading. One way to teach it is to have students read it aloud together, comment on which suggestions they find helpful, and to share some of their own reading strategies.

Before Active Reading

- Pick an environment that can help you focus
- In a quiet space, in a coffee shop
- Inside a room or outside in nature
- Pick a modality to use for the reading
- Physical copy or the text, online text, audio book/text reader tool
- Backwards timeline to break up the reading
- Set aside how many days you need to read and how many hours so you can give yourself plenty of time to read and re-read
- Work with a partner or group to split the reading and collaborate
- Ask yourself pre-reading questions.
- For example: What is the topic, and what do you already know about it? Why has the instructor assigned this reading at this point in the semester?

While Active Reading

- Read it out loud
- Know what works best for you: Printed, online, audio etc
- Identify and define any unfamiliar terms.
- Bracket the main idea or thesis of the reading, and put an asterisk next to it. Pay particular attention to the introduction or opening paragraphs to locate this information.
- Put down your highlighter. Make marginal notes or comments instead. Every time you feel the urge to highlight something, write instead. You can summarize the text, ask questions, give assent, protest vehemently. You can also write down key words to help you recall where important points are discussed. Above all, strive to enter into a dialogue with the author.
- If you use a separate notebook, write down the page number so it is easy to access during discussion, assignments or revisiting text,
- Write questions in the margins, and then answer the questions in a reading journal or on a separate piece of paper. If you're reading a textbook, try changing all the titles, subtitles, sections and paragraph headings into questions. For example, the section heading "The Gas Laws of Boyle, Charles, and Avogadro" might become "What are the gas laws of Boyle, Charles, and Avogadro?"
- Make outlines, flow charts, or diagrams that help you to map and to understand ideas visually. See the reverse side for examples.
- Read each paragraph carefully and then determine "what it says" and "what it does." Answer "what it says" in only one sentence. Represent the main idea of the paragraph in your own words. To answer "what it does," describe the paragraph's purpose within the text, such as "provides evidence for the author's first main reason" or "introduces an opposing view."

After Active Reading

- Write a summary of an essay or chapter in your own words. Do this in less than a page. Capture the essential ideas and perhaps one or two key examples. This approach offers a great way to be sure that you know what the reading really says or is about.
- Write your own exam question based on the reading.
- Talk about it
- Teach what you have learned to someone else! Research clearly shows that teaching is one of the most effective ways to learn. If you try to explain aloud what you have been studying, (1) you'll transfer the information from short-term to long-term memory, and (2) you'll quickly discover what you understand — and what you don't.
- Link what you read to existing knowledge from information in the course, a previous course or your personal experience
- Look for relationships and patterns in the reading as a whole
- Use imagery and visualizations to help them remember information
- Act as an interpreter of the text by putting things into your own words
- Cross-reference their text with their class notes
- Come up with their own examples of concepts
- Reflect on why the information is significant and how it relates to other concepts or yourself

Attributions

- Adapted from "Active Reading Strategies" by Angélica Esquivel and Cynthia Kaufman, is licensed CC BY 4.0

This page titled 9.3: Supporting College Level Reading is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

9.4: Community Engagement Assignment

Engagement Project Guidelines

This project is an opportunity to engage with a community organization involved in social change work. It aims to give you hands-on experience in contributing to your community and to deepen your understanding of the material we are studying by putting it into practice and testing it against the real world. Note: Any elements of this project that are late will be marked down by one-half. This requires a total of 12 hours for a quarter-long class (12 weeks).

Note to Instructor

This is a set of small assignments for integrating community engagement into your class. It is built on the basis of 200 points out of 1000.

Engagement Work Reflection Assignment #1 (25 points)

Turn in a 1–2-page response to the following prompts:

1. What is the purpose of the organization and how does it function or how is it structured (5 points)
2. What you plan to do with the organization (5 points)
3. What do you hope to learn from the experience and how it might be related to our class material? (5 points)
4. What is the name of the organization you will be working with, the name of your supervisor, and their email address? (10 points)

Engagement Work Reflection Assignment #2 (15 points)

Turn in a 1-2 page response to the following prompts:

1. What has been interesting to you about your engagement project? (5 points)
2. What problem is the organization trying to address? What is one issue that they take up? (5 points)
3. How well does the work address the 6 aspects of a good issue outlined in the “Problems and Issues” reading? Really analyze these, it doesn’t have to be good on all of them. (5 points)

Presentation of Engagement Work Reflection (10 points)

Students share about their engagement to work to their peers. This can be to the class as a whole or in their squads. 3-5 minutes each.

Final Reflection (50 points)

1. Make some point about your experience using a concept or idea from class as support (10 points).
2. How did it feel doing this work and how did it stretch you as a person? (10 points)
3. What actions will you do differently based on this work and why? (10 points).
4. What do you think about your organization’s ability to make a significant difference? What did you value the most or have the most criticism of in terms of ability to make a significant difference? (10 points).
5. What is your biggest takeaway from this class? (10 points).

Hours/12 hours minimum (100 points)

You must complete 12 hours of engagement work to earn the full 100 points.

- Between 8-11 hours=80 points.
- Below 5-7 hours= 50 points.
- Below 5 hours No Credit

Attributions

- Adapted from "Engagement Project Guidelines", by Angélica Esquivel and Cynthia Kaufman, is licensed CC BY 4.0

This page titled 9.4: Community Engagement Assignment is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

9.5: Student Team Presentations

Teams do the Teaching

Note to Instructor: Having students take responsibility for teaching some of the class material pushes them to work together as a team, has them practice presentation skills, and keeps the material relevant to student interests. This assignment can take place toward the middle of the term.

Each team will be responsible for facilitating some part of a class session. You will work as a team to present on a person, organization, or movement that is a good example of the Leadership Style we are studying, OR you will do a presentation on some artistic/cultural work for social change.

- You will have between 10 and 30 minutes.
- Make sure everyone speaks at least once
- You can decide how you want to use your part of the class time: pose a discussion
- questions, lecture, show a video, and do an interactive exercise.
- Your team will share your plan with your instructor at least 2 days before the class session. Tell your instructor who the point person is who is responsible for communicating with them about your progress. If this doesn't happen, your team will all lose 25 points for this project.

Option 1

Help the class learn more about the leadership style we are studying by sharing a person or movement that is a good example of that leadership style. You can pick a person or a movement to introduce the class to who is not already being discussed in class. OR you can pick a person or organization that is already in the class material. If you do you must not repeat what everyone else is learning. You can go more deeply into the subject.

Option 2

OR you can do research on art, music, or culture that was part of one of the movements discussed in the section of the class you are presenting in and teach the class about how the movement or organization used art and culture as part of their work.

Resources for Both Options

Here are some websites that share information about social movements:

- Beautiful Trouble is a toolbox that provides cutting-edge resources from practitioners all over the world that address social movements and grassroots organizing.
- Community Toolbox is a toolbox that focuses on learning the skills to take action in community organizing efforts.
- Center for Applied Non-violent Strategy is a hub where trainers all over the world can bring together their expertise and share it with others via trainings and resources.
- Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Archives is a national civil rights organization led by young people. They work with community leaders to build local grassroots organizations and provide information and tools.

Attributions

- Adapted from "Team Presentation" by Angélica Esquivel and Cynthia Kaufman, is licensed CC BY 4.0

This page titled 9.5: Student Team Presentations is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

INDEX

A

accountability
7: Ethical Leadership
activism
3: Process Leadership
advocacy
8: Conclusion
Assignments
9: Instructor Resources

C

California
2: Inspirational Leadership
campaign effectiveness
6: Visionary Leadership
campaign planning
4: Strategic Leadership
civic engagement
1: Community Organizing
civil rights
3: Process Leadership
collaboration
3: Process Leadership
college reading
9: Instructor Resources
communication strategies
6: Visionary Leadership
community empowerment
6: Visionary Leadership
community engagement
9: Instructor Resources
community impact
8: Conclusion
community organizing
1: Community Organizing
3: Process Leadership
4: Strategic Leadership
5: Task Leadership
9: Instructor Resources
community power
1: Community Organizing
courageous action
2: Inspirational Leadership
course integration
9: Instructor Resources
critical hope
8: Conclusion

D

delegation
5: Task Leadership

E

economic justice
4: Strategic Leadership
education
9: Instructor Resources
effective organizing
4: Strategic Leadership
Ella Baker
3: Process Leadership
empowerment
1: Community Organizing
5: Task Leadership
environmental governance
7: Ethical Leadership
ethical behavior
7: Ethical Leadership
ethical leadership
6: Visionary Leadership
7: Ethical Leadership
ethnic coalitions
2: Inspirational Leadership
event organization
5: Task Leadership
event planning
5: Task Leadership

F

farm workers
2: Inspirational Leadership
framing
6: Visionary Leadership

G

goal setting
8: Conclusion
grassroots activism
5: Task Leadership
grassroots movements
4: Strategic Leadership

I

indigenous movements
6: Visionary Leadership
inspirational leadership
2: Inspirational Leadership

L

labor rights
4: Strategic Leadership
Larry Itliong
2: Inspirational Leadership
leadership
8: Conclusion
leadership characteristics
2: Inspirational Leadership
leadership development
1: Community Organizing
3: Process Leadership
leadership skills
5: Task Leadership
liberation theory
1: Community Organizing

M

mentorship
7: Ethical Leadership
MFDP
3: Process Leadership
Montgomery Bus Boycott
5: Task Leadership
motivation
8: Conclusion

O

organizational culture
7: Ethical Leadership
Organizing Skills
1: Community Organizing

P

pedagogy
9: Instructor Resources
personal growth
8: Conclusion
process leadership
3: Process Leadership
protest movements
6: Visionary Leadership
public narrative
2: Inspirational Leadership

R

relationships
2: Inspirational Leadership
Rosa Parks
5: Task Leadership

S

skills training
1: Community Organizing
SNCC
3: Process Leadership
social change
1: Community Organizing
4: Strategic Leadership
6: Visionary Leadership
8: Conclusion
Social Movement History
1: Community Organizing
strategic conversations
7: Ethical Leadership
strategic leadership
4: Strategic Leadership
student support
9: Instructor Resources

T

task leadership
5: Task Leadership
teaching materials
9: Instructor Resources

team building
3: Process Leadership
team presentations
9: Instructor Resources
transparency
7: Ethical Leadership

U

unionizing
4: Strategic Leadership
unions
2: Inspirational Leadership

V

visionary leadership
6: Visionary Leadership

W

whistleblower protection
7: Ethical Leadership
women's rights
6: Visionary Leadership
workplace protections
4: Strategic Leadership

This page titled Index is shared under a Public Domain license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

GLOSSARY

S

Sample Word 1 | Sample Definition 1

This page titled Glossary is shared under a CC BY 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

DETAILED LICENSING

Overview

Title: Introduction to Community Organizing

Webpages: 76

Applicable Restrictions: Noncommercial, No Derivatives

All licenses found:

- CC BY 4.0: 57.9% (44 pages)
- CC BY-NC-SA 4.0: 15.8% (12 pages)
- Undeclared: 11.8% (9 pages)
- Public Domain: 6.6% (5 pages)
- CC BY-NC 4.0: 3.9% (3 pages)
- Unknown License: 1.3% (1 page)
- CC BY-NC-ND 4.0: 1.3% (1 page)
- CC BY-ND 4.0: 1.3% (1 page)

By Page

- Introduction to Community Organizing - *Unknown License*
  - Front Matter - *CC BY 4.0*
    - TitlePage - *CC BY 4.0*
    - InfoPage - *Public Domain*
    - Table of Contents - *Public Domain*
    - Licensing - *CC BY 4.0*
    - Program Page - *Public Domain*
    - Accessibility Statement - *Public Domain*
    - AI Use - *Undeclared*
    - About the Book - *CC BY 4.0*
    - About the Authors - *CC BY 4.0*
    - Additional Organizing Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 1: Community Organizing - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.1: What is Organizing? - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 1.2: Emotionally Intelligent Leadership and Leadership Strenghts - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.3: Why Learn Community Organizing? - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.4: Power - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.5: Liberation Theory Part 1 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.6: Liberation Theory Part 2 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.7: Liberation Theory Part 3 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.8: Liberation Theory Part 4 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.9: Liberation Theory Part 5 - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 2: Inspirational Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.1: Characteristics of Inspirational Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.2: Story of an Inspirational Leader - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 2.3: Public Narrative - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
  - 3: Process Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.1: Characteristics of Process Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.2: Story of a Process Leader- Ella Baker - *CC BY-NC-ND 4.0*
    - 3.3: Emergent Strategy - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.4: Build Your Team - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 3.5: Getting People to Join - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.6: One to One Relational Meetings - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.7: Facilitation - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 3.8: Leadership Inventory - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 4: Strategic Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.1: Characteristics of Strategic Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.2: Justice for Janitors Part 1 - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 4.3: Justice for Janitors Part 2 - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 4.4: Cutting the Issue - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.5: Choosing an Issue - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.6: Action Star - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 4.7: Accessible Text Descriptions - *Undeclared*
  - 5: Task Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.1: Characteristics of Task Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.2: Story of Task Leadership - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 5.3: Developing Leadership in Others - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.4: Event Planning - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 6: Visionary Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.1: Characteristics of Visionary Leadership -

CC BY 4.0
- 6.2: Story of Visionary Leadership - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
- 6.3: Story of Visionary Leadership Continued - *Undeclared*
- 6.4: Action Logic - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
- 6.5: Framing a Message - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 6.6: Flyers - *CC BY 4.0*
- 6.7: Compact Communication - *CC BY 4.0*
- 6.8: Accessible Text Descriptions - *Undeclared*

◦ 7: Ethical Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.1: Characteristics of Ethical Leadership - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
- 7.2: Story of Ethical Leadership - *CC BY-ND 4.0*
- 7.3: Strategic Conversations about People versus Negative Gossip - *CC BY 4.0*

◦ 8: Conclusion - *Undeclared*
- 8.1: Tapping into the Power of Hope - *Undeclared*
- 8.2: Leadership Goals - *Undeclared*
- 8.3: Celebration of your Growth - *Undeclared*

◦ 9: Instructor Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.1: Creating Community in Your Class - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.2: Building Student Support for Each Other - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.3: Supporting College Level Reading - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.4: Community Engagement Assignment - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.5: Student Team Presentations - *CC BY 4.0*

◦ Back Matter - *CC BY 4.0*
- Index - *Public Domain*
- Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *CC BY 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *Undeclared*

This page titled Introduction to Community Organizing is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.

DETAILED LICENSING

Overview

Title: Introduction to Community Organizing

Webpages: 76

Applicable Restrictions: Noncommercial, No Derivatives

All licenses found:

- CC BY 4.0: 57.9% (44 pages)
- CC BY-NC-SA 4.0: 15.8% (12 pages)
- Undeclared: 11.8% (9 pages)
- Public Domain: 6.6% (5 pages)
- CC BY-NC 4.0: 3.9% (3 pages)
- Unknown License: 1.3% (1 page)
- CC BY-NC-ND 4.0: 1.3% (1 page)
- CC BY-ND 4.0: 1.3% (1 page)

By Page

- Introduction to Community Organizing - *Unknown License*
  - Front Matter - *CC BY 4.0*
    - TitlePage - *CC BY 4.0*
    - InfoPage - *Public Domain*
    - Table of Contents - *Public Domain*
    - Licensing - *CC BY 4.0*
    - Program Page - *Public Domain*
    - Accessibility Statement - *Public Domain*
    - AI Use - *Undeclared*
    - About the Book - *CC BY 4.0*
    - About the Authors - *CC BY 4.0*
    - Additional Organizing Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 1: Community Organizing - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.1: What is Organizing? - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 1.2: Emotionally Intelligent Leadership and Leadership Strenghts - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.3: Why Learn Community Organizing? - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.4: Power - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.5: Liberation Theory Part 1 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.6: Liberation Theory Part 2 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.7: Liberation Theory Part 3 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.8: Liberation Theory Part 4 - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 1.9: Liberation Theory Part 5 - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 2: Inspirational Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.1: Characteristics of Inspirational Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 2.2: Story of an Inspirational Leader - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 2.3: Public Narrative - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
  - 3: Process Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.1: Characteristics of Process Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.2: Story of a Process Leader- Ella Baker - *CC BY-NC-ND 4.0*
    - 3.3: Emergent Strategy - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.4: Build Your Team - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 3.5: Getting People to Join - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 3.6: One to One Relational Meetings - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.7: Facilitation - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 3.8: Leadership Inventory - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 4: Strategic Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.1: Characteristics of Strategic Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.2: Justice for Janitors Part 1 - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 4.3: Justice for Janitors Part 2 - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 4.4: Cutting the Issue - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.5: Choosing an Issue - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 4.6: Action Star - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 4.7: Accessible Text Descriptions - *Undeclared*
  - 5: Task Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.1: Characteristics of Task Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.2: Story of Task Leadership - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
    - 5.3: Developing Leadership in Others - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 5.4: Event Planning - *CC BY 4.0*
  - 6: Visionary Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
    - 6.1: Characteristics of Visionary Leadership -

CC BY 4.0
- 6.2: Story of Visionary Leadership - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
- 6.3: Story of Visionary Leadership Continued - *Undeclared*
- 6.4: Action Logic - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
- 6.5: Framing a Message - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 6.6: Flyers - *CC BY 4.0*
- 6.7: Compact Communication - *CC BY 4.0*
- 6.8: Accessible Text Descriptions - *Undeclared*

◦ 7: Ethical Leadership - *CC BY 4.0*
- 7.1: Characteristics of Ethical Leadership - *CC BY-NC-SA 4.0*
- 7.2: Story of Ethical Leadership - *CC BY-ND 4.0*
- 7.3: Strategic Conversations about People versus Negative Gossip - *CC BY 4.0*

◦ 8: Conclusion - *Undeclared*
- 8.1: Tapping into the Power of Hope - *Undeclared*
- 8.2: Leadership Goals - *Undeclared*
- 8.3: Celebration of your Growth - *Undeclared*

◦ 9: Instructor Resources - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.1: Creating Community in Your Class - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.2: Building Student Support for Each Other - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.3: Supporting College Level Reading - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.4: Community Engagement Assignment - *CC BY 4.0*
- 9.5: Student Team Presentations - *CC BY 4.0*

◦ Back Matter - *CC BY 4.0*
- Index - *Public Domain*
- Glossary - *CC BY 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *CC BY 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *Undeclared*

This page titled Introduction to Community Organizing is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Cynthia Kaufman and Angélica Esquivel Moreno.