

Prisms of the People

Power and Organizing in 21st Century America



RESULTS National Webinar
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PRISMS OF THE PEOPLE

POWER & ORGANIZING
IN TWENTY-FIRST
CENTURY-AMERICA

THE CHALLENGE

Type of resource	% of Issues where the side with greater control of the resource won
High-level government allies	
Covered officials lobbying	
Mid-level government allies	
Business financial resources	
Lobbying expenditures	
Association financial resources	
Membership	
Campaign contributions	



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High-level government allies	78***
Covered officials lobbying	63***
Mid-level government allies	60***
Business financial resources	
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Association financial resources	
Membership	
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THE CHALLENGE

Type of resource	% of Issues where the side with greater control of the resource won
High-level government allies	78***
Covered officials lobbying	63***
Mid-level government allies	60***
Business financial resources	53
Lobbying expenditures	52
Association financial resources	50
Membership	50
Campaign contributions	50



**The null expectation is the
status quo**

OUR QUESTION



How do organizations
build and exercise
political power, given
the **improbability** of
their work?

MULTI-YEAR, MULTI-METHOD

Comparative case study of outlier cases where power was built

CASE SELECTION METHOD





















Identify cases with a win in the “low resource, high power” box







	Low power	High power
Low resources	Many organizations	 <p>The image shows two book covers side-by-side. The left cover is 'THE PEOPLE'S LOBBY' by Elisabeth S. Clemens, with a blue and white design. The right cover is 'WHY DAVID SOMETIMES WINS' by Michael Garz, with a yellow and black design featuring a person's face.</p>
High resources	 <p>The image is a cartoon illustration of a hand in a suit dropping a yellow bomb onto a factory with smoking chimneys.</p>	 <p>The image shows the cover of the book 'FIREPOWER' by Michael Garz. It features a white background with black text and illustrations of various firearms.</p>



CASE SELECTION METHOD

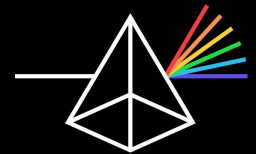
"Most-different" case selection strategy varying other factors known to affect organizational power (Gerring 2007)

	Political Landscape	Pop. Growth	GDP & Job Growth	Civic Orgs/lk	▲ Union Member Rates
Arizona					
Minnesota					
Ohio					
Virginia					

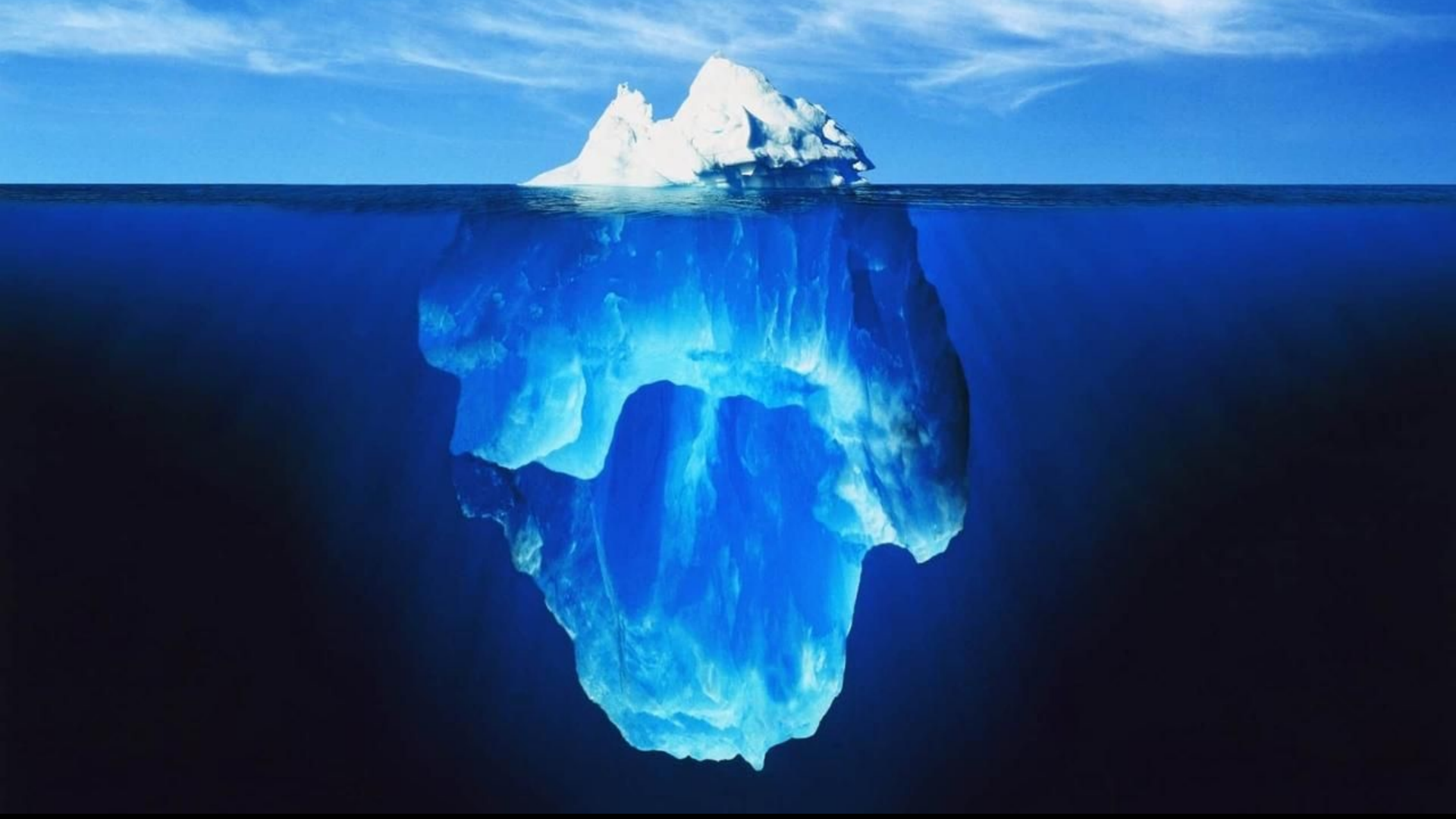
	Rank (out of 50 states)
	Top 5
	6-15
	16-25
	26-35
	36-45
	Bottom 5



Pause for questions



Did a power shift occur?

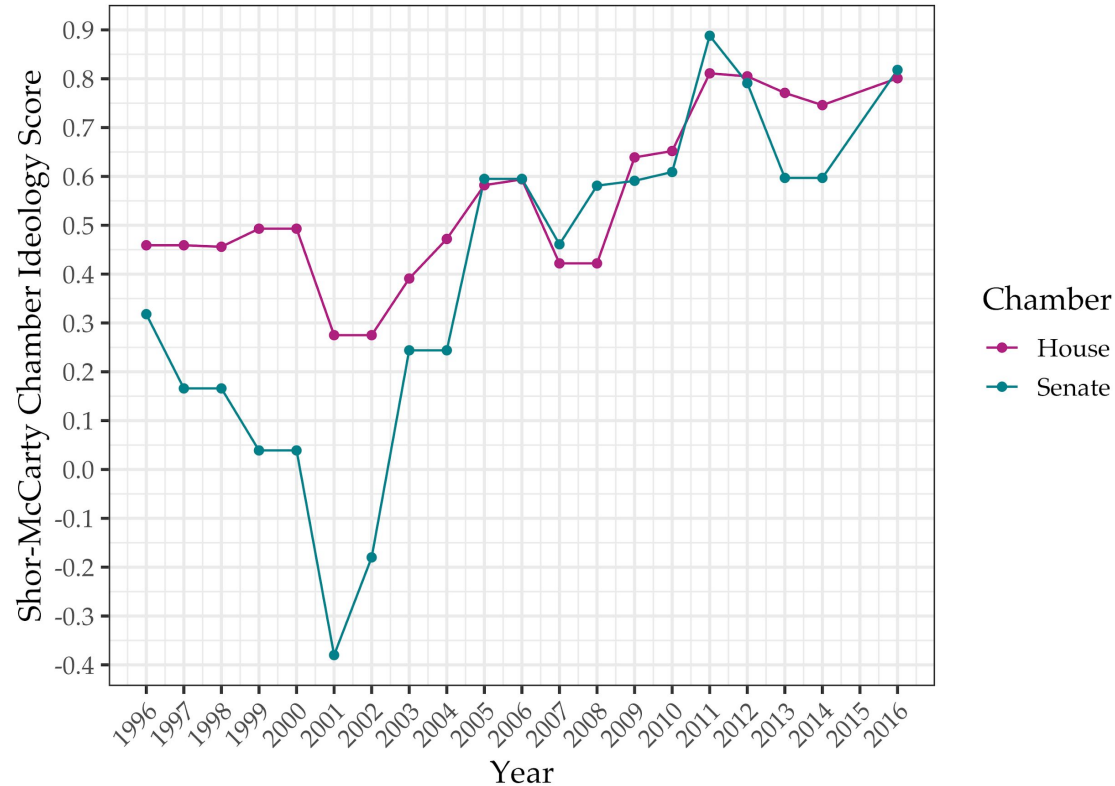


WE WILL NOT COMPLY

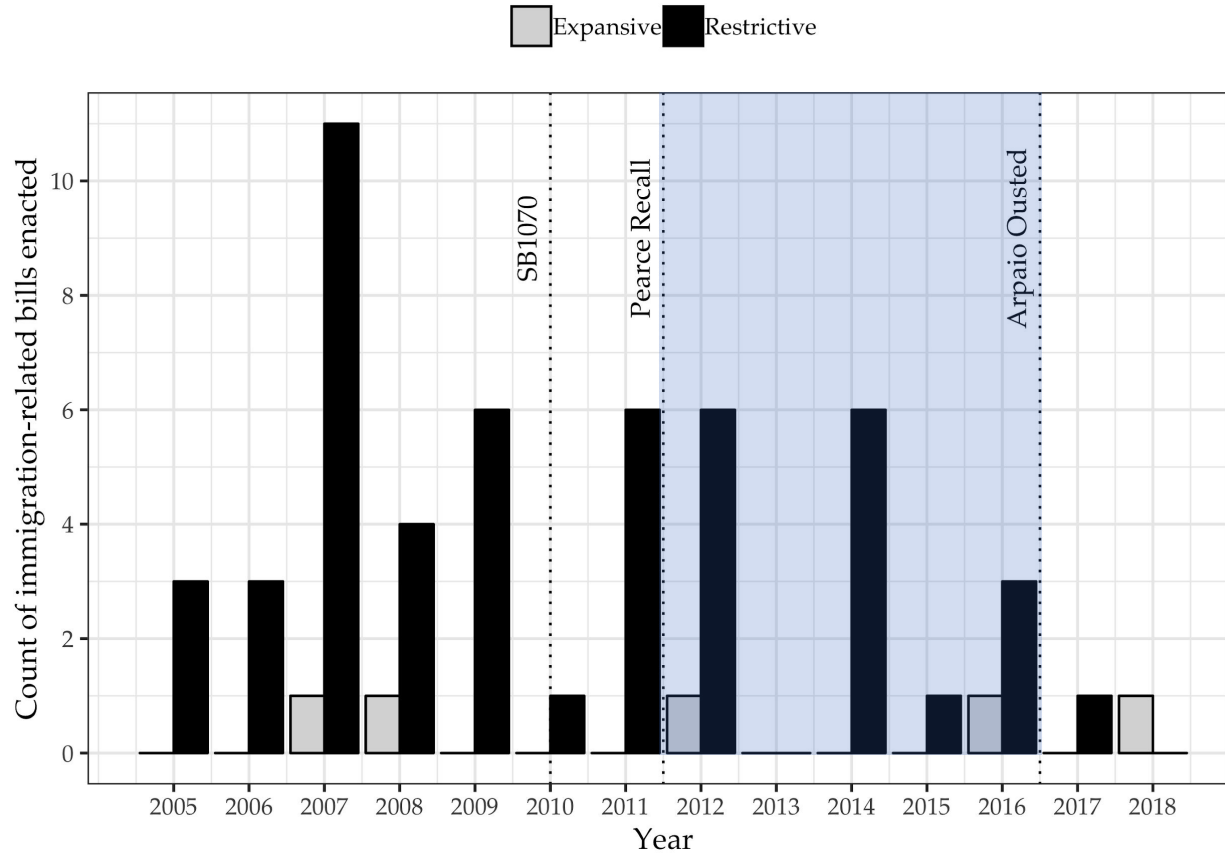


SB 1070: 10 YEARS OF RESISTENCIA

Even as the state legislature grew more conservative...



...the anti-immigrant policy agenda attenuated.



The Ohio Case



2001

A Cincinnati police officer shoots and kills Timothy Thomas, an unarmed black man, in the city's Over-the-Rhine neighborhood

2002-2010

A business-led commission backs a privately funded campaign to attempt to address one of the root causes of the persistent and racialized poverty in Cincinnati: a lack of early childhood education for Black and brown families

2010-2013

A well-resourced mobilization campaign gathers more than 5,000 signatures in a petition drive in support of preschool. It fails to build enough power to shift political will and policy on the issue.

2014-2016

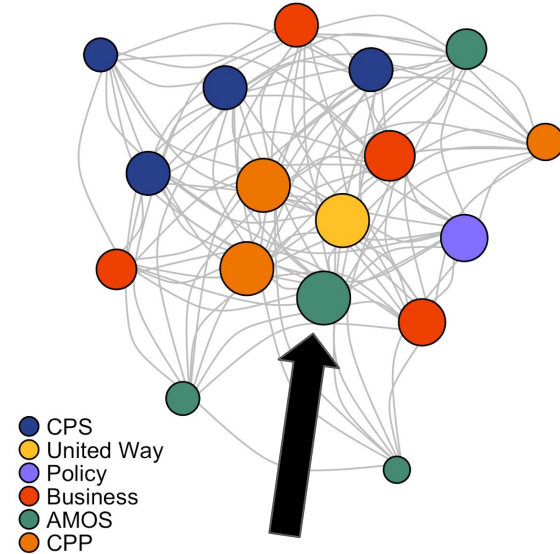
Using an alternative power-building approach (organizing a multiracial constituency base), a universal preschool ballot measure passes in a Trump election by a historic margin

Strategizing together

2013

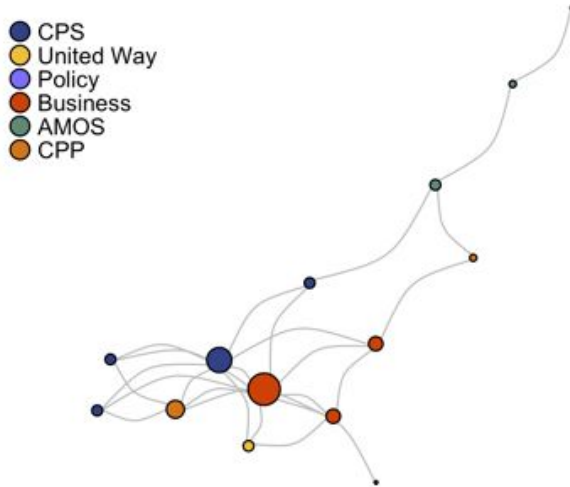


2016

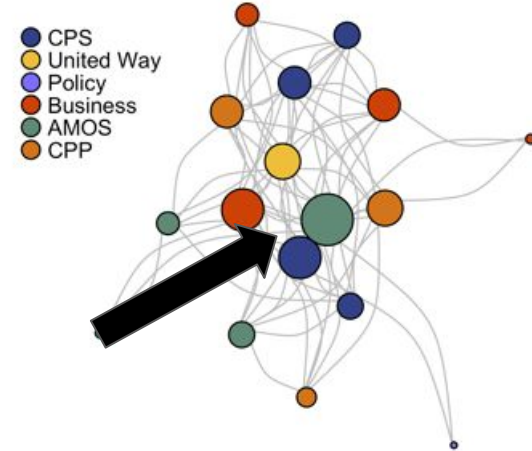


Negotiating conflict

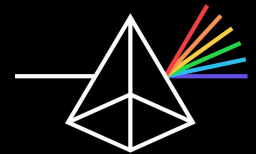
2013



2016



Pause for questions



THE PRISM



1. **MAXIMIZE STRATEGIC CHOICE SET**

THE PRISM

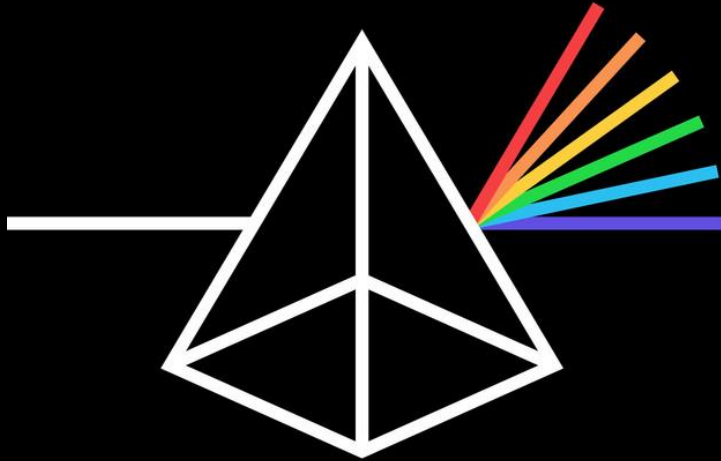


1. MAXIMIZE STRATEGIC CHOICE SET

Investment in resources that gave them the most flexibility to respond to uncertain environments.

Shifts the focus from “what do they have?” to “what strategic choices are enabled by the resources they have?”

THE PRISM



1. **MAXIMIZE STRATEGIC CHOICE SET**
2. **INDEPENDENT, COMMITTED, FLEXIBLE
CONSTITUENCY BASE**

THE PRISM



1. MAXIMIZE STRATEGIC CHOICE SET

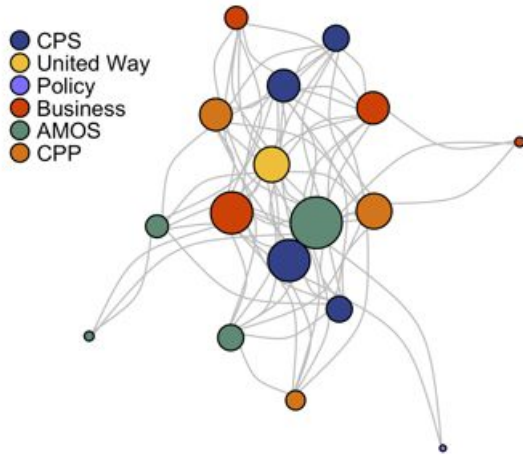
2. INDEPENDENT, COMMITTED, FLEXIBLE CONSTITUENCY BASE

What resources give them most flexibility?

Constituencies with three characteristics: independent (not beholden to someone else's assessment of their value in any given moment); committed (loyal to the organization); flexible (willing to shift as political circumstances shift)

THE PRISM | Independent source of power

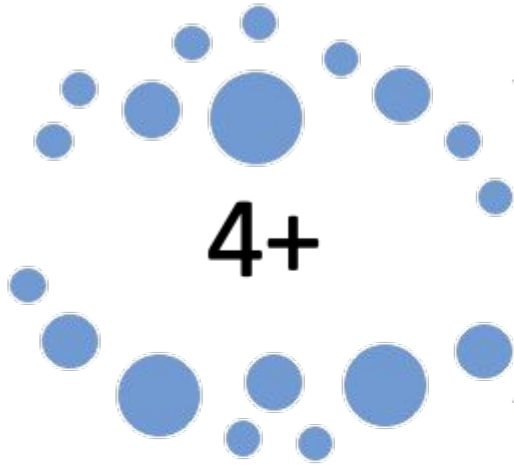
After he gave an impassioned speech about raising Cincinnati's income tax to fund universal preschool, a business leader asked Troy: "Aren't you afraid you are going to make people angry?"



I quickly said, 'No.' I later realized why I could answer so quickly: because of where my power comes from. Most people in the room from [the Chamber of Commerce group] Leadership Cincinnati have power that is vested and determined by their proximity to wealth and power via corporate leadership. They have to make certain tradeoffs with their source of power, which means that they have to be careful what they say and how they say it, lest someone get upset with them and upset their career and livelihood.

With organizing, our power does not come from networking or proximity and access to people of wealth and influence. It comes from a base, to whom we are accountable.

--Troy Jackson's weekly reflection from February 7, 2016



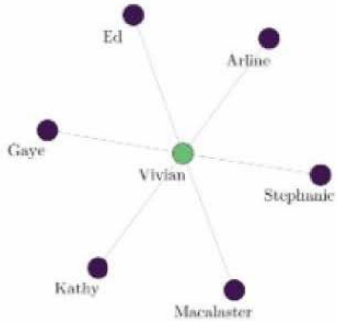
Number of candidates FIMN
faith delegates initially supported



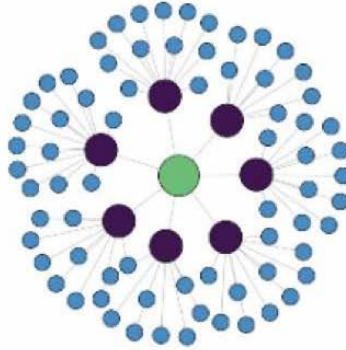
Percent who chose to stand with
FIMN after circumstances changed

THE PRISM | Distributed strategy

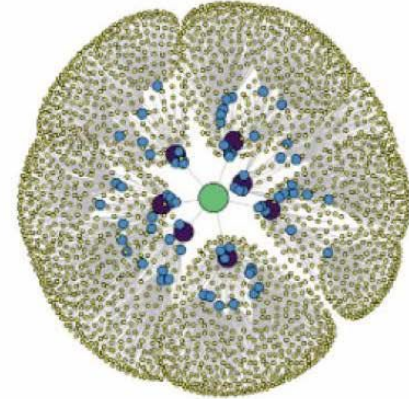
**Time 1:
September 2019**



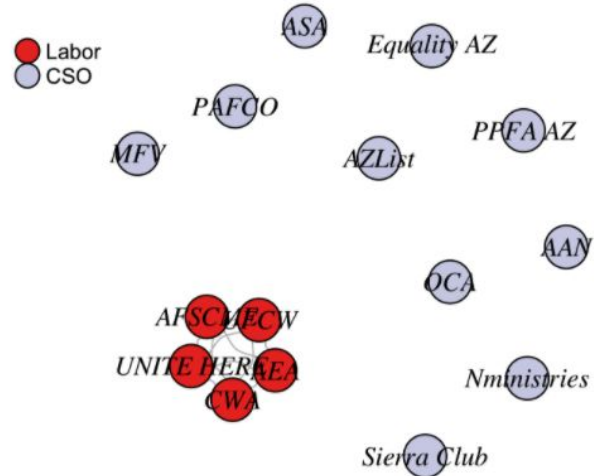
**Time 2:
October 2019**



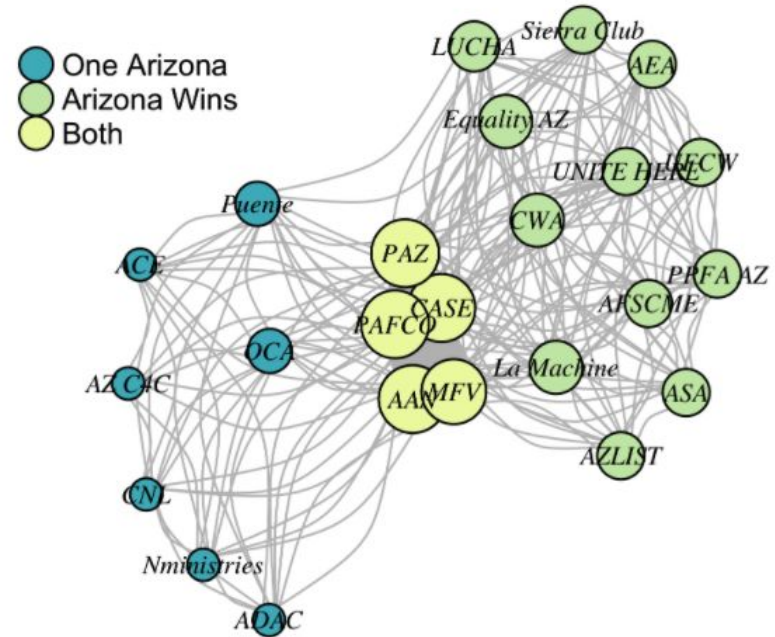
**Time 3:
November 2019**



2006



2016



THE PRISM



1. **MAXIMIZE STRATEGIC CHOICE SET**
2. **INDEPENDENT, COMMITTED, FLEXIBLE
CONSTITUENCY BASE**
3. **DESIGN CHOICES THAT BUILD THAT KIND
OF CONSTITUENCY**
What choices enable the feedback
effects that expand an organization's
strategic position over time?

THE PRISM



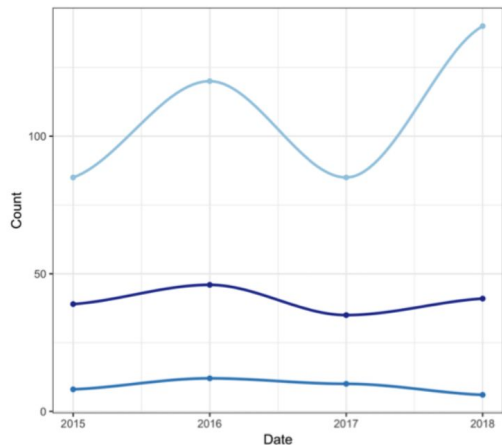
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2. **INDEPENDENT, COMMITTED, FLEXIBLE CONSTITUENCY BASE**
3. **DESIGN CHOICES THAT BUILD THAT KIND OF CONSTITUENCY**

What choices enable the feedback effects that expand an organization's strategic position over time?

- Leaders accountable to members,
- Constantly expanding latticework of relationships,
- Bridging ties,
- Distributed leadership.

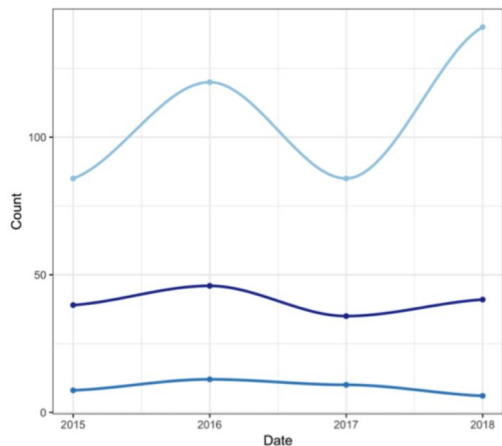
Organizational design choices have downstream implications for building a base and wielding power

ELECTORAL MACHINE

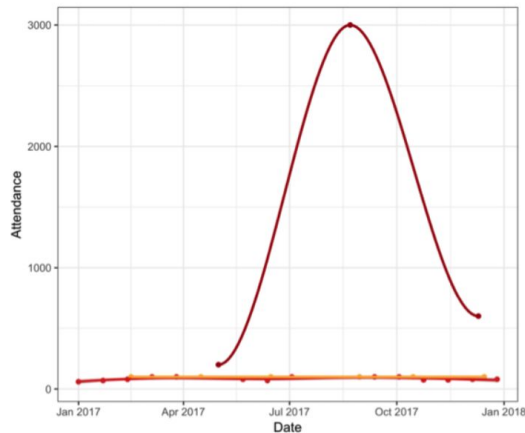


Organizational design choices have downstream implications for building a base and wielding power

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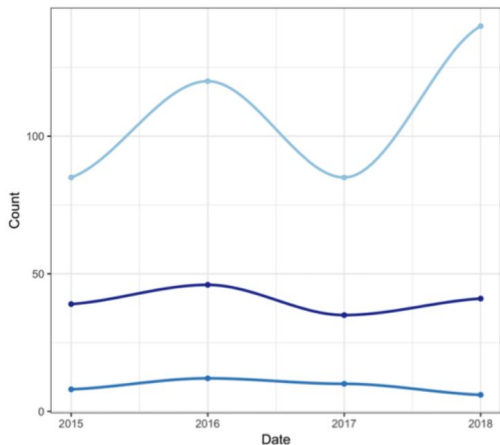


MASS ACTION

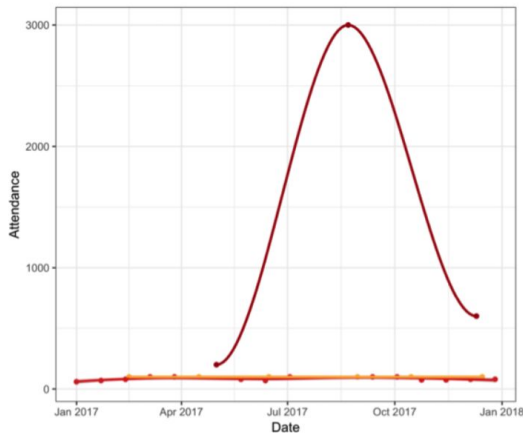


Organizational design choices have downstream implications for building a base and wielding power

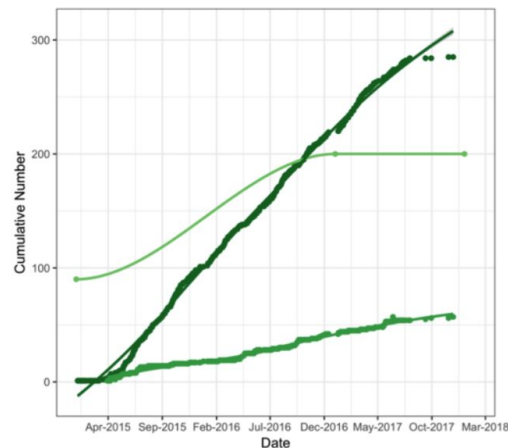
ELECTORAL MACHINE



MASS ACTION



STRUCTURED GROWTH



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

How do organizations build and exercise political power, given the improbability of their work?

ORGANIZATIONS THAT WERE ABLE TO SHIFT POWER SHARED SEVERAL KEY CHARACTERISTICS:

- **Independent**
 - not beholden to someone else's assessment of their value in any given moment
- **Committed**
 - loyal to the organization and to each other;
- **Flexible**
 - willing to shift as political circumstances changed;
- **Distributed strategists**
 - populated by a relationally connected network of member-strategists





Building constituency internally and exercising power
externally operate in mutually reinforcing ways.

HAHRIE HAN
ELIZABETH MCKENNA
MICHELLE OYAKAWA

PRISMS OF THE PEOPLE

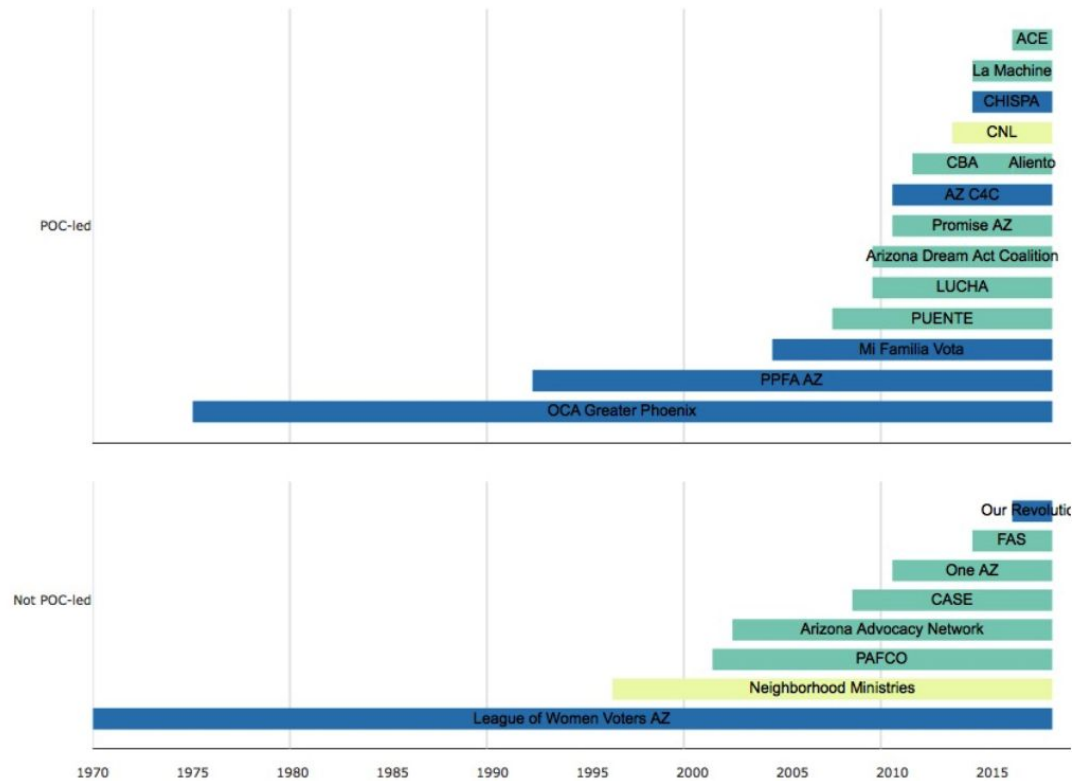
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APPENDIX

THE CASES

	Organization(s)	Campaign(s) and arena	Target(s)
Arizona	LUCHA; OneAZ; Poder in Action	Municipal and house district elections; statewide minimum wage ballot initiative (Proposition 206)	Joe Arpaio, Russell Pearce, moderate state legislators, and state (Democratic Party) and national (philanthropic) networks
Minnesota	ISAIAH/Faith in Minnesota	2018 primary and election (includes MN gubernatorial race and selected legislative and city- level races)	Candidates for office, especially Democratic gubernatorial candidates Erin Murphy and Tim Walz
Ohio	The AMOS Project (Ohio Organizing Collaborative)	Municipal levy (Issue 44) to fund universal preschool and K– 12 education	Business and philanthropic community in Cincinnati seeking to pass the levy
Virginia	New Virginia Majority	State- level rights restoration for the formerly incarcerated	Governors Bob McDonnell and Terry McAuliffe; Democratic statehouse delegates

ORGANIZATIONAL ECOSYSTEM EVOLUTION IN ARIZONA

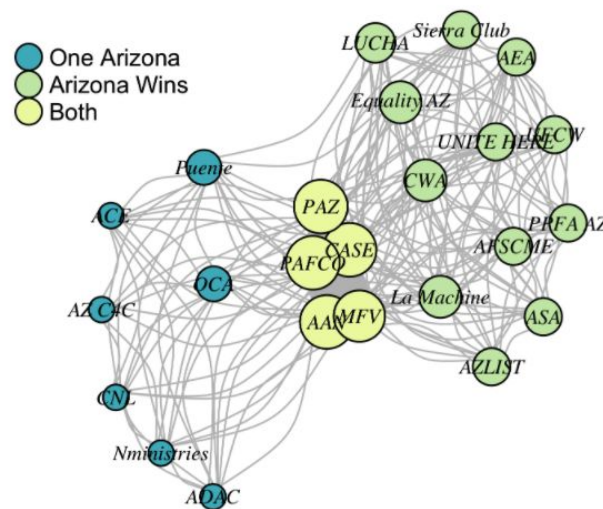


ORGANIZATIONAL ECOSYSTEM EVOLUTION IN ARIZONA

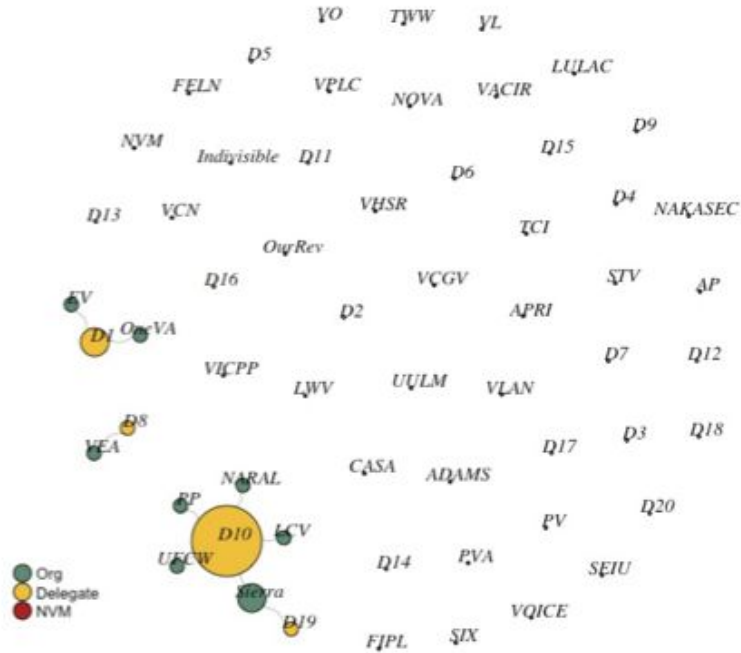
"I feel like that's frankly where we're going towards as a movement right now is dismantling a lot of the so-called 'infrastructure' that's become so process-oriented and weak in favor of **alignment coalitions** that are **forming capacity through the work together.**"

-Joy Cushman

2016



Experienced any form of opposition



RECAP OF THE ARGUMENT

	Dominant models of collective action	Logic and practice of 'prisms of people power'
Power		
Central challenge	Minimizing the free-rider problem and activating likely supporters	Generating constituent loyalty, flexibility, and resilience
Strategic logic		
Focus of power building		
Allocation of resources		



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Strategic logic		
Focus of power building	Accrue resources needed to generate proximity to decision makers	Develop an independent source of power that does not depend on access to elites
Allocation of resources	Investment in tools to generate action	Investment in the downstream consequences of constituency engagement that feed back to shape the strategic position of the organization over time



RECAP OF THE ARGUMENT

	Dominant models of collective action	Logic and practice of 'prisms of people power'
Strategic logic continued		
Nature of strategy	Unitary	Flexible and pragmatic
Style of learning	Individualistic and operational	Collective and strategic
Constituency characteristics		
Nature of relationships		
Nature of engagement		
Nature of commitments		
Nature of identities		



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Nature of identities	Fixed, bonding	Changing, bridging

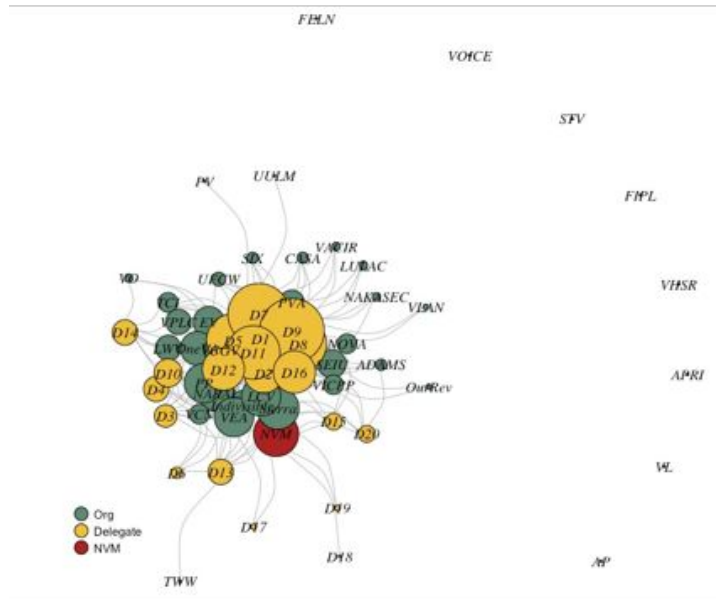


IT SEEMED LIKE REACHING FOR THE MOON.

BARBARA JOHNS



With which organizations do you strategize?



	Eigenvector Value
Sierra	0.830
PP	0.822
VEA	0.798
LCV	0.795
NVM	0.758
NARAL	0.748
OneVA	0.727
EV	0.700
VCGV	0.674
PVA	0.643
SEIU	0.629
Indivisible	0.616
VPLC	0.556
LWV	0.541
VICPP	0.458
NOVA	0.454
TCI	0.441
VCN	0.438
UFCW	0.347
CASA	0.305
SIX	0.303
ADAMS	0.253
LULAC	0.232
VACIR	0.232
NAKASEC	0.221
VO	0.185
VLAN	0.154
OurRev	0.134
UULM	0.078
PV	0.078
TWW	0.039
AP	0.000
APRI	0.000
FELN	0.000
VHSR	0.000
VOICE	0.000
VL	0.000
FIPL	0.000
STV	0.000



BUILDING THE BELOVED COMMUNITY



Shifting the narrative

