THE CRITICAL CLASSROOM

Education for Liberation & Movement Building

with Walda Katz-Fishman, Rose Brewer and Lisa Albrecht
Project South Presents:

THE CRITICAL CLASSROOM:
EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION AND MOVEMENT BUILDING

with Walda Katz-Fishman, Rose Brewer and Lisa Albrecht

Design by Pat Rouse

With Graphics by Rini Templeton
(riniart.com)

Spring, 2007


Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty and Genocide
9 Gammon Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30315
404 622 0602 - phone
404 622 6618 - fax
general-info@projectsouth.org
www.projectsouth.org
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS & DEDICATION

DEDICATION

To all the young scholar activists and movement builders who will help make our collective vision a reality

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In doing the scholar activist work we do and in developing this toolkit, we have been inspired by

— Visionaries of the past – early 20th century labor schools; the Highlander Center; Septima Clark and Citizenship Schools; Ella Baker, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and Freedom Schools; the Combahee River Collective; the Third World Women’s Alliance; and students in ethnic studies and women’s studies who struggled to transform their campuses in relation to their communities, and to bring indigenous knowledge from the community into the university.

— Global visionaries – the Zapatistas; the Venezuelans of Bolivarian circles; and the women, youth, and workers throughout the world building the social forum and the global social justice movement.

— Scholar activists and revolutionaries – Paulo Freire, Amilcar Cabral, Franz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Wangaari Mathai, Angela Davis, Betita Martinez, Andy Smith, and many more.

— Our students – at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities and Howard University, Washington, DC.

— The communities we live in and have done our work with in Washington, DC, Minneapolis, and Atlanta.

Walda made several trips to Minneapolis to move our collective process forward. Thanks to Lisa and Pat for opening their home-away-from-home Bed & Breakfast and to Lisa for her fine cooking.

Thank you, Pat Rouse, for your gift to us. Your graphic design, layout and cover art make this book extraordinarily beautiful.

And of course, we would not be here and doing this work without the support and ongoing dialogue with the Project South Board and Staff. Twenty years ago, Project South opened up a space for grassroots and scholar activists to come together on the basis of equality to understand the world as it is, vision the world we are struggling to create, and develop a movement building strategy of educating and organizing for liberation. This toolkit has been a 10-year project that is much richer for the many conversations and struggles we have had with Board and Staff. Our deep appreciation to all of you – current and former Board and Staff – for helping make this happen.

We also thank Betita Martinez for allowing us to use the incredible art of Rini Templeton throughout this toolkit.

Walda Katz-Fishman, Rose M. Brewer & Lisa Albrecht
March 26, 2007
# THE CRITICAL CLASSROOM:
EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION AND MOVEMENT BUILDING

## Acknowledgements

## Section I. Project South & Toolkit Overview
- What is Project South?
- How do I use this Toolkit in my work?
- Glossary of Key Terms

## Section II. Why We Do This Work: The Political & Intellectual Context & Our Practice
- Grassroots & Scholar Activists in Dialogue: A Conversation with Jerome Scott, Emery Wright, Walda Katz-Fishman, Rose Brewer & Lisa Albrecht

## Section III. What is Popular Education?
- Definitions of Popular Education
- Tips & Guidelines for Creating a Community of Learners
- Project South Process for Guidelines in Group Discussion
- Project South Guidelines: An Explanation

## Section IV. The Historical Moment, The Corporate University & The Critical Classroom
- Globalization Comes to Campus: The Corporate University & The Challenge to Scholar Activists
- Elites, Reformers & Transformers: What’s your worldview? Movement Building is at Our Center

## Section V. Tools for Scholar Activists: Transforming Our Classrooms & Our Practice/Praxis
- Lessons Learned from History
- History & Popular Education: Critically Remembering Our Past
- Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story
- Lessons Learned
- Timeline of Radical Education History
- A Bullet Point History of Radical Education

## The Critical Classroom - Two Workshops
- Critical Classroom Workshop Narrative
- Consciousness, Vision, Strategy Workshop Narrative
- CVS Activity
- CVS handout

## Bridging Classrooms & Communities: Today’s Movement Building Moment
- Using Project South’s Today’s Globalization Toolkit – Students as Popular Educators, Jan Fritz
- The Syllabus as a Transformative Tool: Theories and Practices of Social Change Organizing, Lisa Albrecht
- Transformative Community Based Action Research – The Color of Public Policy, Rose Brewer
- Linking Theory and Practice – Social Theory and Society, Walda Katz-Fishman
- Book Forums as Popular Education, Walda Katz-Fishman
- Today’s Movement Building Moment: Liberatory Learning & Teaching, Walda Katz-Fishman & Jerome Scott

## Section VI. References & Popular Education Resources

## Section VII. Other Resources
- Project South Publications
- Project South Workshops
- Other Popular Educators
- Community Organizations
- Labor Organizations
- National Global Networks
PROJECT SOUTH
& TOOLKIT OVERVIEW
VALUES, VISION & MISSION STATEMENTS

Values
Project South is a values-led organization. Our values demand that we walk our talk. This means that the power and leadership of people and communities at the grassroots are central in the process of creating liberation. We believe that leadership needs to be collectively held and continually developed. For us, justice requires the elimination of exploitation and oppression on local, national and global levels, and within ourselves and our organizations. To do this work, Project South is committed to movement building that requires financial and political independence.

History
Incorporated in 1991, Project South was formed to meet the need for accessible education about the history of African Americans and the South’s strategic relationship to the nation as a whole. After organizing several summits of the southern region of the Up and Out of Poverty Now! Campaign — a coalition of homeless unions, anti-hunger and welfare-rights organizations — the leadership of the Campaign identified the continuous need for accessible political education. Project South took on that role.

Vision
The world we are fighting for will evolve from the continuous struggle of liberated people we envision cooperative, globally-interconnected communities they protect, produce, distribute, and sustain the resources of the earth on the basis of need. Our society values the power of diversity and difference, which allows all humanity to develop to our fullest potential.

Mission
Project South is a leadership development organization based in the US South creating spaces for movement building. We work with communities pushed forward by the struggle to strengthen leadership and provide popular political and economic education for personal and social transformation. We build relationships with organizations and networks across the US and global South to inform our local work and to engage in bottom-up movement building for social and economic justice.

In 1997 we made the organizational commitment to develop “indigenous” popular educators — people who develop and use popular education and action research as tools to build their own communities and organizations. Since then, we have developed a number of workshops, tools and methods to make vital information about changes in economic trends and public policy more accessible to low-income communities — the communities most negatively impacted by regressive policy and economic inequality.

Strategically located in the southeastern United States, Project South works primarily with groups in the state of Georgia and throughout the Southeast (including Washington, DC). We also do work on the national and international levels. Our constituency is made up of students, youth, cultural workers, scholar-activists, welfare recipients, community-based groups, and workers’ organizations — primarily with grassroots groups based in low-income/working class communities and communities of color.
Section 1: PROJECT SOUTH & TOOLKIT OVERVIEW

HOW DO I USE THIS TOOLKIT IN MY WORK?

The Critical Classroom Toolkit \ Tells a Story
This Toolkit is based in the struggle to link our classrooms and our communities in the larger struggle for freedom and justice over the last 500+ years. In making this toolkit we included different pieces of the history of the academy and society and of theory, pedagogy and political practice. This history and the experiences of those who have struggled before and alongside us are stories, which can help us to build successful strategies for movement building.

Glossary of Key Terms

MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investment) - A low profile global investment scheme designed to further limit government regulations and would give sweeping authority to corporations over government interests. Grassroots and citizen groups successfully defeated MAI from being agreed upon in the OEDC or WTO.

Bottom-Up Globalization - International economic development based on grassroots participation, democracy, and social justice. It is the alternative to Corporate (or Top Down) Globalization.

Climate Change - The increase in global surface temperature of the Earth, which negatively effects our ecosystem. Many argue that climate change, or the greenhouse effect, is the result of unregulated big business releasing chemicals into the atmosphere.

Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) - A preferential trading agreement being negotiated among Central American nations and the United States and is modeled after NAFTA, which has been a disaster for small farmers and working people in Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Many feel CAFTA would be a solid step towards FTAA-style agreements.

COINTELPRO - COunter INTELligence PROgram of the FBI. COINTELPROs are the FBI domestic counter-intelligence programs developed to destroy individuals and organizations considered to be politically objectionable by the FBI. Targets of COINTELPRO have included the Black Power Movement, especially the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Civil Rights movement, American Indian Movement (AIM), Puerto Rican independence groups and Central American solidarity groups.

Cold War - After WWII, the relationship of political tension and military arms race between the United States and Soviet Union. The US government feared...
new movements and emerging nation-states would align with the USSR and led many covert operations to destroy democratic and liberation movements throughout Africa and Latin America.

**Colonialism** - A power relationship in which an external nation state (colonizer) directly controls the political and economic system of another nation state and/or people (colony). Involves the presence of a military force to crush dissent and the migration of people from the colony to the nation state of the colonizer.

**Commodification** - Turning basic goods and services into products for capitalist financial markets.

**Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF)** - The “new” set of policies at the WB/IMF designed to replace Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Officially the policies are supposed to reduce poverty through more efficient use of resources. They are also supposed to improve economic development, stability and sustainability. In reality, these policies are no different than SAPs.

**Corporate Globalization** - An aspect of capitalism which drives expansion of the economic market system across the globe in search of maximum profits. Globalization is more than 500 years old and has run constant throughout the three major stages of the capitalist global economy.

**Cultural Imperialism** - Imposing a country’s worldview, values and lifestyle on others. Many critics of today’s globalization use this term to describe how the United States actively exports its ideology of consumerism and free-market capitalism.

**Direct Aid/Material Aid** - Providing support to people’s struggles in other countries. This support can be either economic (through monetary or material donations) or political (pressuring home governments to either support the struggle or end support for the struggle’s enemies), but it is not linked to a domestic fight.

**Fast Track** - Term used to describe authority given to the President of the US by Congress to sidestep the Constitution regarding treaty negotiation. Fast Track authority allows the President to negotiate a treaty (always related to expanding neoliberal policies) quickly by limiting Congress to a “yes” or “no” vote without amendment. Fast Track is now called “Trade Promotion Authority.”

**Fourth World** - Nations forcefully incorporated into states which maintain a distinct political culture but are internationally unrecognized. It usually refers to indigenous people.

**Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA)** - An extension of NAFTA that would apply to the entire Western Hemisphere. Popular movements have actively opposed the FTAA and have blocked its intended adoption on January 1, 2005.

**GATS** - General Agreement on Trade in Services. A set of international rules incorporated into the WTO for the liberalization of more than 160 services including telecommunications, banking & investment, transport, education, health and the environment.

**GATT** - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Created in 1948 from the Bretton Woods conference, this treaty focuses on promoting world trade by pressuring countries to reduce tariffs. It has formed the foundation for today’s global institutions like the WTO.

**Globalization** - Also known as Corporate Globalization or Top-Down Globalization. An aspect of capitalism which drives expansion of the economic market system across the globe in search of maximum profits. Globalization is more than 500 years old and has run constant throughout the three major stages of the capitalist global economy.

**Global North** - Refers to the wealthy and more technologically advanced industrialized countries. They are referred to by geography since most of
these countries are in the northern hemisphere, although not all are.

**Global South** - Refers to the developing countries also known as the “Third World.” They are referred to by geography since most of these countries are in the southern hemisphere, although not all are.

**Global South Within Global North** - Refers to areas of concentrated poverty and political repression within the “Global North.”

**Gross Domestic Product (GDP)** - The total value of goods produced and services provided in a country in one year.

**Gross National Product (GNP)** - The gross domestic product plus the total of net income from abroad.

**Heterosexism** - A system of oppression that grants institutional and cultural privileges to anyone who conforms to “traditional” gender roles. It either penalizes or disregards the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning and transgender people as well as alternative family structures.

**Homophobia** - An irrational fear of sexual attraction to the same gender or sex. Also, a term for all aspects of the oppression of LGBTQ people.

**IFIs - International Financial Institutions.** This refers to all international institutions of globalization such as the World Bank and the IMF.

**IMF - International Monetary Fund.** Institution developed at the Bretton Woods conference that first began to implement neoliberal policies. First mandated to regulate an international monetary system to facilitate global trade while leaving sovereign governments in charge of their own financial policies, the IMF now lends to countries in economic crisis and requires severe changes in economic policy including reduced money supply, reduced government spending, privatization and removal of restriction on capital flow.

**Imperialism** - A stage of advanced capitalism in which more powerful and developed nation states dominate less powerful and less developed countries and territories through military force and indirect political control. Imperialism provides economic gain through access to raw materials, cheap labor, and markets for goods & services, and it often serves strategic geopolitical purposes.

**Keynesianism** - A theory of modern capitalist economics which holds that full employment is not a natural condition of capitalism and requires government spending on public works and direct financial support to the unemployed to keep the economy healthy.

**LGBTQ** - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Questioning. Other terms include LesBiGayTrans or Queer.

**NAFTA** - North American Free Trade Agreement. A treaty between Canada, the USA and Mexico which deregulates trade between the three (also referred to as a “ménage a trade”). Put into effect on January 1, 1994, NAFTA has lowered wages, resulted in job losses, and eroded environmental and safety standards in all 3 countries.

**Nationalism** - A sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its economic & political interests and culture as opposed to those of other nations.

**Neocolonialism** - A power relationship in which an external nation state indirectly controls the political and economic system of another nation.
state and/or people – often former colonies. May involve the presence of a military force to crush dissent and the migration of people from the former colony to the colonizer.

**Neoliberalism** - The philosophy of corporate globalization. It is the dominant set of economic & political policies guiding this stage of capitalist globalization. Its main points include: total rule of the “free” market, reduced social spending particularly on safety nets for workers and the poor, deregulation, privatization, as well as increased political and military domination domestically and globally.

**NGO** - Non-Governmental Organization. Also referred to as non-profits.

**Pan-Africanism** - An analysis developed in the early 20th century calling for a world union of African people in spite of differences in geographical location, religion, and culture.

**Patriarchy** - A system of power based on the supremacy and dominance of men through the exploitation and oppression of women. Also referred to as sexism.

**Popular** - Of the people. Indicates a mass base or accessibility to a mass of people (e.g., popular education).

**Prison Industrial Complex (PIC)** - Neoliberal policies, practices and institutions of all levels of government designed to remove the discarded (those who are unemployable, poor, uneducated, etc.) from society to further the social control of those negatively impacted by globalization.

**Privatization** - The transfer of government-owned or managed (i.e. public) services, agencies, or property to corporations.

**Race to the Bottom** - Phrase used by popular movements to describe deteriorating living & working conditions of the majority of the world’s population under corporate globalization and neoliberalism. Attributes include automation, downsizing, falling wages, eroded environmental protections, contingent labor, welfare “reform”, and elimination and increased global competition among workers.

**Ruling Interests** - Members of society who own and control society’s wealth and make decisions for the rest of the population; predominantly made up of heads of state and corporations.

**SAPs - Structural Adjustment Programs.** A set of neoliberal policies created in 1970s and 1980s and forced on poor countries by the IMF and World Bank. Countries facing an economic crisis are forced to accept a series of conditions as part of receiving international loans. The conditions - reduction of money supply, reduced government spending, privatization, and removal of restriction on the flow of capital - have exacerbated poverty, caused widespread environmental degradation and transferred wealth from the developing countries in the South to the industrialized countries in the North. Although SAPs are widely considered a failure and have been officially abandoned, the same principle and programs still operate at both the IMF and World Bank.

**Social Contract** - The understanding between government and the population that a social safety net (government policies for unemployment, social security, welfare, etc.) would be maintained.

**Solidarity** - “International solidarity is not an act of charity. It is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objective. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible.” - Samora Machel (1933-1986), Leader of FRELIMO, First President of Mozambique

**State** - The political organization of the members or representatives of the political and economic elite in a society -- including legislative, executive, judicial, and military bodies.
Uruguay Round - The GATT negotiation round, begun in 1986 and ended in 1995, which led to the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the expansion of GATT into areas such as services, intellectual property rights (IPRs), and finance & securities.

Washington Consensus - The theory that good economic performance requires reduced government spending, deregulation, free flow of capital, privatization, and property rights. It was coined after a meeting of Latin American and Caribbean policy-makers, representatives of international agencies, and members of academic and “think-tank” communities to evaluate the progress following the debt crisis of the 1980s.

Wedge Issues - Use of stereotypes to divide oppressed groups and prevent a mass-based movement (e.g., promoting the belief that immigrants take jobs from African-Americans so African-Americans should support repressive immigration laws).

White Supremacy - A system of power based on the supremacy and dominance of “white” people. “White” is a political concept created by the European and colonial ruling elite of the 17th and 18th centuries.

World Bank - Institution created from the Bretton Woods conference. Originally the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, it was established to help finance the reconstruction of Europe after World War II and the development of poorer countries.

WTO - World Trade Organization. Created in 1995 by provisions in the “Uruguay Round” of the GATT negotiations, the WTO is an international organization of more than 140 countries. It serves as a forum for negotiating international trade agreements and the monitoring and regulating body for enforcing agreements. By targeting “non-tariff barriers to trade” (like environmental, labor or safety laws), the WTO can overturn local and national laws in secret and without an appeals process.
WHY WE DO THIS WORK: THE POLITICAL & INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT & OUR PRACTICE
We begin our toolkit on *The Critical Classroom* with our conversation with grassroots activists and movement builders – Jerome Scott, Director of Project South, and Emery Wright, Program Director of Project South – to frame our work from the outside in. This lifts up our model of education for liberation and movement building and our work on campus within today’s rising social movement.

As early as 1996 we began these conversations as scholar activists on the Board of Project South. Within the context of Project South, as a movement building organization, we have struggled and continue to struggle with the role of scholar activists in the organization and the movement. For us, the social movement we are building includes all sectors of society, and scholars and students are and must be part of this movement along with all working and oppressed peoples. Issues of privilege in the larger society – class, race, gender, nationality, age, sexuality, ability – too often enter our movement spaces. We need intentionality and tools to challenge ourselves and others, to walk the talk, to model the world we are visioning and struggling to build.

This is a critical movement building moment because the contradictions and crises in our daily lives are deeper than ever; and the US Social Forum, as part of the World Social Forum process, represents a convergence and coming together of our many issues and struggles and the vision for another United States and another world.

Project South has created a space and tools for these diverse sectors of society to come together, to build relationships and trust, while also lifting up the leadership and voices of communities most adversely affected. In many ways this toolkit represents a living document as part of a movement building process to continue this struggle.

**Project South Interview, March 16, 2006**

*with Jerome Scott, Emery Wright, Walda Katz-Fishman, Rose Brewer, Lisa Albrecht, in Atlanta, Ga.*

Lisa: Today is March 16th, 2006, and we’re here with Jerome, Emery, Walda and Rose, and Lisa to talk about the relationship between scholar activists and movement building. The audience for this toolkit is across the spectrum of professors from those who call themselves liberal to those who identify as more radical. We want to try to educate them about what it means to be connected to people on the ground when you teach students about issues related to social justice.

Rose: We are interested in talking about the idea that there’s something going on that moves beyond service learning and the way the academy typically thinks of that. At the core of the book is this idea of not just collaborating with communities but really being in the process of movement building. And this is a language that is not used because it’s conceptually not really understood.
Some of our colleagues really are grappling with these ideas. What does this mean? And I think on the other end, we take on some of the tensions around community people who also struggle with social change issues. Especially, trusting anything that comes out of a university setting.

Walda: I think the final piece that we’re trying to take on is to give an understanding of the relationship between all the struggles that have happened which gave rise to social movement building. We want to bring marginalized people to the center of the conversation. In this book we move beyond various historical academic canons, and move to what we call liberatory pedagogy, where we bring theory into practice. We want to have your voices as part of this conversation. What do you see and envision from where you sit?

Jerome: In Project South’s history, one of the things that has worked is when we did our research on money and politics. We had these research teams which were made up of one person that was either a graduate student or a college graduate and one person who was a worker, a community person. It was difficult, but it was difficult because we had to get it to a point where both people could sense what they got out of each other, what leadership they got from each other. If one of them sensed that they weren’t getting any leadership from the other person, then it didn’t work. We’ve had teams that didn’t work.

Lisa: How did the students come to the project? Did you recruit them?

Jerome: Yeah. We had some relationships and still have some relationships with some professors and we could recruit them through them. The lesson that we learned from that process was that you had to have some serious political education to go along with the process, because if you didn’t, particularly the student would have a hard time understanding what they got from the community person. You know, what kind of leadership was the community person bringing to the table, and how it would affect the work. Because the work, the research, was in the community. If the researcher didn’t appreciate the leadership of the community person, a lot of times they would not get the information that they needed out of the community. We were on a learning curve, you know. We didn’t quite get to the place where we figured out that we had to start this process off with some political education and then we had to have regular political education. It was a six-month project, and we had to have political education throughout the project.

Lisa: So did you literally have teams sitting down and you did popular education workshops with them on issues?

Jerome: Yes. Yes. And that’s when it worked. Now there’s another example, a historic example that I would like to talk about because that happened in a very different period in terms of where the movement was at. The movement is at a very low level right now, you know. Back then in the late 60’s and early 70’s, we were part of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit. We were part of an experience that was called, Controll, Conflict and Change, which was a book club that was partly the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, partly the Motor City Labor League, and partly some professors from Wayne State University. That experience was coming on the heels of a movement being really at a high level. We used to have two, three hundred people at each book club. And we would never bring authors. We would just [laughter] just discuss the concepts that were in the book and how they related to the movement. And so we
have about ten, twelve round tables, and every table had a facilitator. We would have these round table discussions about the book that was under consideration, and that worked very well.

Lisa: Did the professors ever bring along students?

Jerome: Yeah, yeah. Now, the reason that worked very well though is because everybody knew that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was providing leadership and connection. So there wasn’t any battle around inequality about the voices at the table. I think that’s because the movement was at such a high level that people knew that they had to have a relationship with people at the point of production, and they respected that leadership.

Lisa: So Emery, what about you? You were in college in the late ‘90s? What kind of education did you get around anything connected to movement building or any of the kind of work we do with Project South? And you were at Tufts, right?

Emery: Yes, we definitely experimented with sort of scholar-activist and student-community relationships a lot. I think that the challenge was always whether we were talking about student-community relationships or professor-community-activist relationships. It was really a problem about power and privilege. I agree with what Jerome talks about, about the need for political education as a way that you can start to unpack some of the power and privilege that can play out in a really negative way with these kinds of relationships. If you’re working with two different communities where one community has more power and privilege, that can really be a problem. For example, when we were doing some multi-racial work, and we had White people and Black people working together, there’s a lot of power and privilege that was playing out there, and it was only through political education that we could start to unpack some of those things. I think that that is a key. I think that the problem with scholar-activist and community relationships is that too many times there’s not a process, an intentional process to unpack a lot of that power and privilege, so it just plays itself out in the way that oppression re-enforces power differences. So yeah, I think that that’s a big, big, big piece. I think the hope is that you have two different groups of people with very different experiences. You have with scholars, people who have the time and experience and skill of looking at political theory in a way that we might not always have the time or even the learning of how to use political theory. To bring those two experiences together could be a very powerful thing, and is a very necessary thing. The issue is how to do it in a way that doesn’t play out power and privilege in the way that it has in our country and throughout our history.

Lisa: What you did was organic, the starting of the organization. It wasn’t because it was connected to a class. You created a student organization and then a nonprofit.

Emery: Right. Yeah, we created a student organization that turned into a youth organization, The Nia Project. We also started with a study group. I think that it worked well that there weren’t any authors or even any professors from the university who were part of the study group because it created for us a space where we could deal with some of these concepts, all speaking from similar experiences, and then get to a point where we felt comfortable engaging with some of
the professors because we had taught ourselves the meanings of theoretical concepts. I think that study circles are important, whether they’re together with scholar activists or whether they’re activists in the community creating their own study circle to get to a point where they feel comfortable with political theory and talking about theory.

Rose: But there’s theory and there are theories. So how did you all reach some degree of consensus about what was going to inform your work? Because we talk about this theory-practice tension, and actually used historical materialism. We have all kind of theories in sociology. How do you get people on the same page with theories that actually enable you to unpack issues of power and privilege?

Emery: Okay. Part of it was we just happened to stumble across some of the greatest sort of minds. Like one of the first people we stumbled across was Ella Baker. One great thing about Ella Baker for us at that time was that we had to read into her political theory through looking at her life’s work, through looking at speeches, and interpreting what sort of theory she was working with. It wasn’t necessarily like a coherent political theory that we were reading. We were just reading about the life and times of Ella Baker and what she did and tried to gain understanding from that. I think for us, that was a really good thing. Also, there were limits to what we understood, even about Ella Baker. I think that’s okay, as long as there’s an evaluation and reflection process. Then you can sharpen what’s not working and move forward. And so it’s not like you even have to start with the best theory around. You just have to have space where you can reflect on your work. Maybe the theory’s not working out with your work and so you need to look at some other things. That’s definitely what we did. And that process has continued for me.

Lisa: That’s profound compared to the void of what’s happening at universities now. The universities use language like, civic engagement.

Emery: Right.

Lisa: Little talk of power and privilege. Let’s just send those students out into the community to take from them and learn without any political education. I mean, that’s the model, except for those of us who are trying to change it. For us, our classrooms become the political theory classes, no matter what the discipline is. But we’re in the minority doing that. Most of our colleagues don’t even connect with organizations where they send students. There’s usually a service learning office between faculty and the community. Most faculty turn to that office to find “sites” where their students can “do” service learning.

What about recently. Has Project South had any kind of ongoing relationships, in Atlanta, or other places in the South, where scholar activists, students and community people are working together?
Jerome: The two experiences that we have are the two book clubs -- the one in DC and the one here in Atlanta. We bring in authors, and oddly enough the last one we had was Barbara Ransby, who talked about her book on Ella Baker. We also have some connections with Georgia State, with Professor Jones’ class. We have actually partnered up with him at Georgia State, in the Department of African American Studies; they helped bring her in. They partnered up with us like on our Juneteenth Celebration and with us on another event we do, Peace of Mind. They send students and they help finance it. That relationship has been fairly long now. It’s been about five to six years that we’ve had a relationship with them.

Lisa: Do students from these classes come and work in the office and get involved in the day-to-day work of Project South?

Jerome: No, not really. What has happened is that they have so many hours of community work that they have to do, but most of the time, they come in and they say, “We got ten hours over the whole semester.”

Emery: It doesn’t make sense for us to try to get them and train them when they only have ten hours.

Jerome: I think that really gets to the structure of how universities are set up, like this bureaucracy is really anti-movement building. It becomes really challenging and you have to really think outside the box when you’re thinking about either student-community relationships or scholar-activist relationships, because if you stay inside the box, you’re going to run into these roadblocks every time. I’m sure we’ve all seen that happen to some of the more progressive stuff that comes out of college campuses. It’s sort of taken into the structure of the university system and then it becomes less radicalized and it becomes for movement building. I mean the entire growth of Black studies is like a case in point of that. It started as this totally community-based radical thing that was pushing the entire thinking of what learning could be and what learning should be. But then it was incorporated into a university structure. So now it’s like a student has as a requirement, ten hours a semester to volunteer.

Rose: Jerome said something every important. I think, again, given a lot of the people we’ll be working with about this, it doesn’t make a lot of sense for organizations involved in change, I’m just going to say this, to waste their time and energy with this model. I suspect most people probably haven’t even given it that much thought.

Lisa: Rose, how many hours do your students do in the community?

Rose: As many as they can [laughs], you know.

Emery: You don’t tell them they have to do at least a certain number of hours?

Rose: They have to do at least 30 hours in my class, and many go over that.

Jerome: Wow. Thirty hours a semester would be worth it.

Lisa: In my classes, many of the students then continue on with the same organization during the next semester, and often beyond, in their free time. I also do something else that’s unique. I
have gotten small grants to pay each social justice organization an honorarium to respect
the work that they have to do with my students. Every semester, each social justice
organization receives $250, no matter how many students they work with. They all really
appreciate the money, since most of the organizations are not well funded.

Walda: I wanted to bring it back to this question of the relationship between where the movement is
and where we as scholars are and where our students are. I think for the book forum we do in
DC, it’s been primarily student based. When Jerome came up from Atlanta, we were talking
about the World Social Forum and the US Social Forum. Tom Porter, and former Black
Panther came, and it was the first time we really talked about something that was happening
in terms of movement building that was really before us, that we could all work on together. As
I see that unfolding in the DC area, and even nationally and regionally, I think that it presents
us with a new moment, a new possibility of something where students and scholars can really
become involved on many different levels. I just want to raise that, because it’s changed some
of the dynamic. I think of what it is you say to students, so they can help organize the Social
Forum, right? This is a totally different kind of thing than going to a service organization.

Emery: Exactly, we’re already getting calls from students that want to do their summer work around
the Social Forum process. We have this one student that we interviewed from Massachusetts
who is a student up there. She’s from Durham, North Carolina originally. She wants to
volunteer for the US Social Forum process, because we’re going to be having our southern regional meeting in Durham in June 2006. There’s this great opportunity where here’s this young woman with some skills in terms of administration skills, who’s willing to volunteer herself for this process. She’s going to handle the registration for the southeast regional meeting in Durham. And that is going to mean hours and hours every week off our plate, and onto hers, and she’s happy to do it. That shows the possibility of working with college students as a pool of people who also have a memory because there has been at different points in U.S. history times where college students have been very involved in movement work.

Rose: Hey, we were the leaders!

Lisa: But obviously, this woman has some class privilege if she can afford to volunteer for a whole summer. I find my students are working one and two jobs, totaling full time work, going to school full time – kids, families. And they push to make their 30 hours and they wish they could do more. I mean the economy isn’t what it was when we were activists where we could go to school and then do political work and still be able to pay rent and keep the lights on.

Emery: As people who are doing this work and as people who are on this continuum of struggle, it’s really our responsibility in this situation to make sure that we don’t get flooded with college students with more power and privilege and leave out college students without. That’s our job.

Jerome: So having her do this piece is really important and really helpful. If there were 250 of her and they wanted to all be up in Durham, that might be a problem.

Rose: That’s exactly what SNCC (Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee) went through in terms of Freedom Summer and how that dynamic changed the whole process.
Jerome: That’s where Ella Baker was so good, in terms of taking students. Because most of the students that came down, of course, had class privilege. But her counsel to them was -- you’re not going to tell these people what to do, you’re going to learn and participate. Someone educating you to that degree before you go out in the field is very significant. Right. The other I wanted to say is about the whole process of movement building. We’re looking at the U.S. Social Forum as a process that will aid the development of the movement in the United States. When I think about the movement in the United States, I think about the fact that it has to be elements from all sections of society. The key is to make sure there’s some basis of a relationship between the different sections of society and some education. You know, it’s like we need people with privilege. And we definitely have to have the leadership from the bottom up. The ingredient that we have to make sure that is there is some education pieces so that people are clear what they’re dealing with and what direction they’re going in. The program of this movement has to be a program that will solve the problems of the very poor, and working class. And that program has got to have the leadership of the poor and working class. But we do want people from all classes.

Lisa: So it’s our collective job in our classrooms and communities to get the ball rolling,

Rose: That is, profoundly, a paradigm shift, and I mean we have to keep emphasizing that over and over again. Because this helping mentality of volunteerism as charity is so deeply rooted. It’s almost second nature. It has to be disrupted.

Lisa: We need to figure out how to reach people who teach students. Because I think youth activism is really on the rise. I have some extraordinary students. You know, they’re out there, they’ve been doing work in various communities for years, but they’re in classrooms and some classes where they’re ahead of the professors.

Rose: Oh, I’m sure there are many. And that’s where this may be an intervention. We know we won’t reach everybody, but there’s some people who really are honestly struggling with this.

Emery: Right. I think the other really unique thing about American higher education, and there’s just real historical reasons for it, is that America is one of the only places you could go to higher education and not learn political theory because it’s a threat. There’s a false dichotomy. I’m using this word “binary” between Democrat or Republican, or conservative or liberal. You know? And that’s like this right wing side of the spectrum. Even students who major in political science might not even know the whole range of political analysis that people in very poor countries already know, whether they have gone to college or not.

Lisa: Sure, because education is free in those countries, and now there’s not even access anymore in this country.
Emery: I really think that that’s a huge thing. When people ask me in other parts of the world -- what are you all doing in America? What’s happening? Why does everyone look so asleep? Part of the answer is, we don’t even know what’s available to us in terms of thinking. Even some of the students who have the most time to do thinking don’t even know what’s available theoretically. So you could see how we would end up in a situation that we’re in.

Lisa: So, Emery, if you walked into a room of college professors who want to talk about these issues, what would you say to them?

Emery: Probably I would say, “Let’s walk outside and [laughter] and go talk to some people.” I mean, I would be maybe assuming they don’t walk outside. There are some college professors, like you all, who are very much aware and involved in what’s going on outside of the university campus. But I think the whole structure is pushing against that. Universities are pushing for you to really stay within the campus.

Lisa: Yeah. In the university now, the party line is you publish the most scholarly esoteric work that has nothing to do with communities, or you’re ripping them off and talking about them. That’s what you get rewarded for. So it’s harder to get even young faculty on board to think about getting involved.

Jerome: Has any of that increased since 9/11?

Lisa: Sure, look at Ward Churchill and the attacks against him in Colorado.

Rose: And in the legal world, there’s Lynne Stewart. She’s not a professor, but a lawyer.

Jerome: It’s the same as the McCarthy era. You know, this era is our McCarthy era for this generation. Yet look what happened in the 60’s in this country, right after the McCarthy years. That to me is the thing that this U.S. Social Forum makes so important. Because we’ve got to use it to get ready for...what we call the leap in the social movement in this country. We need tons and tons and tons of leaders.

Walda: I think the way you do it is you say it’s the one space that includes all of us, whether it’s housing, jobs, wages, immigrant rights, racism, sexism, homophobia. It’s all of them. All of the issues that we are struggling against need to be challenged by a coherent movement.

Jerome: Yeah. I think that like this whole piece about the 1950s and McCarthy is really important to look at and to get some lessons around, and to recognize the newness of this moment. Because what scared me is that at least in the 1950s, they were red-baiting people who were actually on the left. But now they’re red-baiting people who are on the left side of the right wing. That’s a big difference, and it something to really try to get more analysis around, what does that mean? How do we need to behave differently? What can we learn from the 1950s? Then see what’s new about his moment to really have sharper analysis about what is going to get us ahead.
The other thing that the McCarthy Period did, very intentionally, was to go after the professionals, the book writers, the movie makers, and separate them from this movement process. You know? That’s the work we’re trying to undo. This whole thing of there not being a picture of movement building that includes scholars and scholar activists as well as workers and unemployed is the same as back then. There’s a reason why they point at that particular unity, because they knew just like we know, that if we don’t have people from all sectors of society, we cannot have a successful movement.

Wald: What about our visions? What visions do you have of what would work best for movement building, in the context of this conversation?

Jerome: The thing that I’ve said already, but I want to emphasize, that all of us noted. This is difficult work.

Rose: It’s hard as hell.

Jerome: And what that means in terms of vision is it’s long-term. I think about it as being something that you have to concentrate on all the time. You can’t just say, “Let’s have a political discussion with this grouping of people, and then don’t have another one for five years.” That brings us back to the Social Forum process. Because the only way you’re going to overcome your difficulty of getting people excited about it, is by having some political and economic discussions with them that talks about what kind of movement we need, and who do we need to connect up with in the world. One of the things we can do is try to begin to make the movement in the United States worthy of saying, “Let’s get together with the Global South.”

Rose: I agree. My read of this is that it’s not so much people aren’t interested, but we have an over-abundance of people who are interested, but what they bring to the process is a certain kind of political dynamic that’s rooted in the white liberal left.

Jerome: In terms of history, a lot of this is going to resolve itself as the movement develops. Because as you get to the point where people recognize that fascism is right around the corner, people are going to start to do something. And they’ll be open for political education. They’ll be open for saying, your history as a scholar is one thing. What about the history of the worker? What do we need to do to have a relationship? People will be open to those discussions more so than they are now. The question now is: “what do we have to do now to make sure that we’re ready?” We have to begin to figure out how to have those political discussions with our peers right now, both on the community side as well as on the scholarly side. And, actually begin to have them open up and say what they think about the other one. For example, just what do you think about working people or poor people? And what do you think their relationships should be to a movement? Same thing with working and poor people. What do you think the professor’s role is or the scholar’s role is? So that you can begin to get some sense how much work it’s going to be, but where is the starting point.

Rose: Are there things that we haven’t touched upon that you all can think about and would like to have in the conversation?
Section II: WHY WE DO THIS WORK: 
THE POLITICAL & INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT & OUR PRACTICE

Emery: I think that there’s new Jim Crows happening all over the world. I think that with them consolidating power, there’s also an increase in the forms and the methods of oppression. Whether you’re talking about mass communications or other methods, there’s just a whole different way that we can be oppressed in this world now. That wasn’t true maybe in the era of Jim Crow. But I think that the potential for movement building and the potential for preparing for big steps in movement building happens in the midst of crisis. In the southeast right now, because of Hurricane Katrina and the Gulf Coast, I think we’re much more prepared to talk about movement building in really concrete ways, because of the extraordinary brutality we’ve felt in a way that hasn’t been felt in the rest of the U.S. in the same way. I’m not trying to compare oppressions, but certainly the way this whole thing is playing out, it’s playing out because we’re in a new moment and it’s playing out in a new way.

Jerome: Yeah, when I think about the period that we’re in right now, I think all the disadvantages that we have in terms of the concentration of power, the concentration of wealth, is also a positive. You know, because there becomes fewer and fewer people who are really fighting to maintain that wealth and power. Because it’s getting concentrated in smaller and smaller numbers. They’re pushing all these other people down, so that they can make choices about whether or not they’re going to be part of this movement. The other thing that I think is, this is not the worst time, when you look at this country historically. I think about the 1890s when this big Populist movement was developing, where people walked for days to get to a meeting. It was amazing. These populist meetings around the South and around the country had thousands of people, You ask yourself, how did they get there? Black folks from Alabama up in Minnesota. What that about? They figured it out and I think that’s the same thing for today. We will figure it out. It’s hard, but it ain’t...

Rose: Impossible. Yes. I think the other thing about today, even with all this formidable power, I mean, it’s fraying around the edges.

Jerome: The last thing I want to say is about popular education, because I think that with popular education, one thing that makes it harder to co-opt is that it demands that you look at the context in terms of power and privilege. It demands that you speak from your own lived experience. This is opposite of what’s expected in universities and high schools. I do think that there’s a real power with popular education, because its principles and its methods are completely unrelated to the structures of oppression that we live under. If it’s done well, it, in and of itself, it pushes against systems of oppression. But I do think that the same thing could happen to popular education that happened to Black Studies. It could become mainstream.

Rose: It’s already done some of that.

Jerome: And it could become this relatively useless thing to us. And then we’d have to create something else. I think as much as we can hold popular education as ours, as an approach that we’re going to keep with us and use, I think it is really, really effective. I think it’s counter to their whole way of education.

Walda: Right. It’s counter-hegemonic.

Rose: It is. As long as you don’t de-contextualize it. As long as we keep it in political context.
Jerome: There’s also such a difference between the different models of popular education and what different people call popular education. Project South’s model of popular education, which is bottom-up, historical, learned experience – all based on consciousness, vision and strategy.

Jerome Scott is the founding Director of Project South.

Emery Wright is Program Director of Project South.

Lisa Albrecht is a member of the Project South board since the late 1990’s.

Rose M. Brewer joined Project South in the early 1990’s as a member of its board and is currently treasurer.

Walda Katz-Fishman is a founding Board Chair of Project South.
WHAT IS POPULAR EDUCATION?
DEFINITIONS OF POPULAR EDUCATION

Popular education, n. 1. [Education for liberation] – Popular education is essential in developing new leadership to build a bottom-up movement for fundamental social change, justice and equality; see also liberation, revolution, social and economic equality.

2. [Accessible and relevant] – We begin by telling our stories, sharing and describing our lives, experiences, problems and how we feel about them.

3. [Interactive] – We learn by doing: participating in dialogue and activities that are fun, including cultural arts such as drama, drawing, music, poetry and video.

4. [Education with an attitude] – We are not neutral: through dialogue and reflection we are moved to act collectively – creating change that will solve the problems of those at the bottom in our communities, those of us who are most oppressed, exploited, and marginalized.

5. [Egalitarian] – We are equal. All of us have knowledge to share and teach. All of us are listeners and learners, creating new knowledge and relationships of trust as we build for our future.

6. [Historic] – We see our experience within history, indicating where we have come from and where we are going.

7. [Inclusive] – We see ourselves in relation to all people, including those of different ethnic groups and nationalities, social classes, ages, genders, sexualities and abilities.

8. [Consciousness raising] – We critically analyze our experiences, explaining the immediate causes of our problems and discovering the deeper root causes in the structures of the economy, political institutions and culture.

9. [Visionary] – We are hopeful, creating an optimistic vision of the community and global society we want for ourselves and our families.

10. [Strategic] – We are moved to collective action, developing a plan for short-term actions to address the immediate causes of our problems, and for long-term movement building to address the root causes of our problems.

11. [Involves the whole person] – We use our head for analysis, reflection and consciousness; our heart for feeling and vision; and our feet for collective action for the short term and the long haul.
Popular education is about creating a community of learners — each person in the group is a teacher, a learner and a member of the community created by the workshop.

The following Facilitator/Participant Tips are designed to help this community form on the basis of equality. While most of these suggestions may seem like common sense, it is always helpful for group members and facilitators alike to take a moment to review them before a workshop begins.

**Tips & Guidelines for Creating a Community of Learners**

**Being Accountable to the group process (facilitator/participant tips)**

1) Keep the task of the group in mind at all times. Group discussion is an effort to bring out a wide variety of ideas and understanding. It is not a debate nor a clash of wills. It is a process of clarifying the issues faced by all group members.

2) If the group strays too far, you as a facilitator or group participant should help bring the group back to the task at hand.

3) Be aware of time limitations. Watch the clock and remind the group if it seems behind schedule. Sometimes it is helpful to choose a timekeeper.

4) Keep track of who’s participating in the group and who is not. Draw out the quiet members. In an active group, you can offer that person an opening simply by asking what s/he thinks.

5) Be aware of your own participation. Share your best ideas. If you find it easy to talk, be brief and to the point. Change topics only when the whole group is ready for the change.

**Project South Process for Guidelines in Group Discussion**

Guidelines can be used as a tool for workshop facilitators and participants. The 4 Steps & Guidelines listed below are suggestions based on our experience in conducting Project South workshops.

1) Go over each point in the guidelines so everyone has the same understanding of what they mean. Ask if anyone would like to add additional points. If so, review the additions so all participants agree on what they mean.

2) Ask if anyone disagrees with a point and would like it removed. The group should reach consensus on removing a point.

3) Once everyone agrees on the guidelines, ask the participants whether they will agree to these guidelines for the duration of the workshop.

4) Silence does not equal consent! Ask participants to say yes or no. If consensus cannot be reached, the group should decide whether or not to proceed with the workshop. (It is extremely rare for a group to disagree on the guidelines.)
Project South Guidelines: an Explanation

- **Be aware of Time**
- **Use the “Whoa”**
- **Respect the Strengths & Weaknesses of All**
- **Step Up, Step Back**
- **Oppression Exists: Not in our Space**
- **Open Minds Only**

**Be Aware Of Time**
There is time to explore points and ask questions. There is not time for speeches or storytelling that do not address the task at hand.

**Use The “Whoa.”**
If at some point during the workshop a participant does not understand what has been said, strongly disagrees, or has something vital to share (like the room is on fire), they should raise their hand and say, “Whoa.” This will focus attention on their question or point. Participants should exercise restraint when using the “Whoa.” (See above, “Be Aware of Time.”)

**Respect Strengths & Weaknesses Of All**
Youth, educators, grassroots activists, and scholars all have their respective areas of expertise. It’s important that during a workshop, everyone can learn from one another as well as bring their experience into the community.

**Step Up, Step Back**
Participants who like to talk should “step back” and create a space for those who are quiet. Quiet people should “step up” and contribute to the group so that all may learn. All participants have an equal opportunity to participate during workshops and small group sessions. Facilitators will help draw out quieter people and ensure that more vocal people do not dominate.

**Oppression Exists**
The existence of oppression (racism, classism, sexism, homophobia /heterosexism, etc.) is not debatable. Oppressive behavior will not be tolerated. This means that the workshop space will be a space where oppression is actively confronted.

**Open Minds Only**
Participants should leave their agendas and dogma at the door when they are in a group discussion.
THE HISTORICAL MOMENT,
THE CORPORATE UNIVERSITY
& THE CRITICAL
CLASSROOM
The Historical Moment

We live in a “teachable moment” in our society and the world – the catastrophic aftermath of Katrina, rising immigrant struggles, the wars at home and abroad, deepening economic crises and political repression, neoliberal attacks on reforms of the twentieth century, violence against women, and the destruction of society as we know it. What many are coming to realize is the system is broken and cannot be fixed. That the U.S. government exists primarily to serve the interests of the richest global corporations and to insure they reap maximum profits in the global capitalist market rather than serving the needs of the people and the poorest and most marginalized among us. This system of oppression and inequality is deeply integrated with white supremacy and patriarchy, especially as it affects the lives of poor and working women of color.

Why is this happening? The reason, we suggest, is because we live in a new stage of capitalist development in the United States and globally characterized by electronics and robotics in production, distribution and communication; and imperialism remains a key reality of this current period. We are witnessing the destruction of the old society that we have known for centuries and a process of struggle between rich and poor across the globe over what the new society will look like and whose needs and interests it will serve. A lot of the new oppressed workers are women from the Global South and women of color within the U.S. The basis of this process is the technological revolution and the shift from an economy and society organized around machine production to one organized around electronics.

The old society organized around machine technology is being destroyed because workers in the West are needed less and less by global corporations. The revolution in technology over the last thirty years and the widespread use of electronics – computers, automation, robots – means that more and more goods and services are produced and distributed with fewer and fewer working people than at any time in human history. It means that working people in the U.S. are competing globally with billions of workers throughout the world. So working people are increasingly superfluous as workers – they are increasingly unemployed and, if they work, their wages are lower and benefits are disappearing. This disproportionately affects workers of color and especially women. At the same time, however, the technological revolution also means that there is an abundance of all the goods and services that people require to satisfy their basic needs.

The reality of capitalism through every stage of development is the drive for maximum profit for capital, especially the richest and most powerful corporations that maraud the country and the world. In the U.S. this also means a brutal system of racialized inequality and gender oppression. But in today’s stage of electronics and automation, competition for markets is greater than ever. Creating chaos and then privatizing public goods
Section IV: THE HISTORICAL MOMENT, THE CORPORATE UNIVERSITY & THE CRITICAL CLASSROOM

and services is one way these powerful sectors of global capital move to secure new markets. The government and ruling class allow a process of destruction to happen that could easily have been prevented; and then allow for maximum profit to be made by the well-connected global corporations – such as Halliburton and Blackwater – to do the things that could have been done by government. This process of privatization is widespread, especially in education, health, housing, welfare, in policing and warfare, and even for water itself. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the willful and intentional destruction of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (South End Press Collective, 2007).

We saw this in the devastation in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast after Hurricanes Katrina and Rita and the rebuilding plan to offer maximum profit for particular global corporations – in oil and energy, in military and security, in building and construction, in tourism and in the port. We see this everyday in our communities when the public schools and public hospitals are allowed to fail so they can be privatized; and then corporations come in to make profit from these newly recaptured markets. This process is an essential aspect of the destruction of the old and preparing for the new electronic-based global capitalism in our communities.

The ruling economic and political elites have a vision and a plan for a new society that serves their interests of maximum profit in global markets within the context of today’s technological revolution. The “old” workplaces and communities that we remember and are struggling to defend are not part of this elite vision.

We also see renewed activism, organizing and movement building in this moment. The Project South model and mantra of movement building is CVS – consciousness, vision and strategy. We see the movement building process having a logic of its own – and unfolding through the overlapping stages of consciousness, vision and strategy. The consciousness stage is when those in struggle come to a shared political and economic analysis and locate the root causes of their problems in systems and structures of global capitalism, white supremacy and gender oppression. In the vision stage we are able to give voice and shape to the society and world we are fighting for. The strategy stage is developing the plan for making our vision a reality – for bringing about systemic transformation locally, nationally and globally, and for sustaining the reorganization of society for the long haul.

Today’s bottom up movement must have a vision and a strategy of its own, representing the needs and interests of the most oppressed and exploited in our communities. The challenge to scholar activists and educators is to understand this moment and to create critical classrooms as part of a movement building process.

The Corporate University

The university is a microcosm of the larger society. The domination of corporate interests in the larger society and global economy is expressed in today’s corporate university. There has always been an interrelationship between corporations and the university; but under current conditions there is a weakening of the idea that the university is a space independent of the economy and that university actors (faculty, administrators, boards of trustees, etc.) are autonomous. Some of the main features of today’s corporate university are the merger of corporate interests with intellectual production in the university – making intellectual production property that corporations can appropriate and use to make profits. We see this is corporate funding of laboratory research, especially in the sciences, e.g., the biotech and pharmaceutical industries. In the social sciences and humanities they are considering claiming ownership and copyright of all written materials produced. Government officials and corporate representatives often sit on boards of trustees to consolidate this relationship. Fewer and fewer progressive foundations today fund even liberal scholarship.

The corporate university, like its business counterpart, embodies a business model of rigid hierarchy and centralization, so-called cost-effective programming, and paying for services (e.g., building
Section IV: THE HISTORICAL MOMENT, THE CORPORATE UNIVERSITY & THE CRITICAL CLASSROOM

maintenance and energy usage) department by department. This erodes the jobs, wages and working conditions of university workers – from faculty to janitors – and the students who come to the university. For faculty this means fewer full-time tenure track positions and extensive use of graduate assistants and contingent faculty (adjuncts, part-time instructors, year-to-year appointments). These contingent faculty have no job security, few if any benefits, and lower wages. All faculty face larger classes with less support. (Johnson, 2003)

To make this real, the American Association of University Professors reports that the percent of full-time tenured faculty has fallen from about 37% in 1975 to 24% in 2003, with an additional 20% tenure-track faculty in 1975 down to 11% in 2003. Overall tenure-track faculty have dropped substantially from 57% in 1975 to 35% in 2003. In contrast, the percent of full-time non-tenure track faculty has increased from 13% in 1975 to 19% in 2003, while the percent of part-time faculty has gone from 30% in 1975 to 46% in 2003. This makes for a total percent of contingent faculty at 43% in 1975 and at 65% in 2003. Clearly more than half of all faculty today are in the contingent category (AAUP 2005:1).

Research universities look to faculty grants that need to be bigger with larger overheads to fund the university. Faculty who fail to do these things often do not get tenure to begin with; and if they have tenure they are subject to post-tenure review with criticism and static salaries. This is academic speed-up with no support – we are expected to do more and more work with less and less support. Support staff, from administrative staff to electricians and janitors, also face speed-up – doing more with less. Unions on campuses are fighting for their survival and fewer university workers in any job category are unionized.

In some universities there are preferential purchasing agreements between the university and the state prison system to buy equipment and supplies made by prison workers, predominantly men of color. The prison industrial complex meets the university. (Paulsen, 2005).

The attack on academic freedom is ubiquitous. One of the most controversial cases is that of Ward Churchill, a Native American scholar and activist, prolific writer, tenured professor and former chair of Ethnic Studies at the University of Colorado – Boulder. The attack on Churchill began in the hysteria of the post-911 political climate with his Internet article, On the Justice of Roosting Chickens, that later became a book of the same name. Among those that are less visible, these kinds of attacks on scholar activists are happening all over the country today, particularly faculty of color. Muslim and Arab scholars face additional harassment and scrutiny because they are often targeted as supporting “terrorist” organizations, simply because they teach about the Middle East from a pro-Arab/pro-Muslim perspective.

The corporate university increasingly denies access to students by multiple means possible. Soaring tuition costs and higher and higher admission criteria are the most obvious means. (General College Truth Movement, n.d.) Once students are there, they find that the quality of the educational experience is deteriorating, especially for students of color, poor and working class students. Whether students graduate or not, they are shouldering huge debt with high interest and a short time to pay it off. It is through working class students and workers on campus that the struggle for quality education and jobs for all meets the larger struggle to build a mass movement for social and economic justice in our society and our world.
The Critical Classroom

Our entry point for this movement centering work is developing the classroom as a critical site for transformative learning and teaching; for disrupting disciplinary, personal, university and societal assumptions. It can be a space where power and privilege are continually dialogued about and challenged. Our notion for the classroom is large. It is embedded within social relations of domination and histories of resistance within the academy and in oppressed communities. No matter what the discipline, a critical classroom must be organized at its center by an explicit and intentional social and political theory, analysis, and practice. There is no such thing as a neutral classroom or objective professor (Freire, 1970/1993). A critical classroom must be developed in relationship to struggles for social justice within and beyond the university. Our vision as scholar activists is that we are part of today’s bottom up movement for liberation.

Our context for understanding the work we’ve been doing stems from the twenty-year history of Project South. At its inception Project South was an intentional space for bringing together scholar activists, and grassroots, low income and working class activists in communities of color on the basis of equality. We’ve learned a number of lessons from this work.

1. The core relationship between scholar activists and grassroots community activists is not automatic or easy, and is often difficult and messy.
2. This relationship has to be constantly struggled around if we are to do movement building work.
3. Peoples’ social and political analyses are often muddled.
4. Differences of power and privilege assert themselves.
5. There are profound resource differences among the various communities.
6. The structure and ideology of the university is essentially anti-movement building.

Based on these lessons, we put forward five best practices for the critical classroom and for forming organic interrelationships between scholar and student activists and community-based movement building spaces and processes.

1) Social and political theory, analysis and practice are an intentional aspect of classroom and community spaces.

2) Classroom and community spaces are themselves sites of continued race, class, and gender privilege and ongoing struggle.

3) Be transparent about our politics – there is no such thing as the neutral classroom or objective professor.

4) Develop relationships and bridges to struggles for social justice within and beyond the university.

5) Scholar activists are a part of today’s bottom up movement for liberation.

Linking theory, analysis and practice – an intentional aspect of classroom and community spaces

In our experience social and political theory is a lens for understanding where we have come from, where we are, and where we are going. By social and political theory we mean our worldview, the assumptions we make about how the world operates, power relations and social change. We make philosophical assumptions that shape our views about the nature of the world and change in the world: there is no change; change exists, but it is only incremental and reformist; and change is systemic, fundamental and absolutely essential, i.e., this change is transformational. There are moments in history when objective factors such as technological, economic and social forces and people’s subjective understanding, i.e., their critical analysis converge and bring about a qualitative or fundamental leap in consciousness and in the social struggle, resulting in systemic change.

This convergence of objective forces and subjective understanding happened, for example, in the revolutions against feudalism around the world rooted in the industrial revolution, markets, and
political revolutions for power for a new ruling class. In the twentieth century the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the auto plants of Detroit, Michigan in the late 1960’s fought for and won affirmative action reforms. But problems of racism, classism and power were not resolved and remained problematic. League members went on an 18-month study of history, black nationalism, Marxism, Maoism, etc. to develop their theory and a solution to their problems. Many became revolutionaries struggling against capitalism and white supremacy and remain so today. (Georgakas and Surkin, 1998).

Once again the technological revolution is transforming the economy. Today electronics and all forms of automation in production and distribution are destroying the foundation of the value and profit system that is the basis of capitalism. The relationship between work and wages, and access to the market and to the necessities of life is being disrupted for billions of people worldwide. With fewer and fewer good and stable jobs, millions of workers and their families have less and less wages to purchase the things they need in the market. This crisis in peoples’ lives is giving rise to growing social struggle and a developing consciousness and analysis that locates the root causes of our problems in the system of global capitalism, white supremacy, and gender oppression. This is all occurring in the context of public narratives and policies asserting a color-blind and gender-blind society.

Both scholars and activists are challenging these mystifications and distortions of reality. Thus, among activist and movement building organizations and in the spaces they are creating, conversations about “vision” – the communities and world we are fighting for – are beginning to happen. This is an important moment for these conversations in all movement building spaces, the critical classroom and the community. The objective and subjective conditions for this convergence and for fundamental systemic change is getting closer.

So this means we have to be explicit about the relationship between theory and practice, that both reflection and action are necessary for effective praxis. We also have to lift up the importance of power relations; what forces in society are active in domination and repression and what forces in society are active in resistance, struggle and social change. The whole issue of agency and recognizing and developing the power of those most adversely affected is essential.

Theory cannot exist without a theory practice dynamic. There can be no revolutionary theory without revolutionary practice. Theory organizes and sums up our knowledge and our practice and guides social change movements. And there can be no transformative practice without transformative theory and analysis. In both aspects, this means systemic and fundamental change guided by vision and political strategy.

If the movement is going to become a mass movement, the consciousness raising tool to go from action to reflection has to be accessible to the masses of people in oppressed and marginalized communities who are pushed forward in social struggle. This is what popular education is. Popular education itself is driven by both theory and practical experience. Our experience of coming to popular education was because of our grounding in revolutionary theory. Revolutionary theory is a tool for transformation; but to make it mass-based, popular education is necessary as well. People can come to analysis and theory through different paths. Some come through the academy and their social location of being a scholar or student who studies social and political theory. Others through the social struggle itself and the need to have the wisdom of past generations. The body of theory to be read and the reflection process is intentional and is located in the particularity of the group’s experience. The people themselves are developing their collective analysis and leadership. They make the change.
In locating intellectual and political practice in the university setting, the critical classroom is a necessary site of struggle. In this context, there is no such thing as the neutral classroom or objective professor. This is an important point. Students and teachers are conditioned to think that knowledge is not located socially and politically. The texts, the writers, the experts are “objective and are unbiased,” or so it goes. Those of us with an oppositional viewpoint are treated as “subjective and biased.” Many decades of value-freeness and objective knowledge have been critiqued in the sciences and social sciences. But this way of thinking still persists.

Those involved in transforming the curriculum understood that knowledge is situated. Power, interests, particularity structure our understanding of the world. For example, the English canon was decided by an elite group of white men at Ivy league institutions. (We discuss this in detail is the next chapter.)

Everyone has a politics. Many profess neutrality; and oppositional scholars are labeled as the political ones. We have a politics, and we don’t mind stating our intentions as radical scholar activists. However, the structure and ideology of the university make it difficult to challenge the set of taken for granted ideas around value-freeness and objectivity. Nevertheless, we feel it is better to be clear about where we stand. We feel that it is more honest to identify our political positioning rather than to profess neutrality.

The critical classroom is a space where activists, scholars and students co-create knowledge for working toward social transformation. It is also a space where we draw upon the knowledge and histories of communities in struggle. These become a permanent part of the curriculum; we must do more than use the standard texts as sources of knowledge. The voices of those in struggle do matter. For example we would teach Mumia Abu Jamal in a criminal justice course or Ida Wells Barnet in a course on black or women’s history. But the point is how this knowledge and these ideas are used, not just that they are used. Are these voices and ideas being used to challenge traditional assumptions and as an oppositional force? Are they being used to center discussion and analysis around movement building in this moment?

---

**What is a Bolivarian circle? Venezuela’s Bolivarian Circles**

These circles are examples of popular education at work.

The goal of the Bolivarian Revolution is the establishment of a society rooted in social and economic justice with a guarantee of real political participation for all citizens. Bolivarian Circles are one of the most basic forms of participation in the democratic process in Venezuela. The Circles, named after Venezuela’s independent hero, Simon Bolivar, constitute a grassroots movement that was officially recognized by the government in 2001. Circles usually consist of 7-12 community members who seek to educate, engage and empower citizens in order to address problems at the community level. At the same time, more than two million Venezuelans active in Bolivarian Circles across the country are engaged in social and political activism intended to aid the marginalized population by working to feed the hungry, provide after school care for poor children and secure resources for small businesses.

[http://www.arsn.ca/bolivarian_corner/circle.html](http://www.arsn.ca/bolivarian_corner/circle.html)
Relationship building between scholars and students and the broader community are also essential for scholar activists. Each organization has its own mission and purpose and professors sending their students into the community need to understand each organization’s goals. The following chart (on the next page) demonstrates the range of kinds of organizations in communities, from social services (working on changing individuals) to movement building and social change organizations. We believe it is imperative for scholar activists and our students to work in movement building organizations.

Today the language of the university speaks about community engagement, service learning and community-university partnerships – i.e., the public university. This language and the practice that informs it are profoundly and intentionally flawed. This is driven by a history of universities exploiting historically marginalized communities through both research “on” these communities and by geo-expansionism into these communities. The service learning model in its most vulgar form looks something like this. Professor calls service learning office because he wants his students to work in the community to “help” less privileged people. Most recently this has been lifted up as an option because of the renewal of voluntarism and do-gooderism in response to the deepening crises in many communities. At the same time students use this to fulfill course requirements and build their resumes. Professors in this model can get by without having a relationship with the communities where their students are supposedly “helping;” though some faculty do bring in reflection and some analysis of why these communities are in need. But faculty should not be deluded that by doing this alone these communities will be transformed. At its best this could contribute to critical consciousness-raising. But we challenge the university’s assertion that this makes a difference. It is rooted in western individualism – helping one person at a time rather than opposing systemic injustice at its roots. We hope faculty would understand this; but many have the privilege of being oblivious.

Under the rubric of civic engagement, universities enter community-university partnerships. But, who has the power? Certainly not the communities. And who will benefit? A few individuals in these communities perhaps.

For whom is the university? Because of money and admission criteria higher education is increasingly out of reach for low-income communities, disproportionately of color. The irony of civic engagement is that more and more youth of these communities cannot even gain access to the university for an education.

If we don’t struggle around the difficult and messy relationships between the academy and the community we cannot build a movement that scholar activists are a part of. This cannot happen unless scholar activists go into spaces that are community and movement building and make the commitment to listen first, not try to take over; to recognize and accept the leadership of the community; and to be prepared to be there for the long haul. We as scholars have to break our bad habits of thought and action.

The other side is that a lot of the internalized oppression among historically marginalized communities plays out as deference to “experts.” The most accessible model we have is to be like the oppressor. Scholars have to resist this trap and its privileges of class, race, nationality and gender.

To build the scholar activist-community relationship we need to start by developing a common social and political analysis. This is difficult work to do for many reasons. Differences in power and privilege and lived experience mean this is not simple. Social
and political theory and analysis is not a part of our everyday thinking and acting. We have a fear of theory and an anti-intellectualism and discomfort around ideas that we need to struggle against. In the post-911 era this has intensified because radical scholars and those engaged in communities are being demonized; and more than a few are being fired, imprisoned and deported.

Bourgeois individualism always raises its ugly head. What we mean by this is when push comes to shove, we always think about “me” – what will solve my problem is the answer even if it doesn’t solve the problem for the whole community. Low-income communities and organizations are under-resourced, so time and resources for creating the leadership of oppressed communities is very hard. In this context conscious decisions have to be made.

So how do we create the situation where this can become reality? How willing and how far are scholar activists going to go? We want transformative classrooms, not reform classrooms. We want to push to movement building in theory and practice. Will we walk the talk?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>What does the PERSON GET</th>
<th>What’s the ROOT CAUSE</th>
<th>Type RELATIONSHIP</th>
<th>Who OPPOSES?</th>
<th>Change the power RELATIONSHIP?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>• Food</td>
<td>• Not applicable. The organization doesn’t ask this question.</td>
<td>• Provider → Recipient/client</td>
<td>• Tax payers</td>
<td>• No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Homeowners living close to soup kitchen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Shelter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Advocacy</td>
<td>• Knowledge on whether the person qualifies for food stamps, etc</td>
<td>• Welfare system. Does not give information on programs.</td>
<td>• Representative → Client</td>
<td>• Welfare office</td>
<td>Yes. Change for individual, but not a system-wide change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development</td>
<td>• Offer to work</td>
<td>• The current system does not provide enough jobs or meaningful employment</td>
<td>• Member/member Could also be: Business ↓ Consumer</td>
<td>• Competitors &amp; Those w/.n community who are left out.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral</td>
<td>• Registered to vote</td>
<td>• Current elected officials are not responsive to needs of community</td>
<td>• Candidate → Voter party</td>
<td>• Other candidates &amp; parties</td>
<td>Maybe. May change who represents hungry person but still does not change power relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Organizations</td>
<td>• Membership/organization Questions, analysis, agitation</td>
<td>• System at fault. Institutions don’t provide enough jobs &amp; food for poor people</td>
<td>• Potential member into organization</td>
<td>• Those in power (targets)</td>
<td>Yes. Looks at immediate campaigns, seeks reforms, concessions &amp; incremental change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Other orgs. Who don’t agree with tactics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement Building &amp; Social Change Organizations</td>
<td>• Analysis &amp; knowledge about the root causes and long-term solutions to social issues &amp; problems affecting peoples’ lives, Vision of the world we are fighting for, Strategy or plan of action for the long-haul</td>
<td>• Capitalism: an economic &amp; political system that engages in economic exploitation, social &amp; political repression – i.e., inequality, poverty, genocide</td>
<td>• Members come together on the basis of equality. As one they engage in bottom-up movement for fundamental social &amp; economic change</td>
<td>• Those holding the current economic &amp; political power. Those who don’t agree with tactics &amp; strategy</td>
<td>Yes. Bottom-up leadership, not top-down leadership! Aim to develop an egalitarian society in which all voices are heard &amp; taken into account, today’s technological abundance is distributed based on human need &amp; the earth’s resources are protected.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What’s the main strategy for change of each of these groups?

- **Service**: Meet immediate needs of the individual
- **Advocacy**: Equal protection/application of the law
- **Economic development**: Self-sufficiency, or build alternative institutions, system & structures remain
- **Electoral**: Use of ballot & electoral/legislative “democratic” process for reforms, concessions
- **Community organizations**: Politics of disruption through direct actions campaigns; development of indigenous leaders
- **Movement building & social change**: CVS-Consciousness, Vision and Strategy – movement building for the long-haul & Systemic change
Campus Organizing and Today’s Movement Building Moment

On your campus or on a campus somewhere in the country students are organizing with campus workers who are fighting for living wages. Graduate teaching assistants are organizing unions. Students are organizing against sweatshop made goods. Campus and community activists are organizing against rape and violence toward women. Students are organizing against white supremacy and racism on their campuses, against racial profiling especially since 911, and against the roll back of affirmative action in admissions and diversity in education. Students are organizing against the war and the prison-industrial complex, against homelessness and poverty, against injustice toward immigrants. Students are organizing for access to higher education, and against neoliberal policies and corporate domination of campuses and global society. In the aftermath of hurricane Katrina, students at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), as well as at majority campuses, are organizing alternative spring breaks, winter breaks, and summers to help in the clean up and rebuilding efforts in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast.

The rise in student activism and campus organizing is linked to the deepening crises and growing social struggles in society as a whole.

In the Beginning

In the 1980s, 90s, and first decade of the twenty-first century, corporate globalization and neoliberalism took hold in the United States and across the globe, and the reforms and social safety net of the 1960s and 70s came under attack. The Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico on January 1, 1994 “for humanity and against neoliberalism” – in opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the destruction it meant to their livelihood and way of life – sparked a powerful global process. Social movements in the United States and globally were beginning to get organized. They marched in Seattle in 1999 to challenge the World Trade Organization (WTO). They gathered every January since 2001 at the World Social Forum, a convergence of the movements and struggles of the world’s peoples to proclaim, “another world is possible;” and to vision and strategize how to make it a reality (Katz-Fishman & Scott 2006). In 2006 they took to the streets in support of immigrant rights; and since the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, they marched to end the occupation, and for justice and peace.

In this historic context, student activists responded to the many issues and challenges on their campuses and in their communities. In the 1990s, with jobs and wages deteriorating and college costs soaring, the United States Student Association (USSA) organized for access to higher education. Despite protests, the average tuition and fees at public institutions went from $2,628 in the 1986-87 academic year to $5,836 in 2006-07 (Mathews 2006:A4). The struggle continues; and, in 2007, the Democratizing Education Network (DEN) is calling for an April Mobilization for full public funding of higher education and eventually “free” higher education, affirmative action and an end to racism and sexism, and a full higher education democracy charter (DEN 2007).
Labor Pains and Globalization

The degradation of academic labor sparked organizing drives for the right to unionize, for fair working conditions, benefits, and wages, and for affirmative action and equity. Graduate assistants, who do much of the undergraduate teaching, launched unions across the country, including at the Universities of Kansas, Michigan, Oregon, Wisconsin, Iowa, Massachusetts at Amherst, five California campuses, and at Rutgers, and SUNY. It was the Yale University grade strike in the 1995-96 academic year that made national news and provoked a retaliatory union-busting response from a hostile Yale administration. But this strike also embodied the increasingly harsh reality of academic workers, especially graduate assistants and part-timers, and their unity with other low-wage campus workers. Graduate student union organizing is ongoing (Nelson 1997).

Corporate globalization and the surge in sweatshops throughout the world inspired students to stop the sale of sweatshop made goods with university logos on their campuses. Successful campaigns against Nike in the mid-1990s and the formation of Student Labor Action Coalitions (SLACs) on many campuses led to the founding of United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) in 1998 by student activists from thirty schools. Victorious campus sit-ins at Duke, Georgetown, Universities of Arizona, Michigan, North Carolina-Chapel Hill, and Wisconsin in 1999, with negotiation of codes of conduct, energized USAS and the organization of the Workers Rights Consortium (WRC) as its own monitoring mechanism (Clawson 2003; Featherstone 2002).

USAS joined in larger social movement mobilizations, including global social justice and living wage campaigns for low-wage campus workers in the late 1990s and 2000s. The Student Labor Action Project of Jobs with Justice (SLAP) joined these campaigns in the 2000s. Student organizations also challenged the interpenetration of global corporations and campuses — participating in anti-corporate campaigns against “Killer Coke” and Wal-Mart, among others (Clawson 2003; Featherstone 2002).

Student activists organized against multiple forms of oppression. At Gallaudet University, the leading university for the deaf, students protested from spring to fall 2006, demanding administration responsiveness to the needs of deaf students. They prevented the appointment of a president who did not represent their community. Students at Howard and Hampton Universities helped organize the camp out and protest of 5000 at the Supreme Court in November 2006 to support affirmative action and racial diversity plans for K-12 school districts in Seattle and St. Louis.

Student activism and campus organizing are growing and deepening today. Thousands of students and youth gathered annually since 2001 at the youth encampment of the World Social Forum; and students and youth are a key sector in organizing the U.S. Social Forum in Atlanta this summer (Santos 2006; U.S. Social Forum).
Critical Questions

There are critical questions we must explore and answer as we move forward.

What is our relationship to student activists as teachers and scholar activists?
How do we bridge the historic divide between campus and community?
How are student organizing and our own activism connected to today’s rising social movement for justice, equality and liberation and the social forum process?
What is our vision? What is our long-term political strategy?

We can share a few reflections, based on years of activism and movement building in Project South, as scholar activists and movement builders in community spaces (Katz-Fishman & Scott 2006).

In today’s movement building moment – of increasing activity, developing consciousness, visioning, and convergence of struggles – student and scholar activists are an essential part of the movement, as in past movements. A key challenge we face is creating a critical classroom and campus space that respects the integrity of that diverse social location while, at the same time, being a bridge to even more complex community and movement spaces. For student and scholar activists to move as co-equals with community and low-income activists can be a difficult process. It takes time, patience, intentionality, and hard work to share a common space – to understand our “relative privilege,” and to build relationships and trust so we can have a place at the social movement table.

Organizing, including campus organizing, at its best is part of a larger project of social movements and social transformation. The movement we are building is rooted in the convergence of many fronts of struggle. It is multi-issue, multi-sector, crosses divides of race, class, gender, nationality, age and is multi-racial, multi-gendered, multi-generational, and is locally grounded, nationally connected and globally networked. This project sees the big picture of systems of multiple oppressions and exploitation, has a clear vision of the future we are struggling to create, and develops a political strategy for system transformation, human liberation and protection of the earth.
“Washing one’s hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.” — Paulo Freire

This chapter revisits the social histories of curriculum transformation from the 1960’s to the present. The recent history is the challenge to the Eurocentric curriculum that emerged from the 60’s struggles. We look briefly at the old Eurocentric canon to show how the new re-configured framework emerged as an oppositional critique; and we examine the nature of the knowledge and pedagogies produced. We situate the re-configured framework in its historical context, which allows us to both critique it as well as acknowledge the positive reforms that came out of it. Finally we offer a different model of curriculum transformation and pedagogy based on our work at Project South over the past twenty years. It reclaims a deep history in which the academy was radically informed by powerful community based struggles and popular education. This outside to inside dynamic is once again possible today because there is renewed activism, organizing and struggle. In this historical moment, we need to put movement building at the center of our syllabi, pedagogies and community practices.

Today’s Teachable Moment

The current context of curriculum transformation is that neoliberalism and corporate globalization have re-shaped the university as we know it. How the corporate university gets articulated in the classroom is in the context of cuts, closings, excessive use of contingent faculty (contract, adjunct and part-time), blocked access, appropriation of community resources and labor, and massive infusion of corporate funding and research. It makes for renewed and intensified hierarchical systems of racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism that become deeply embedded in what we teach and how we teach. We are talking about disrupting the corporate neoliberal curriculum of today’s university, and putting bottom-up movement building at the center.

This moment challenges us to locate self and students in the logic of scholar activism. What does it mean to be a public intellectual? What does it mean to be a radical scholar and teacher in the academy? What does it mean to be a critical researcher? What does it mean to be a scholar activist and movement builder? What does it mean to walk in both worlds – the world of the community and the world of the academy? These questions prompt us to examine the idea that knowledge is only rooted in the academy and that theory can be separate from practice. It challenges us to re-think what is at the center of our curricula, syllabi and pedagogies.

The Old Canon

The old canon represents the concretization of the ideology of elite interests across all disciplines and knowledge. The old canon was rooted in European educational structures that were located in the universities that developed in the transition...
from feudalism to capitalism. It was transported to elite American universities and reproduced in educational institutions at all levels. This ultimately meant that a small group of upper class white men determined what was going to be taught; it became the canon across all disciplines.

For example, feminist scholar Elizabeth Minnich talks about the formulation of the curriculum in English language and literature (Minnich, 2004). This English canon contained the so-called “great literature,” and was the determining factor in what was published and taught. There were just a small group of Ivy League white men sitting around a table making these decisions. This was in fact a particular experience, which they deemed universal to all human beings. It was tautological – what is good is us, and we are what is good. Women, people of color and working class people were not around the table. Their voices and experiences were either invisible or pathologized.

In the sciences, the same assumptions and ideology are embedded in the theory and practice. For example, if you assume that aggression is “natural,” you are going to theorize an aggressive nature and engage in a practice based on those assumptions and theory (Harding, 1991; Haraway, 1991; Fox Keller, 1992; 1985). To fail to understand that the scientist is acting and thinking from a particular social location is truly problematic. To deem that to be objective and value-free is the height of ideology. To be so located in the naturalized and normalized assumptions of the canon of the day is to be blind to other realities and to reproduce the hierarchy of the social world in science and nature.

These hierarchical assumptions have been embedded across disciplines in our classroom practices and theories for centuries.
### OLD CANON (early 20th century - present)

#### Society
Functionalist - capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy are the norm. Hierarchy and the free market are natural and normal. Individuals are the problem, not the society. Eurocentric, classic education is for the purposes of socializing and imparting knowledge, skills and placing students in the job market in the *status quo*. Research is produced for and funded by the corporate capitalist order. Education socially reproduces the class order.

#### History
We’ve moved to the highest stage of “civilization” - capitalism - and we need to hold on to it. History is western civilization; and the particular experiences of a few white men are universalized.

#### Social Problem
It’s the people who are the problem, not the system. Root causes of problems are situated in biological inferiority of groups, as well as social pathology. Blame the victim analysis prevails and social Darwinism is the order of the day. Exclusion of people of color and the working class, with some space for elite white women.

#### Solutions
Try to fix people within a system that is based on racial apartheid and class exploitation and gender hierarchy. Use of prisons, orphanages and poor houses to warehouse people of color and the poor. Survival of the fittest. Elite education for upper class white men was the norm. Standardized IQ testing, banking approach to learning to impart expert knowledge.

#### Social Change
Top down, change supposedly comes through “elected” representative government leaders. Social control of all who disagree through police, courts, criminal (in) justice system, law, and finally the military. Education is not about social change. It’s about placing students into jobs in the hierarchy, with very little upward mobility. Change is slow, gradual and almost imperceptible, rooted in increasing complexity and specialization.

#### Radical Social Movements
Radical labor movements needed to be controlled and destroyed. Police state tactics, domestic spying, anti-communism through McCarthyism. Red-baiting in the university eliminated radical voices and broke the relationships between the social movements in society and the radical intellectuals. Social history and agency of ordinary people not taught. Change comes from great individual white men.
Challenge to Old Canon and Emergence of the Re-configured Framework

Early scholar activists engaged in the Black freedom struggles of their day challenged these old canon assumptions. Perhaps the most powerful example is Black Reconstruction by W.E.B. Du Bois, who was both a movement activist and in the academy.

The 1960’s challenge to the power structure of the university and the old canon, rooted in Eurocentrism, was grounded in struggle in the streets led by the community, along with students and scholar activists. This was the beginning of the deep challenge to the old canon. As the struggle emerged, first African Americans said “we do not see ourselves in this university and in this curriculum,” and “we are going to create a new university.” Other groups of color and women followed. At the inception, the demand was for autonomous Black spaces expressed in the creation of departments, programs, and research centers of Black Studies. Simultaneously, this was also happening in women’s studies and in other ethnic studies fields. These so-called autonomous spaces were situated within the same racist, sexist and classist educational institutions that existed within and mirrored a society that embodied these historic and structural inequalities.

This paralleled the Black freedom struggle, and the other struggles of the day. In fact, much of the impetus for curriculum transformation came from women’s studies. In large measure, funding agencies put their resources into women’s studies, which was almost entirely white. The long shadow of Black nationalism within Black Studies resulted in a greater impulse to create a separate framework rather than in transforming the existing canon. It was women of color who challenged both Black Studies for not engendering its curriculum, and women’s studies for not understanding race, and both for not understanding structural class dynamics.

It was the second wave of this new framework that began to get at theories of intersectionalities, starting in the early 1970’s and 1980’s (Combahee River Collective, 1986; Third World Women’s Alliance, n.d.) Curriculum transformation in this period took on the various disciplines and their claims of Eurocentrism and androcentrism, though little attention was paid to class. What was always said was: “Where are the women? Where are the people of color?” The practice of curriculum transformation in this period made it a limited tool. Individual faculty members were paid through foundation grants to take workshops to learn how to re-structure their syllabi. After completing the workshop, each faculty member submitted a revised syllabus. It raised consciousness for the faculty who participated; but it did not change institutional systems in the academy or in the society. In both the social sciences and the humanities it lifted up the discourse of race and gender (Butler and Walter, 1991; Banks and Banks, 1989; Sleeter, 1996). The notion of intersectionality was named, drawing from new theories of feminisms and the work of women of color. These theories were rooted in communities of women of color outside the university (e.g., the Combahee River Collective statement and the Third World Women’s Alliance). At their core was re-centering with a multi-centric and a multi-lens analysis based on the lived experiences of women of color.

In essence, the practice was to identify a new framework that was to become the core of curriculum restructuring. It would continue to exist within social, economic and political relations that changed minimally. We consider the re-configured framework a reform, which means it is predicated on the existing social order contained within the old canon. In fact there are many features of the re-configured framework that are embedded in old canonic hierarchical assumptions. Simultaneously, however, these new elements did represent resistance and challenges and critiques to the old canon and the old social order.
Equal legal rights for individuals within a society that remains capitalist, patriarchal and white supremacist is the new societal norm. “Diversity” is valued. The Euro-centrism remains dominant in education for the purpose of socializing and reproducing the status quo; but with token representation in the academy of marginalized groups.

Social histories of historically disenfranchised groups are re-claimed. Minimal liberal education requirements to take courses labeled as “cultural diversity” courses. Belief in humane capitalism and participatory, representative democracy.

People are not the problem. Critique and tweak the system to lessen the negative impacts on people; but no deep structural change. Need to reform the state, e.g., expand and maintain the welfare state and the safety net. Education helps you become a better citizen in a system that doesn’t change. Expanded educational access, and naming students as “at-risk,” i.e., in need of remedial education, community college degrees and inclusion of ESL (English as a second language) in curriculum.

Elect better candidates; pass better laws. Connect the university to the community in benign ways. Volunteering and philanthropy are encouraged. At the university, add new voices and theories to the curriculum, enforce affirmative action guidelines, send students into communities to do service learning and civic engagement, appreciate and get more diversity. It remains the “at risk” students’ individual responsibility to take advantage of these so-called opportunities.

Social change involves re-naming and re-claiming, but everything structurally remains the same. Emphasis is on re-structuring the curriculum without looking outside the academy. Historical memory of the relationship between re-structuring curriculum inside and the struggles from which it came is lax. Fundamental belief that the system can be reformed to better the lives of marginalized and excluded people.

The Black freedom struggle, American Indian movement, Latino/a struggles, Asian American struggles, women, GLBT, anti-war/anti imperialist movement gained reforms. Many of these movements were infiltrated and controlled by the state, e.g., COINTELPRO. The radical edges of these movements were destroyed through assassinations, imprisonment, cooption and/or institutionalization and assimilation of leadership. Similarly, the radical edge of the 1960’s struggles for educational transformation was absorbed into curriculum restructuring, without accountability to community demands and the community base. Today’s emerging social movements are not anticipated or seen.
The critique of the old canon and the articulation of a re-configured framework were accompanied by several important claims. One claim was made in the social sciences. This got expressed in policy research and initiatives that addressed the conditions of those most marginalized (e.g., affirmative action, anti-poverty programs, disability law, etc.). It challenged the pathology model of blaming the victim. To some extent, this opened up a space for the recognition of the agency of both researcher and the people themselves, but it did not take us far enough. This work was often done in the context of the existing social order and the academic order that reflected society. Interdisciplinary work was more an assertion than a reality. This continues to today.

In both the humanities and social sciences, another claim was the deconstruction of the Eurocentric curriculum by including the voices of those most marginalized (hooks, 1984; Hill-Collins, 2000). Some declared that the master narratives were dead. They referred to these as totalizing narratives, e.g., Marxism, feminism, nationalism, which didn’t allow for human agency. But a consequence of this was the elimination of a structural and historical context. It too often did not allow for struggle or systemic critique. The collapse of the subject as an agent of change meant that all social life was reduced to discourse analysis and language (Foucault, 1991). On the one hand the critique of Eurocentrism brought in and created space for excluded voices. But simultaneously, this declaration that the master narratives were dead meant that these new voices were left with no way to critique the system. At a time when people of color were on the move in the world, their subjectivity and agency and the structures that continued to oppress them had been deconstructed. This negated liberatory thinking and practice. We ended up with few tools to struggle. (See, the extensive body of work on post-modernism and deconstruction, e.g Foucault, 1991). Post-colonial literary critics moved us closer, but they still did not talk about movement building (Minh-ha, 1989).

These social reforms of the re-configured curriculum reflected the economic, political and social conditions of that period of social history. The social movements of this period did win some social reforms from the state. However, the radical edge of the movement was destroyed by the state through programs like COINTELPRO; and the radical potential within the university was completely eviscerated as departments like African American Studies and Women’s Studies became institutionalized, and scholars assimilated. The routinization of ethnic studies, and women’s studies occurred during this time. The historical memory of struggle, activism, and movement building were erased. Any accountability to the community became a danger for any one wanting to survive in the academy.

Yet another claim that crosses disciplines is that it is enough for academics to do the intellectual work of research and writing. If you’ve done that, you’ve done enough. No need to engage with communities in struggle, no need to make that commitment (Marable, 2000). This claim asserts that the researcher is detached from what she is researching. Somehow, “pure” research advances knowledge and has a higher status; and that it is more important and valued than practical engagement. This justifies the elitism of the academy and is really the reinvention of the old canon ethos of privileged scholars removed from communities in struggle. It is driven and reproduced by the structures of society and the academy that support the status quo, deep individualism and the reaffirmation of the “star” system.

The fourth claim coming out of the new framework asserts that cross-disciplinary civic engagement...
and service learning can be done in a context that does not address power differences between academic and community members (Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont and Stevens, 2003). This claim also asserts that the university, through its students, is bringing “something” to poor and needy communities, and that these communities have little to teach academics or students. Thus, “expert” knowledge is situated only in the academy, and there is no acknowledgement of indigenous knowledge.

Looking back now, and as people involved in this phase of educational reform, it is clear to us that we were acting within a particular historic and political period characterized by social reform, rather than radical structural change. The claims of the new framework allowed for the re-centering of marginalized voices and the potential for students to act in the world. But the “re-canonization” embedded in this new framework included only a select few of the marginalized voices, e.g., Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, W.E.B. Du Bois, Amy Tan. While this work was oppositional to the ideology of universality that was at the center of the old Eurocentric canon, its practice was not strongly oppositional to the structures that this ideology supports. Though “re-canonization” was not the intent of the more critical voices of curriculum change, these voices were not able to dismantle the logic of canonization and the hierarchies it reproduces. This logic means that some select group of people is sitting around the table determining who is in and who is out.

**Risky Business**

If you got faculty to take seriously the challenge to the old canon and to begin to transform the canon, there was always the problem of interpretation or misinterpretation. There was a minimization for what was required in doing deep curriculum transformation. The result was no fundamental change. One person of color or one woman added to a course syllabus does not make for curricular change.

The institutionalization of cultural diversity requirements as part of liberal education raises its own set of problems. Who would teach these courses? How? And who approves which courses fulfill these requirements? At the historical moment when universities instituted these requirements, there was a struggle; and this was seen as supporting the interests of ethnic studies and women’s studies. However, without any changes in structural policies or rules, cultural diversity courses could be developed and approved by simply mimicking the language that was really about institutional racism and sexism. Today, anyone can get approved and then teach a course that gets labeled as “cultural diversity” credit.

Current social relations are pushing us to re-think what we call the re-configured framework of multiculturalist, ethnic and women’s studies and radical pedagogy models of curricular change. The origins of these challenges to Eurocentric male dominated old canon discourses and pedagogies were located in struggles outside the academy from the 1950’s through the 1970’s. It was during the 1980’s that radical scholars, funded by foundations (e.g., Ford, Kellogg, Rockefeller) had the resources to challenge their colleagues to engage in curriculum transformation. Looking back now, though these efforts were muted, it is important to hold onto the anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-classist analysis of these critical perspectives. Now, we must move curricular transformation to the next level. It must be truly grounded into the larger social movements for systemic transformation. This re-connects us to our history and the earlier struggles which did not see the distinction between struggles outside the academy and those within.

Emerging local global social movements offer us the opportunity to re-anchor ourselves in struggles that are outside the academy. These struggles deeply inform what goes on within the academy. The fight for educational access and curriculum transformation within the university is grounded in the struggle for social transformation in our society.
## LIBERATORY LEARNING AND TEACHING FOR MOVEMENT BUILDING

### Society
Current social structures are exploitative and oppressive, and superficial change will not solve the problems people are facing. The only way to change is to organize society around human needs and respect for the environment, rather than markets and profit. We also believe that electronic based technology creates an abundance of goods and services so that it is possible to meet all human needs. Education must be open to all, liberatory and transformative. Indigenous knowledge and knowledge that comes from lived experience are central to the educational process. This requires a unity of theory and practice in all aspects of life and struggle.

### History
History is a process of ongoing struggle and change. This historical epoch of global capitalism is not permanent; and is in the process of changing. We use history to teach about the process of change, and the importance of social movements and people’s struggles to help bring about change.

### Social Problems
Root causes of social problems are within the economic, political and social structures of society. People who are organized and understand their histories can change these structures. We use education not just to study social problems, but to identify root causes and to learn the lessons of problem solving historically through people’s struggles.

### Solutions
Cooperative, globally-interconnected communities will protect, produce, distribute and sustain the resources of the earth on the basis of human need. Educators need to be in dialogue with grassroots organizers who are most affected by social injustices to genuinely co-develop solutions through short term organizing and long term movement building for structural change. The educational process involves building long term relationships that have to start in spaces outside the academy.

### Social Change
Change has to be fundamental and systemic. The world we are fighting for will evolve from the continuous struggle of liberated people. It is shaped at its core by the tools and technology of our economy; and its central dynamic is people organized in struggle. Our society will value the power of diversity and difference and all humanity will be free to develop to our fullest potential. This means creating educational spaces in both the community and the academy to develop consciousness, vision and strategy. The transformed curriculum will be centered around a bottom-up movement that is local and global, multi-issue, multi-racial and cross-class, and has voice and leadership from those most marginalized.

### Radical Social Movements
Social movements are at the center of social life, social change and education. Whenever in our history we have won victories, it is because of people’s power that comes from radical social movements. The educational process is central in the development of people’s consciousness, vision and strategy. While the classroom is an important site of struggle in this educational process, educators and students must be connected to community movement building spaces outside of the academy. This movement for social transformation will unite organizations engaged in the multiple struggles for social transformation locally and globally.
Liberatory Learning and Teaching: Movement Building for Fundamental Social Transformation

We offer a theory and practice of liberatory learning and teaching which is imminently democratic, and is rooted in ongoing struggle. It is based on the notions of shared power and equality and the transformation of society and the world. The philosophical and theoretical underpinnings are dialectical and historical materialism. Theory and practice are united in the production of knowledge and other forms of consciousness grounded in people’s lived experience and the organization of social life to meet human needs. History is the unfolding of human agency, especially of those most marginalized, to create another world.

This historic moment of renewed social struggle compels us to re-center our curricula, syllabi and pedagogies around movement building. This means building community change beyond service learning. Relationships and partnerships between scholar activists and grassroots activists and organizations must be nurtured over the long haul. They will be grounded in trust and shared power and resources. Indigenous knowledge and community based knowledge will exist in a catalytic relationship with scholar based knowledge – with keen attention to language, framing, presuppositions, discourse, and the matrix of power of current understanding. The dynamics of the classroom have to be student centered and must generate student agency. Facilitation and engagement, peer evaluation, lived experience, and a dialogical teacher-learner and learner-teacher process will be the reality.

Liberatory learning and teaching embraces a dynamic of struggle linking community and classroom pedagogically and in movement building. The story of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Freedom Schools and the leadership of Ella Baker offer an historical example of this rich and powerful transformative process. In the 1970’s and 80’s once this transformative process moved into the university, it morphed into a less radical body of work known as critical pedagogy. This is the challenge to scholar activists in the 21st century. Today’s liberatory pedagogy has to be democratic, participatory, visionary, strategic, dialogical, inside and outside the classroom, transformative, popular, and deeply informed from the bottom up.
TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS:
TRANSFORMATING
OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS
In order to figure out where we are going and how to get there, it helps to understand where we have come from. History can help us understand how the conditions we face today were created and developed. In order to figure out where we are going, and how to get there – it helps to understand where we have come from. History also teaches us that the positive things we enjoy today were won by the collective struggles of groups of ‘ordinary’ folks in the past.”

Critically remembering our history through group discussions and activities can be an effective tool for movement building. This critical history is often substituted with a nostalgic version in our schools and textbooks. For example, most Americans remember the story of Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. However the memory that most people have is of a lone, tired woman coming home from work who refused to give up her seat. This story would lead one to believe the Montgomery Bus Boycott was the spontaneous result of one woman’s courage.

However, the real story includes the fact that Rosa Parks was active in the Montgomery NAACP and had received extensive training on non-violent direct action training from Ella Baker and Septima Clark at the Highlander Center in Tennessee. It also includes the fact that Rosa Parks was not the first to refuse her seat for political reasons and that the Montgomery Bus Boycott itself was the result of countless hours in planning and hard work by most of Black Montgomery and, particularly, the collective struggle of Montgomery’s Black Women.

These two versions of the same history lead to very different conclusions and very different lessons learned for people struggling against oppression today.

Project South looks at history in a way that integrates economics, public policy and popular movements. We explain that our education system encourages students to “focus” on a particular area, but teaches us very little about how these pieces intersect to create the “Big Picture”. We have found that once communities and groups connect their struggle to the big picture, they feel less isolated and more aware of how to effect positive change in their communities.
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

Project South Presents: Today’s Globalization Timeline

Project South, 9 Gammon Avenue, SW, Atlanta GA 30315 — www.projectsouth.org

Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

The Project South timeline is our own unique version of a very old teaching method – storytelling. When the timeline is used as an introduction, we refer to it as an “Aha” Moment exercise. We ask participants to write down the moment when they first felt a part of a movement and place this on the timeline in its proper place.

The Globalization & Radical Education Timeline (shown below) presents significant events of the past 100 years in a four-line format. Each line represents a different force in society: major economic shifts and events, government programs and policies, people’s movements, and radical education history. Although we often think about these as four distinct categories, it’s when we look at them together it becomes clear that each force impacts the other.

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions. 

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions. 

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions. 

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions. 

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions. 

The Project South Timeline: Telling Our Story

Talking about the Timeline: In schools and in life we are often taught very little about how the Economy works and its relationship to Government Policy. At Project South, we say, Economic History is about what happens with money, Government Policy are laws and procedure determined solely by our elected officials - in Congress, the state house or city hall, and Popular (of the people) Movements is the history of our struggles and achievements. If we are taught anything about these movements it is usually about one leader or one event. And we are rarely taught that movements impact public policy, or are related to the economy. Our fourth line in this toolkit is a history of radical education in the U.S. We especially focus on radical education as it was theorized and practiced outside of academic institutions.
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS:
TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

Bullet Point History of Radical Education & Globalization

Note: The full bullet point history of globalization is available in Project South’s Today’s Globalization: A Toolkit for Popular Education in Your Community.

1700’s – Midnite schools created by African slave resisters to learn to read and write.
http://www.projectsouth.org/midniteschool/

1857 – The National Education Association (NEA) is founded
NEA online: http://www.nea.org/aboutnea/neatimeline.html

1889 – Hull House is founded in Chicago by Jane Addams
http://cpl.lib.uic.edu/004chicago/timeline/hullhouse.htm

1895 – W.E.B. DuBois receives his PhD from Harvard
http://www.webdubois.org/

Late 1800’s – Alabama Sharecroppers Union

1904 – Mary McLeod Bethune opens Daytona Educational and Industrial Institute for African Americans http://www.uga.edu/iaas/history/index.htm

1905 – Niagara Movement, Black educational & organizing movement led by DuBois
http://ah.phpwebhosting.com/h/niag.html

1916 – Woodson founds Journal of Negro History
http://www.freemaninstitute.com/woodson.htm


1932 – Highlander Folk School is founded
http://www.highlandercenter.org/a-history.asp

1948 – First program of African Studies is founded at Northwestern University
http://www.northwestern.edu/african-studies/studies_history.html


1960’s – Popular education spreads in Latin America, Freire supports anti-imperialism in Brazil and begins popular education approach.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paulo_Freire
http://www3.nl.edu/academics/cas/ace/resources/paulofreire.cn

1960 – Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is formed in North Carolina, led by Ella Baker, Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement, Barbara Ransby and
http://www.ncsu.edu/chass/mds/sncchist.html

1964 – Berkeley Free Speech Movement
http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/chron.html

1964 – Civil Rights Act passes

1965 – University of Michigan hosts the first teach-in on Vietnam
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS:
TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

1966 – Black Panther Party is formed
http://www.marxists.org/history/usa/workers/black-panthers/

1967 – League of Revolutionary Black Workers is founded

1968 – AIM founded
http://www.aimovement.org/ggc/history.html

1968 – Bilingual Education Act passed
http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/classics/focus/06bea.htm

1968 – San Francisco State Black Students strike for 5 months to get Black Studies.


1970’s – Rise of Multiracial Feminism
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multiracial_feminism

1970 – Kent State & Jackson State students killed at protests
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kent_State_shootings


1971 – First Magnet School opens in Dallas, TX
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skyline_High_School_(Dallas)

1972 – Indian Education Act passed
http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oese/oie/history.html

http://aimovement.org/ggc/history.html


1974 – Berkeley begins offering degree in Comparative Ethnic Studies

1974 – Combahee River Collective formed
http://www.buffalostate.edu/orgs/rsmps/combahee.htm

1980 – Kitchen Table Women of Color Press is founded

1980’s and 1990’s – Zapatista political education and uprising in Chiapas, Mexico
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1052429.stm

Mid 1980s – campus “culture wars”
http://www.uwm.edu/~gjay/campus.html, Allan Bloom, Closing of the American Mind & Christina Sommers, Who Stole Feminism?

Mid 1980’s – movement led by women of color to integrate women and people of color into ethnic studies curriculum
Mid 1980’s – universities begin adopting cultural diversity requirements in undergraduate curriculum.

1990’s – 2000 – social justice non-profit organizations in U.S. start to do popular education work, and produce their own materials.

1990’s – 2000 – emergence of social justice education programs in higher education; growth of service learning in higher education; universities become more corporate; graduate students fight for unions.

1998 – founding of United Students Against Sweatshops.

2000 – Killer Coke campaigns on college campuses.
ELINE
We live in a critical “teachable moment” – the catastrophic aftermath of Katrina, rising immigrant struggles, the war at home and abroad, deepening economic and ecological/environmental crises, and renewed activism, organizing and movement building. The challenge to scholar activists and educators is to understand this moment and to create critical classrooms that transform curriculum, prepare students as activists, and are part of social struggles and the movement building process.

Goals & Guidelines
- To examine and reframe assumptions found in traditional scholarship and teaching and those found in scholarship and teaching for social justice and fundamental social change
- To discuss popular education as a pedagogical strategy for creating a community of learners with a vision of social justice and social change in the context of today’s movement building moment
- To share two teaching and learning tools we use as activists and educators that look at social history, social movements and lessons learned for building today’s bottom-up social justice movement
- To explore next steps in classroom and curriculum transformation.

“Aha” Moment & Social History
Timeline
“When did you decide to teach for social justice & social change? What was the struggle/issue & what was the year?”

Everyone in the group takes one post-it note. People write their response to the question & go up to the large timeline & stick their post-it on the year that corresponds to their “aha.”

Sum-up: What pushes us forward? What moves us to transform our classrooms and curriculum, to be scholar activists?

Reflection – What has your classroom practice been and vision what it could be? (small groups & sharing)

What are the obstacles and challenges we face? What’s working & what are our “best practices”?

Brainstorm
What are the assumptions about society, history, social problems
and solutions, and social change
and social movements found in
traditional scholarship and teaching
and what are the assumptions found
in scholarship and teaching for
social justice and fundamental social
change? How are these assumptions
expressed in the answers to
“reflection” questions?

Think about:
• Which assumptions address the structural
  root causes of problems, the essential
  participation of those most adversely
  affected in being agents in a collective
  process of social change, and the
dynamics of the movement building
process for fundamental systemic social
transformation?
• How do scholar activists & educators de-
center traditional assumptions about
social change and re-center around
assumptions of bottom-up social
struggle and movement building?

The Critical Classroom – Creating a
community of learners & using popular
education as a strategy
• What do knowledge, power and agency
  look like in traditional education? In the
critical classroom?
• What is popular education? How
  is it connected to the critical
  classroom, social struggle & leadership
development?
• How are popular education & the
critical classroom connected to
movement building for justice & social
change?

Teaching & Learning Tools
for Classroom & Curriculum
Transformation
Project South has created over the
last 10 years two essential teaching
and learning tools for curriculum
transformation for classroom
and community that re-centers
our thinking and practice around
bottom-up movement building for
fundamental social change – the
social history timeline & the CVS
model of bottom-up movement
building.
• Social history timeline and the
  revolutionary process
• CVS model of movement building
  process – consciousness, vision &
  strategy

Taking it home
How do you imagine using this workshop
in transforming your classroom practice
– course curriculum/syllabus and teaching,
and political practice in connecting to today’s
movement building process and US Social
Forum?

Evaluation
Coordinated plan for organizing and educating the long-haul struggle to make the vision a reality.

Based on our participation in the social struggle, we found movement building to be in the consciousness stage in the 1990s and first years of the twenty-first century. So the primary work we had to do was consciousness-raising – deepening peoples’ understanding of the root causes of the problems affecting our communities locally, nationally and globally, their systemic and historical nature; and developing the leadership to think about solutions, short-term, but especially long-term.

In July 2004 Project South held the Midnite School, our first popular education gathering to explore vision and to strengthen the emerging leadership, both individual and collective, that would guide the movement to the vision stage and be able to bring into the movement in an organized way the thousands of new people and organizations being pushed forward by the struggle. Since then some movement leaders have been requesting and we have been creating and using more vision tools in our popular education work (Project South 2004). In 2005 more and more organizations and their leadership in local-global justice and equality struggles are at the beginning of the vision stage, though many individuals and organizations are still in the consciousness stage. Our task is through continuous analysis, practice, and education to be part of moving the movement building process forward.

To analyze where the movement building process is and to guide our political work, we share the consciousness, vision and strategy (CVS) model of movement building and popular education tool.

The CVS model understands movement building as an ongoing process that has definite, but overlapping, stages of development. We identify these stages through analyzing our actions and our thinking about the problems we are confronting; the proposed solutions to our problems and our vision of the world we are fighting for; and our strategic plan of action to get there. It highlights the continuities of classism, racism, sexism, and the oppression of indigenous peoples; and shows power relationships of domination and repression by elite corporate and government interests toward those at the bottom; and why people must resist and create a vision and strategy for the bottom-up struggle.

In the consciousness stage people experience more and more problems and crises in their lives because of the objective conditions of global capitalism and its oppressions, and join organizations to fight back, to hold on to what they have, or to make short term gains. Eventually in this stage people and organizations look to connections among problems and systemic root causes.

In the vision stage, people and their organizational leadership understand systemic root causes and begin to vision the world we are fighting for – i.e., what our communities will look like when we have resolved our problems and have fundamentally transformed societies and the environment worldwide.

The final stage, the strategy stage (including tactics, of course), is a movement-wide
Consciousness, Vision & Strategy Activity

Small groups (3-8 people depending on size of large group and time)

- Groups will do the following “card” activities and report backs.
- After each activity groups will answer the “framing” questions for that section and report back.
- Time needed – 3 hours (can adjust times if needed, do as 2-3 separate mini-workshops)

2 sets of cards per group and blanks, butcher block & tape (see next page for card titles)

- Cards represent key elements in society
- Cards can be tailored to particular organizations’ needs
- Blanks for groups to add anything they think is missing
- Organize the cards in terms of priorities indicated below on butcher block paper and post for report backs.

Part 1 – Consciousness: Analysis of the way things are today

- Organize these elements of society (cards) to show current priorities in your communities and workplaces. (30 minutes)
- Post all the “way things are” sheets on one wall and have groups report back. Compare similarities and differences, etc. (5 minutes per group)

Answer questions and report back. (20 minutes and 5 minute report backs)

1. Who holds power?
2. How did they get that power?
3. What are the most profound impacts of their power in your communities and workplaces?
4. Why are the rich getting richer, the poor getting poorer, and the middle getting squeezed?

Part 2 – Vision: What we want. We’ve won – what does society look like now?

- Organize these elements of society (cards) in the priority we want them in when we have won. (30 minutes)
- Post all the “what we want” sheets on one wall and have groups report back. Compare similarities and differences, etc. (5 minutes per group)

Answer questions and report back. (20 minutes and 5 minute report backs)

1. Who is making decisions about questions that affect your communities and workplaces?
2. With these people making the decisions, how are things different?
3. What does economic and social equality look like (in your communities & workplaces, throughout the U.S., globally) folder?

Part 3 – Strategy: How will we get from the way things are today to what we want?

Answer questions and report back. (30 minutes and 5 minute report backs)

1. What strategies do you use to build toward your group’s vision?
2. What alliance of forces is powerful enough to change who is in power and how our economy and society are organized?
3. What prevents us from forming these kinds of alliances, and how do we overcome these obstacles?

Cross-cutting themes

How do race, nationality, gender, sexuality, age, and other differences impact all of these questions?
Workshop Handouts:
Copy each of these terms on a separate index card.

LAND

WORKING PEOPLE

CORPORATIONS

BASIC NEEDS – water/food/shelter

MONEY (CAPITAL)

UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE

INCARCERATED PEOPLE

FAMILY

GOVERNMENT

PEOPLE
marginalized by ability, sexuality, religion, race, immigrant status, or age
GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS

ENVIRONMENT

MILITARY/POLICE

SCHOOLS

EDUCATION

RELIGION

SPIRITUALITY

MEDIA

CULTURE/ARTS

HEALTH CARE

US SOCIAL FORUM

YOUR ORGANIZATION

OTHER
I teach an undergraduate course in Organizational Theory and students are required to read Project South’s *Today’s Globalization*, a toolkit for popular education. The other required book is a business textbook that looks at the world only as a marketing opportunity. The two books approach the world in a very different way and so each student has to work to make some sense of her/his views on the topics being covered in the course.

Every quarter the course is taught, each student chooses a service learning assignment with a Community-Based Organization (CBO) or Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). I decided this last quarter that instead of a service learning assignment with an established organization, the students would follow Project South’s guidelines and initiate and run some kind of community workshop.

I was concerned that this exercise would only be enjoyed by a select few — e.g., those with the best grades or most interest - and could be a problem for those who were weak students, basically uninterested in the course material, without initiative and/or without good presentation skills. I need not have worried as all the students liked the assignment. (The enthusiasm sometimes came with reservation as evidenced by the comment of one student at the end of the course: “I was genuinely surprised by how well the workshop went because I was not really looking forward to it because I was forced to do it for a class.”)

Project South’s toolkit is for community groups as well as individual community activists. (I particularly like that the toolkit was written for community groups rather than students. It helps introduce the important idea of adult/popular education.) According to Project South, the workshop described in the toolkit “helps people come to a common understanding of … causes and effects of globalization” and “can form a foundation for (a) group to have further discussions on the connections between what’s going on globally and what’s happening in our local communities.”

Project South provides a basic workshop agenda which includes the use of three timelines — policy history, economic history and popular movement history, a group discussion of globalization (involving individual “aha” moments in relation to the timeline events) as well as two games, globalization gong show and globalization jeopardy. The workshop ends with a critical discussion and evaluation. The sample workshop outline estimates the workshop will take 2 ½ hours.

Project South notes that the basic workshop “can be altered and reshaped to fit the needs of your group, regardless of experience” and the workshop assignment was changed to make it easier for the students to be facilitators. Project South’s workshop assumes that the facilitators will know about all or most of the events on the timelines.
As a prelude to actually running a globalization workshop, each student was asked to become a mini-expert about two events that appear on Project South’s timelines. Each student had to pick one event from the popular movement history and one from either the economic history or policy history timeline. Each class began with a few students talking about the events they had chosen. By the time the globalization workshops were actually held at the end of the quarter, the students were familiar (at least in a general way) with many of the events on the timelines as they had been discussed by other students. Students were relieved that they did not need to be experts regarding all or even many of the items on the timeline. They were told to begin the group discussion by talking about the one or two of the events that they really understood and then encourage others in their group to select and discuss events. As one student noted, “I was surprised with the knowledge that some of the participants had, and this helped the discussion as I did not have to explain everything myself (which would have, admittedly, been difficult).”

Students were told they could be the sole facilitator of the seminar or they could do this with one co-facilitator. If students paired up, they were told they could run the group with another student in the class or someone else in the community. (One student said she was going to run the workshop in a professional way and wanted to co-facilitate with a community member who was a professional facilitator and very interested in this project.)

Students also were told they must work with a group of at least 5 or 6 people.

One student held her workshop just after her aunt’s 50th birthday party. (This group of all ages particularly liked the “aha” moments in relation to the timeline events.) Another student ran the workshop after a family dinner, but most of the other groups were only composed of students or combined both students and family members. One student said “I invited my two roommates, my parents wanted to come based on what they had heard about the class and also to see me teach something like this, and my brother came along because he was with my parents, plus he could never pass up an opportunity for me to be in a potentially embarrassing situation.”

Students were told they could make copies of the timelines to post and/or use as handouts. Students were given flexibility about the exercises. They were each expected to have timeline introductions and globalization discussions, but each group only had to include one exercise. They were encouraged to use Project South’s Globalization Gong Show and, if they wanted, another exercise which could be one of their own design. (Two co-facilitators worked with a group of students and they all brought their computers. They designed a game in which students would race to see who could be the first to research an item on the timeline and find the main idea before anyone else. Each time someone won a game, the facilitators gave the winner a candy bar. The facilitators thought that rewards really helped.)

After completing the workshop assignment, each student was expected to write a report on her/his experience. The report parts included the name of the facilitator and co-facilitator (if applicable), the date and starting/ending
times of the workshop, information about the workshop participants (names, background information including approximate ages), and information about the selection/recruitment of participants. The report also included the Grand Plan (full schedule, activities, focus, props, variations from model) including the three timelines; discussion of the role of the person submitting this assignment; discussion of What Actually Happened (it was to be factual, in relation to the Grand Plan) and then a discussion of the lessons that were learned by the student (including what worked and what didn’t work).

Students also were required to submit a letter of advice for Project South leaders. Each letter writer was requested to provide information about herself and the project and to discuss what they thought worked and what could be improved. The students were told (in advance) that their letters would all be sent to Project South. A few students suggested that Project South should be more neutral about its view of globalization and its explanations. The students discussed this point in class and some students noted that the required management text may look neutral to some in the topics it chose and the way it discussed matters, but that it had done the same thing in a more hidden way. Another student noted that this was a workshop for activists and was not written for students. One student suggested that Project South might want to write a workshop version for community members who were not already activists.

The reaction of the class members to their involvement in this workshop project is probably summed up in the praise given by a student in her letter to Project South: “I think that you guys have a wonderful program going... We (the whole class) all had a good time doing it. Keep up the great work.”
The Syllabus as Transformative Tool: 
Theories & Practices of Social Change Organizing  

by Lisa Albrecht

This syllabus is from the 2nd required course in the Social Justice undergraduate minor at the U. of Minnesota. For a full description of the program, see [http://ssw.che.umn.edu/Programs/socialjustice.htm](http://ssw.che.umn.edu/Programs/socialjustice.htm)

The learning and teaching paradigm that shapes how I teach is based on Paulo Freire’s theories and practices. I say “paradigm,” because it is simply not a matter of adding activities or trying on a method. Freire’s theories as applied in higher education are about shifting our worldview. Though we do have to give grades, we can, as scholar activists, create a syllabus where students can have a say, especially as critical evaluators of their own work, and where students can have meaningful social justice experiences working in our communities. When I describe my teaching, I often say that I am the choreographer, but the students can creatively dance the dance. I create very specific classroom procedures and classroom evaluative practices which help to set up the community of learners.

College of Education & Human Development 
School of Social Work, Spring, 2007

SYLLABUS:

St. Paul Campus, Peters Hall, Room 5 SW 3501:  
Theories & Practices of Social Change Organizing (4 credits)

Tuesdays, 5:15 – 8:15 PM

Professor Lisa Albrecht
193 Peters Hall, 612-624-3669

e-mail:  lalbrech@umn.edu

office hrs.: Tuesdays 3:30 – 4:30 pm & by appointment. If you can’t see me during these times, we can always make an appointment. I’m around lots of other days as well. If you want to leave me any work, or a written message, please put it under my door, or leave in the Undergraduate Studies office, 190 Peters, across the hall from my office. I regularly check my phone messages and my e-mail.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Welcome to SW 3501: Theories and Practices of Social Change Organizing, one of the required courses in the Social Justice Minor. In this course, we will look at various 20th and 21st century social change movements to study how everyday people work for social change. We will also look at how various activists work for social change, and finally we will engage in community-based education (service learning) where we will volunteer in social justice organizations locally.

This course fulfills CLE credit in Citizenship and Public Ethics. Citizenship and Public Ethics courses focus on what it means to be a citizen in a democracy. We will be constantly asking ourselves questions about the meanings of citizenship and democracy in the U.S. in this historical period. Given the dilemmas we face on this planet regarding our survival as culturally diverse people, this seems like
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

a fitting subject for us to explore, especially during a presidential election year. As we become more proficient analytical thinkers and writers, perhaps we will also become more knowledgeable citizens, more competent communicators, and people who can make the world a better place for all human beings. Living in a democracy means that we, as citizens, have a great deal of responsibility. By looking at social justice activists and their organizations, we will explore how activism is deeply connected to citizenship and democracy.

Another major goal of this course is to create a community of learners in our classroom. In forming this environment, students should be prepared to be active in class. Since this is not a lecture class, we will spend most of our classroom time together talking with each other. Listening to each other, and learning to give constructive feedback will allow our community to flourish, and will give each of us individually new perspectives on our own writing and thinking processes.

The course is planned carefully, especially the community based learning experiences. Please don’t fall behind; the sequence of readings and activities are meant to be done in the order I’ve assigned them.

FOR INFO ON THE SOCIAL JUSTICE MINOR, PLEASE GO TO:
http://ssw.che.umn.edu/Programs/socialjustice.htm

ABOUT YOUR PROFESSOR...

Please call me Lisa. I’ve been at the U. of M. for 22 years. For nineteen years, I was a professor in General College. This is my 3rd year in the School of Social Work. I’ve worked to develop the new undergraduate minor in Social Justice, and will be working on making it a major. I also have taught courses in Women’s Studies, and various other departments. I’m a Morse-Mn. Alumni Distinguished Professor of Teaching, and I’ve also been awarded the U. of M.’s Outstanding Community Service Award. I’ve co-edited two books, Bridges of Power: Women’s Multicultural Alliances (with Professor Rose Brewer), and Sing, Whisper, Shout, Pray!: Feminist Visions for a Just World. Both books are about feminist visions for social justice. I’m proud to be an active citizen in our democracy. I’m a past chair of the Minneapolis Commission on Civil Rights, where I volunteered as a citizen advocate and civil rights educator for twelve years. I’m currently on the Board of Directors of Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty and Genocide. Our work is about movement building globally, nationally and locally. When I’m not at work, I swim, garden, watch baseball, play percussion and watch women’s basketball.

If we are part of our community of learners, I believe it is important to tell our students who we are, and draw from our own personal experiences as part of class discussions.

COURSE OBJECTIVES/GOALS & LEARNER OUTCOMES

1. Students will become critical questioners. This involves expressing a critical questioning perspective, (i.e. identify, describe and analyze diverse theoretical social justice paradigms.) To do this, active class participation is critical. Each student is required to co-facilitate at least one class. This also means that students recognize the importance of their presence and participation in class. There’s no such thing as asking a “bad” question if you are not sure about something! However, there is a skill involved in framing good questions to facilitate class discussion.
2. Students will become **social justice scholars**. This involves learning to search, navigate and critically use social justice theories, especially those that come from alternative (non-mainstream) social justice sources. Students will practice becoming scholars through a variety of writing assignments, as well as in their leadership roles in class as co-facilitators of seminar discussions.

3. Students will become **action researchers**. This involves using, applying, designing and implementing social justice theories to bring about change and make improvements in their own lives, and in the diverse communities in which we live. This will also happen through a variety of writing assignments, through co-facilitation of class, and through community-based learning experiences.

4. Students will become **technological navigators**. This involves the ability of students to use technology critically to access information (particularly alternative, non-mainstream information), to communicate to wide audiences, and as a tool for making change.

5. Students will become **social justice collaborators**. This involves students working in community-based learning (service learning) settings and practicing social justice advocacy. To do this, students will put in a minimum of thirty hours working with the community organization they have chosen. Through this kind of social justice collaboration, students will also learn about ways to practice and theorize about active citizenship and public ethics. As social justice collaborators in our classroom, students will engage in various collaborative learning activities. This involves understanding group processes, including how to collaborate on projects, build trust, give feedback and resolve any conflicts.

---

I pay particular attention to teaching students how to locate non-mainstream information, particularly on the web. I have several handouts that list alternative news sources and urge students to research both mainstream and alternative information before they come to any conclusions in their work.

“Service learning,” or “community based learning,” is quite contentious. On my campus, it is easy for faculty to go to our service learning office and have students pick community sites without faculty ever having to go to these sites or know anyone there. All the community organizations where my students work are social justice organizations. I have had contact with all of them either through my own political work or by meeting with people in the organizations. My service learning office on campus does all the bureaucratic details, but I am the person most involved in setting up the sites. Also, if my students are already working in a social justice organization, they will often ask if they can continue with them. I then go and meet folks in that organization before I make any decision. For example, if a student wants to tutor at a high school, I say no, because it is not social justice work, rather it is social service work – working on an individual level. If a student wants to work with a school counselor about initiating a dialogue group for students whose first language is not English to discuss strategies for confronting xenophobia in classrooms, I do say yes, because I see this work as systemic change.

I also believe that it is critical for scholar activists to honor the work of the social justice organization where our students work. I have successfully been able to raise funds to pay each organization on honorarium of $250 per semester for working with
my students. Many social justice organizations need funding, and this is one way to recognize the time they put into educating our students. It is also a way to tell social justice organizations that we, scholar activists, do not want to rip them off. Lastly, all my students do a minimum of 30 hours of work in their organization during the semester, and many continue giving more hours and work beyond the semester.

REQUIREMENTS

1. Regular attendance is essential. We meet 13 times. More than two absences will affect your final grade.

2. Active class participation is critical. Each student is required to co-facilitate at least one class. This involves reading carefully and critically for class, preparing discussion questions, working with your partner, and, if needed, meeting briefly with me before class for final preparation. (see hand-out)

3. Each student will participate in a group project based one of the five supplemental books -- each focuses on one particular social movement. I’d suggest groups between 3 - 5 people. Group projects will be presented to the entire class during the semester. If you are absent when your group presents its final project, your grade will be affected. (see hand-out on group project descriptions)

4. Each student will do a final written project. Your project, which may be done collaboratively, will evolve out of class discussions, readings, your own field(s) of inquiry, and your community based learning experiences. The final project will be a minimum of 10-15 pages. **Due: Fri., May 5th.** (see handout)

5. Each student will complete three reflection essays (due in class: Feb. 27th, March 27th, and May 1st. (see handout).

6. Each student will complete 30 hours of community based education at the site you have selected. (see handouts).

7. All work is to be submitted **on time. No late work accepted** unless you’ve negotiated with me. **No incompletes** given unless you’ve negotiated with me. If there is a crisis in your life, it is your responsibility to notify me as soon as possible. If you miss class on the date when an assignment is due, you may submit it by the end of the week without any penalty.

EXPLANATION OF GRADING PROCESS

Your grade will consist of evaluation (by me and by you) of these requirements:

1. co-facilitation of class discussion (15%)
2. group project (15%)
3. final project (20%)
4. three reflection papers (20%)
5. active class participation & completion of final self-evaluation (15%)
6. completion of community based learning experience (15%)

I do not have an objective “formula” for grading in this course. The percentages above reflect what I
consider the significance of each course requirement. In upper level undergrad and graduate courses, I ask students for more in-depth self-evaluation of their work, given the criteria I’ve set. I envision this course holistically. For me, that means all the requirements connect and form a whole picture of your process in this course. Obviously, written work takes a great deal of time, but I also value thoughtful class participation and the collaborative preparation for and co-leading of class discussion. Given the variety of learning styles we each bring to the classroom, I recognize that we each may push ourselves differently to fulfill different requirements. I therefore place a high value on your personal self-evaluation, and probably 90% of the time, give you the grade that you have given yourself. If I disagree with your final grade choice, I always let you know my rationale, and will be available for a meeting to discuss my decision.

CREDITS AND WORKLOAD EXPECTATIONS
For undergraduate courses, one credit is defined as equivalent to an average of three hours of learning effort per week (over a full semester) necessary for an average student to achieve an average grade in the course. For example, a student taking a four credit course that meets for three hours a week should expect to spend an additional nine hours a week on coursework outside the classroom.

REQUIRED BOOKS
All books are available at the St. Paul Bookstore in the St. Paul Student Center. Several copies of each book will also be available at the CMU bookstore. Required books are on reserve in Wilson Library for two hour sign-out.


GROUP PROJECT BOOKS (YOU SELECT ONE BOOK)
Group Project books are on reserve at Wilson Library for 3 day sign-out.

Tait, Vanessa (2005), *Poor Workers’ Unions: Rebuilding Labor from Below*.


Olivera, Oscar (2004). *Cochambaba!: Water War in Bolivia*.


GROUND RULES
I ask you to follow these basic ground rules in order to create an atmosphere which encourages a high level of participation by each of us, and a respectful space in which we can dialogue.

1. We all have knowledge. We are all experts in some areas. Everyone also has ignorance in some areas. We all have something to teach and something to learn. We cannot be blamed for repeating
misinformation we have learned, but we can hold each other responsible for repeating misinformation
after we have learned otherwise.

2. Try to participate, even if you are quiet. We will all try to draw out those who are more quiet than
others, and insure that those of us who talk a lot, don’t dominate conversation.

3. There are some things we will not debate: classism, racism, sexism and homophobia (and
discrimination against disabled people, old people, Jews, Arabs, etc.) exist as part of the culture and
structure of this society, and we will not tolerate their expressions.

4. We encourage everyone to re-think the assumptions and knowledge they bring with them. The process
of learning requires us to open our hearts and minds.

5. We will act with mutual respect for everyone’s knowledge and experience by making space and time
for everyone’s participation. We will never demean, devalue or in any way put down people for their
experiences.

6. We will welcome critical feedback and suggestions about this course.

These ground rules are based on the ground rules we use at Project South. They are essential in courses that are about social justice. It gives students space not to have to debate oppression, but space to explore, analyze and be creative in looking for solutions.

OUTLINE OF CLASSES
You’ll find the assigned readings and work due dates under the date of each class.

Week One – Tues., Jan. 16th – Overview

Introductions, course description, social justice organizations


The social justice organizations will not be coming to class to discuss their programs, since you are all basically familiar with them. Katie Peacock will be here tonight with a handout for us. Also, go to the Social Justice web site for links and descriptions of all the organizations. [http://ssw.che.umn.edu/Programs/socialjustice/SJ_orgs27s.html](http://ssw.che.umn.edu/Programs/socialjustice/SJ_orgs27s.html)

Please sign up for the date you prefer to go to the Science Museum exhibition on Race and Racism. Everyone must go to this exhibit, hopefully as a class.

Week Two – Tues., Jan. 23rd – Democracy & Organizing for Social Justice

Facilitator: Lisa
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

Read for class for discussion (approx. 100 pages):

1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights - [http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/b1udhr.htm](http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/b1udhr.htm)
2. Handout on Types of Organizations (from Center for Third World Organizing)
6. from Berger, et. al., xiii-xxxii, (“Preface,” “Introduction”)

Please be prepared to sign up to co-facilitate class (1st, 2nd, 3rd choices).

Please be prepared to pick the book you want to work on for your group project. All the books are on reserve at Wilson Library. First small group meeting (15 min.)

Please be prepared to sign up if you want to be considered to attend the White Privilege Conference, April 17-22.

By (to be announced), Pick your social justice organization. Go to on line referral form and complete it. (Go to [https://servicelearning.umn.edu](https://servicelearning.umn.edu) and follow links to our class.

By (to be announced), Katie Peacock will email you with a confirmation of the organization you will be working with.

**Week Three – Tues., Jan. 30th – Democracy & Social Movements**

Co- Facilitators: _______________________________

Read for class for discussion (approx. 120 pages):

1. from Anner, 1-28, (“Foreword;” “Introduction;” “Power Concedes Nothing Without a Demand”)
2. from Moyer, 42-86, (“The Eight Stages of Social Movements”)
3. from Sen, 1-23 (“New Realities, Integrated Strategies”)
4. from Berger, et. al., 1-29 I”Section 1 – Past: Letters to the Previous Generations – Letters to Our Parents”).

Complete: from Sen, p. 19, Exercise 1.1

Meeting with your Group Project Team – 30 minutes

By end of this week, make contact with your organization for your 1st meeting. BE PERSISTENT!

By early next week, start your community based learning in your organization.
Week Four – Tues., Feb. 6th – History & Contemporary Applications, Part I

Co-Facilitators: ________________________________

Read for class for discussion (approx. 90 pages):
1. from Sen, 24-47 (“Organizing New Constituencies”)
2. from Anner, 31- 43, 47-61, (“Bridging Race, Class & Sexuality for School Reform;” “Building Class Solidarity Across Racial Lines”)
3. from Moyer, 87-98, 165-75 (“Believing in the Power of Social Movements;” “Breast Cancer Social Movement”)
4. from Berger et. al., 31-48 (“Section 2: Letters to Authorities”)


Group Project Meeting – 30 minutes – discuss assigned reading & try to finish book


Co-Facilitators: ________________________________

Read for class for discussion (approx. 85 pages):
1. from Moyer, 116-36, 137-151 (“Civil Rights Movement;” “Anti-Nuclear Movement”)
2. from Anner, 119-34 (“Native Americans Struggle for Land, Liberty & a Toxics-Free Environment”)
3. from Berger et. al., 49-84 (“Section 3: Letters to Older Activists,” & “Present – Letters to the Movements” & “Section 4: Letters on Culture”)

Group Project Meeting – 30 minutes


Co-Facilitators: ________________________________

Read for class for discussion (approx. 85 pages):
2. from Berger, et. al., 85-146 (“Section 5: Letters on Identity,” “Section 6: Letters on Oppression Within the Movement,” & “Section 7: Letters on the War on Terrorism”)

Due: Stage One – proposal for final project

Group Project Meeting – 30 minutes – work on presentation
Week Seven – Tues., Feb. 27th - Small Group Book Presentations

Due: 1st reflection paper

Week Eight – Tues., March 6th – Small Group Book Presentations

Due: Stage Two – proposal for final project

Midsemester evaluation: Facilitated by Lisa

Handout – Happy International Women’s Day!

Week Nine – Tues., March 20th – Case Study – Minnesota & Racial Equity

Co-Facilitators: _________________________

Guest Speaker: Jermaine Toney, from Organizing Apprenticeship Project (1/2 hr.)

Read:


Week Ten – Tues., March 27th – Global Social Movements

Co-Facilitators: _________________________

Read for class for discussion (approx. 70 pages):

2. from Moyer, 176-85 (“Globalization Movement”)
3. from Berger, et. al., 147-59 (“Letters on the International Quality of the Movement”


(Tonight is one of two holy nights for Jews who celebrate Passover. If you need to miss class, that’s ok.)

Co-Facilitators: _________________________

Read for class for discussion (approx. 90 pages)

1. from Sen, 48- 115 (“Picking the Good Fight;” “Ready, Set, Action!;” “Leading the Way”)
2. from Moyer, 152-64 (“Gay & Lesbian Movements in the U.S.”)
3. from Berger et. al., 161-74 (“Section 9: Letters on Leadership”)

Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

Week Twelve – Tues., Apr. 10th – Case Study - Looking at a Direct Action Event & Media Coverage – The Seattle WTO demonstrations

Facilitator: Lisa

Read for class for discussion:


Week Thirteen – Tues., Apr. 17th – Doing the Work: Doing Research, Building Alliances, Making the News

Co-Facilitators: _________________________

Read for class for discussion (approx. 85 pages):

1. from Sen, 116-164 (“Take Back the Facts;” “United We Stand;” “Speaking Truth to Power”)
2. from Berger et. al., 175-213 (“Future – Letters to the Next Generation,” & “Section 10: Letters to the Youth of Tomorrow” & “Section 11: Letters to the Activists of Tomorrow.”

Due: 2nd Reflection Paper

Week Fourteen – Tues., April 24th – Peer Feedback on Final Projects:

Bring rough draft of your final project to class. We’ll do peer feedback on your drafts. White Privilege Conference – Lisa (and some students) won’t be in class. Katie Galvin will run class so you can do peer feedback on drafts.

Week Fifteen – Tues., May 1st – The Future Belongs to Us! POT LUCK!

Facilitator: Lisa

Read for class for discussion (approx. 10 pages)

1. Berger et. al., 215-24 (“Section 12: Letters to Our Future Selves”)

Closing discussion & Course evaluation

HAPPY MAYDAY – see handout

Due: 3rd reflection paper

Due: Fri., May 5th – noon, 193 Peters Hall – Final Project & final self-evaluation
GUIDELINES FOR WRITTEN WORK

Reflection Papers – Each student will individually complete three reflection papers (one per month). The purpose of these informal essays is for you to ruminate on our readings, discussions and your experiences in your social justice organization (wherever possible). You can also choose to focus comparatively on at least two readings in your papers. THIS IS NOT A SIMPLE REFLECTION ON YOUR EXPERIENCES AT YOUR SERVICE LEARNING SITE.

Here’s questions to help guide you as you write your papers:

How is theory in readings &/or your organization connected to practice? What theories are connected to what practices? What readings & class discussions connect with your community based learning?

What 2 (or more) readings spark your imagination and thinking? How are they related to each other? Do they take different theoretical positions? Do you agree? Disagree?

These papers are not formal research papers, but you should use APA guidelines for citing your sources and completing a reference page. Each paper is 4-6 pages. Due in class: Feb 27th, March 27th, & May 1st

Final Project - Each student will do a final project. Your project, which may be done collaboratively, will evolve out of class discussions, readings, your own field(s) of inquiry, and your community based learning experience (where possible). You should use APA guidelines for citing your sources and completing a reference page. The final project will be a minimum of 10-15 pages. Rough draft due: Apr. 24th

Possible topics: (Come up with your own!)
1. Research an aspect of a social justice movement (e.g. women in civil rights, GLBT youth, people of color in trade unionism, etc.) and discuss its history and activism. Compare it to some of your experiences in your social justice organization if possible. Discuss how theory is connected to practice.
2. Pick a particular individual who is/was part of a social justice movement or organization. Research his/her activism and discuss its impact. Connect this person’s activism to people you’ve come in contact with in your social justice organization if possible. Discuss how theory is connected to practice.
3. Design a community workshop for your activist organization, or its constituents. You would then outline the content of the workshop, discuss objectives and evaluation criteria, and address pedagogies you’d use and your rationale for them.

Stage One of Proposal for final project due in class – Feb. 20th

Write a minimum of 1-2 pages. After receiving my feedback, you can begin stage 2.
1. What topic are you interested in exploring?
2. What question do you want to answer in this project?
3. If applicable, what time frame do you want to cover? Consider ways to narrow your topic, since this is only a 10-12 page paper.

Stage Two of Proposal for final project due in class – March 6th

Write a minimum of 2-3 pages. After receiving my feedback, you can go to your rough draft.
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS:
TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

1. Write your thesis/opening paragraph.
2. List what you are going to cover in your paper. You can write an outline, do an idea tree, or write in any form you are comfortable with, as long as you are clear about what you are going to address in your project.
List at least 3 or 4 references you are going to use. List correctly using APA guidelines.

Criteria for evaluation for reflection papers and final project:

An “A” paper...You’ve demonstrated a thoughtful understanding of the readings & key themes. You’ve cited readings carefully & drawn upon your own experiences &/or class discussions. Your paper is clear and well organized. It is probably the maximum length for the assignment, and perhaps even longer. Paragraphs connect and there are solid transitions. Your ideas are original. There are very few sentence level errors.

A “B” paper...is solidly written, covers the readings & key issues, & is well organized. It meets the page requirements. It uses less details and examples drawn from readings, discussions & personal experiences. Your paragraphs connect. There are some sentence level errors, but not many.

A “C” paper...fulfills the requirement but doesn’t have much depth & looks like it hasn’t been revised much. It rambles, isn’t well organized & doesn’t draw carefully on readings &/or discussions. The paper barely meets page requirements. There are many sentence level errors.

A “D” paper...is too short & lacks any depth. It has lots of errors & is a response to course materials that does not draw directly on readings & discussions. It is disorganized and hasn’t been revised at all.

Student reflection papers connect their work in social justice organizations. They draw from the theories we study and apply them in practice. The final projects are quite diverse. Beyond simple research papers, I’ve had students do art work that explores social justice topics as well. When they do creative projects in the arts, they also have to do research; many submit art work with an artist’s statement describing their process and what they learned.

GUIDELINES FOR CLASSROOM PROCEDURES

1. ROTATING CHAIR:
Rotating chair is a mechanism to facilitate class discussion. The person who has the floor and is speaking will recognize the following speaker. If you wish to respond to a speaker, you should raise your hand and the speaker will call on you. The speaker should look around the room and give consideration to the person who has spoken the least. Try not to interrupt a speaker by waving your hand before she has finished speaking. The purposes of rotating chair are: 1) to break down the hierarchy between students and instructor; 2) to communicate to all individuals present (not just student answering teacher); 3) to regulate who speaks (not just teacher and exceptionally vocal student).

2. CRITICISM/SELF-CRITICISM:
Criticism is a process that helps us evaluate class on an on-going basis. We reserve 10 minutes at the end of each class to do crit/self-crit. Criticism should not be seen as negative because it is a way for us
to give each other feedback and to help us grow. It should be direct and concrete. Both the content of
the feedback and the way we say it are important. Some guidelines:

1. The intent of criticism/self-criticism is to educate, not punish.

2. Be concrete! Separate out any inferences about the person. Criticism is based on observing actions,
e.g. “she did X,” not - “she is a Y.”

3. Say how you FEEL when you give criticism and self-criticism. e.g. “I am hurt by what you said,” not
   - “this stinks.”

4. Say what change in action you want to happen. Who needs to do it? What needs to be changed and
   why? e.g. “Nancy needs a ride so she can be here on time,” not - “we never start on time.”

Hearing and accepting criticism are parts of this process. We should work toward eliminating
defensiveness. We should also work toward valuing our individual differences, rather than viewing
disagreement as personality conflict. Criticism/Self-criticism is also a way of recognizing our
transformations over the quarter. It is important for us to support our individual and collective growth
in this class.

The use of rotating chair is absolutely necessary in equalizing student
participation. Students cannot simply shout out. They call on each other, picking
students whose voices have been heard less.

For the last 10 minutes of every class, we do criticism-self-criticism. This, too,
is absolutely essential. Organizers and activists are rarely taught how to do
constructive criticism, let alone students in college classes. We use this time to
give feedback to student co-facilitators as well as feedback to each other for the
comments we made and the flow of class.

One last classroom activity is built in to all my courses. Right before we do
criticism, we do announcements of upcoming justice related events both on and
off campus. I tape up announcements on the board and students add to them.
What I find fascinating is that I have NEVER offered students credit to attend any
events. Once students become involved in social justice work, they find time to
attend events that become meaningful in their lives.

GUIDELINES FOR CO-FACILITATING CLASS DISCUSSION
Co-facilitating class discussion is an exciting and wonderful way for students to learn how to take
leadership roles in a group setting. To minimize your own anxiety, here are some important hints:

1. Read all materials more closely than you usually do. Finish your reading several days in advance.
2. After finishing the assigned readings, meet with your partner, or speak on the phone. Usually
planning sessions can run from 1 hour to 3 hours.

3. In framing discussion questions, remember that there are always three levels of understanding you need to address:
   a. literal - what did the author(s) *say* about “x”?
   b. interpretive - what is the *meaning* of “y”?
   c. applied - how does “x” *relate* to “y”?

In your discussion, your questions should always move from literal to interpretive to applied. Feel free to structure the class in any way that you wish. For example, you may ask us to write, to role play, etc.

4. Copy your discussion questions for all class members.

5. If you have any questions, see the instructor as soon as possible. She will be willing to meet with both of you (or one of you) to give you feedback on your questions.

6. After your class, submit a clean, typed copy of your questions to the instructor for evaluation. You will be graded on: how you led class and how thoroughly your questions addressed the major themes of the readings. Both students will get the same grade, unless there are very clear differences in presentation and preparation.

**EVALUATION OF CO-FACILITATION OF CLASS DISCUSSION**

**NAMES:**

**DATE OF CLASS:**

1. Preparation: Did co-facilitators clearly have command of the material?
2. Questions: Were questions carefully written? Did they address the major themes and key issues of the assigned readings? Did the questions look at the literal (What did the authors say?), the interpretive (What did the authors mean?), and the applied (How does “x” relate to “y”?)
3. Leading Discussion: How well did the co-facilitators lead the discussion in class? Did they move other students through the questions? Were they open to various student responses? Did they present their own points clearly? Did the co-facilitators share their role together?

**GRADE:**

It’s essential for students to learn leadership skills as activists. Students choose which class they want to co-facilitate. Based on the criteria I have sent up, it is fairly easy to evaluate their work. At first students often feel frightened of organizing and leading a 3 hour seminar. In criticism/self-criticism at the end of class, students have always found the facilitation an incredibly positive learning experience. I do model facilitation at the beginning of each semester, so students can “see” how I do it. I also never interrupt or take over during any student co-facilitation. If I have more to add to the discussion, I raise my hand, just like the students, and am called on using rotating chair. It’s rare that students miss key points, only because the rest of the class chimes in. Facilitation also teaches students that it’s important to do all the reading, because when a class goes slowly, they can see that not everyone has been responsible.
GUIDELINES FOR GROUP PROJECT

The group project assignment has three purposes:

1. The first purpose of the group project is to broaden students’ reading backgrounds. Students will self-select groups based on the book they choose to focus on. Each book focuses on a different movement for social change.

2. The second purpose of the group project is to encourage creative interpretations and applications of the book you’ve chosen. It is the task of each group to determine the nature of their project. Students could decide to collaboratively write a paper. Students could also decide to write a short play or do a video. Students might also want to research and develop some kind of interactive activity for the whole class. Any of these projects could involve the use of art, music, video, etc. as part of the project. The boundaries are wide open. You’ll present your group project to the whole class during the semester. Your goal is educate us about the importance of your book.

3. The third purpose of the group project is to foster student participation in cooperative learning experiences. I suggest a maximum of five students per group, and a minimum of four. A major objective of this course is to encourage active learning among students. Given the size of the class, it is essential for everyone to take responsibility in your small group. Cooperative learning activities are meant to help us develop the kinds of skills we need to live healthy, productive lives. These skills include: communicating clearly, assuming leadership, building trust with people, resolving conflicts, and giving and receiving feedback.

Each group will get a folder. In it, you will keep a weekly record of your work together. Group projects will be presented to the entire class during the semester. Members of each group will all receive the same grade, unless there are clear participation differences. Members of each group will also complete final individual self and group evaluations of their work together.

BOOKS TO CHOOSE FOR GROUP PROJECT

*We, The Media: A Citizens’ Guide to Fighting the Media*, Don Hazen & Julie Winokur

This book features over 100 of the leading journalists, media critics and media activists. They discuss conglomerate media ownership and its affect on what we see, hear and read. It also highlights alternatives to mainstream media, and how successful media activists are fighting large corporations, and demanding that the media be more open. The book also discusses ways to create alternative media.

*Poor Workers’ Unions: Rebuilding Labor from Below*, Vanessa Tait

The new face of labor includes: domestic workers, undocumented immigrants and workfare laborers. These millions of workers, often thought of as “unorganizable” by traditional unions are today’s most innovative labor organizers. This book is about racial and gender justice in the contemporary labor movement. It looks at workers’ centers, community/labor partnerships and independent caucuses in unions.

*Refusing Racism: White Allies and the Struggle for Civil Rights*, Cynthia Stokes Brown

Why and how have white allies joined people of color to fight against white supremacy in the U.S.? White people have been denied their own histories of radical whites who have worked for racial justice. This book examines the stories of 4 white allies and their experiences fighting white supremacy. It also offers us ways to think about working for racial justice.

*Cochabamba!: Water War in Bolivia*, Oscar Olivera

Cochabamba tells the story of the Water War, the first great victory against corporate globalization
in Latin America. The author, Oscar Olivera, was at the center of the grassroots movement that brought ordinary Bolivians into the streets to regain control of their water rights. The book teaches us about popular democracy, community-based organizing and how to take on huge multinational corporations.

*Chavez Venezuela and the New Latin America*, Aleida Guevara

This book documents the extraordinary dialogue between Hugo Chavez, the Venezuelan President, and Aleida Guevara, the daughter of Che Guevara, the revolutionary legend. In this extended interview, Chavez explains the Bolivarian Revolution, his vision of Venezuela, and his personal political development. The book is grounded in the anti-corporate globalization movement, and documents how one Latin American country is fighting against both the U.S. and many multinational corporations.

SW3501
Albrecht

**GROUP PROJECT RECORD FORM**

Date __________ Group Reading ___________________________

Group Member Sign-in:

1. ___________________  4. ___________________
2. ___________________  5. ___________________
3. ___________________  6. ___________________

Today’s Agenda: (be specific & list all work tasks)

Next Week’s Work Tasks: (be specific & list all work tasks)

Have you accomplished what you set out to do today and during the past week? If group members have not completed tasks, please list them by name.

Feedback on today’s session: What went well? What didn’t? What do you need?

**EVALUATION OF GROUP PROJECT**

**NAMES:**

**BOOK & DATE OF CLASS:**

1. Preparation: Did group members clearly have command of the material? Did the group do a creative interpretation of the book? How so?
2. Key Ideas: Did the group address the major themes and key issues of the book? Did the group’s questions/presentation address the major themes? How so?
3. Leading Discussion: How well did the group lead the discussion in class? Did they engage students in the discussion? How? Were they open to various student responses? Did group members share their role together? Did the group use their presentation time well?

GRADE:

Essentially, the group project is like a book club. Students elect the book they’d like to read. I choose books based on social movements that I want students to know about, as well as critical issues I believe students need to address, e.g. media. Students collectively complete some kind of project to educate their peers on the critical theories and practices discussed in each book. So that groups work fairly, I give each group a folder with a Record Form. They meet in class (since it’s so difficult to meet outside of class), and they have to complete the record form to hold each other accountable. They also complete various self and peer evaluations upon completion of their projects. For the books I’ve selected, I’ve gotten final projects like: 1) a media game show like the Price is Right with questions about media ownership, bias and stereotypes; 2) a timeline (like Project South timelines) on the history of Venezuela as well as clips from several videos about Venezuela; 3) a presentation on union history, especially in Minnesota; 4) an exercise on anti-racist white organizing, and 5) a discussion on water rights and non-violent protests. As you can see, these are not book reports, but carefully thought out creative presentations on the book students have chosen.

MID-SEMESTER COURSE & SELF-EVALUATION

There are several purposes for this mid-semester course and self-evaluation. It is important for you to honestly look at your own progress in this course. It is also important for me to get honest feedback on how the course is going thus far for you. No need to put your name on this sheet, unless you want to do so. We will also discuss some of these questions in class.

1. Is this course meeting your expectations? (I’m assuming you had some kind of expectation when you came into the room.)
   absolutely yes     1    2    3    4    5    N/A    absolutely no
   Comments?

2. Do you like the manner in which the course is set up? (small groups, student-led, little lecture, etc.)
   absolutely yes     1    2    3    4    5    absolutely no
   Comments?
3. Are you satisfied with the kinds of assignments you have been given and how you’ve gotten feedback? Would you rather have more written work during the semester?
absolutely yes 1 2 3 4 5 absolutely no
Comments?

4. Are you satisfied with your community based learning experience? Does it fit in with the class’s goals, and does it connect to readings and class discussion?
absolutely yes 1 2 3 4 5 absolutely no
Comments?

5. How has Lisa done as your teacher? What could be better? More or less of?
very successful 1 2 3 4 5 not successful at all
Comments?

6. How have your peers done as partners in this learning experience?
very successful 1 2 3 4 5 not successful at all
Comments?

7. Has there been a turning point or important moment for you in this course? In other words, did something about the course themes “click” for you at some point? If so, what you think made it happen (e.g. discussion, a particular reading, a comment from other students or me as teacher, etc.)

8. Are you satisfied with your work in this course so far?
absolutely yes 1 2 3 4 5 absolutely no
Comments?

9. On a scale of 1 - 10, what has been your effort level in this course so far? What’s been your comfort level also? Only you can estimate how much you’ve put in to this course. Any other comments to add?
**We do mid-semester evaluations in-class, so that students can speak to each other as well as to me with critiques of the course. Sometimes, I am able to make small revisions in the course. What I have often done is revised the course when I teach it again.**

**FINAL SELF-EVALUATION**

SW3501: Theories & Practices of Social Change Organizing

There are several purposes for this self-evaluation. It is important for you to honestly look at your own progress in this course. In this self-evaluation, you need to explore how well you’ve fulfilled the course objectives and requirements. Since one of the goals of this class has been for you to regularly look closely at your opinions about social justice and its meanings, it makes sense that you should do an overall assessment of your own progress as a student. When I give you a grade for this course, I will look very closely at this self-evaluation as well as all the work you’ve done over the past semester. **Please answer these questions by responding on another sheet of paper.**

1. What do you think you’ve learned (or not learned) about “social change organizing” this semester? Do you feel or think differently about particular issues as a result of this course? (Obviously, you need not write an excessive amount here; address several things that have been most important if you’d like.)

2. Since classroom attendance and participation have been critical factors in this course, how do you evaluate your own attendance and participation? Have you participated regularly in class discussion? Have you read assigned work for each class? Are you satisfied with your classroom presence this semester? Have you missed any classes or group meetings?

3. Cooperative learning has been another objective of this course. How did you find working with other people? Did you participate equally? Did you find co-facilitating class a worthwhile objective?

4. Another part of cooperative learning was working on your group project. How was it to work with other people reading a book and creating a presentation? Did you participate equally? Did you find the group project to be a worthwhile project?

5. You have also worked on a final project for several weeks. Are you satisfied with your work on this project? Did you also complete your 3 reflection papers and submit on time?

6. Your community based learning experience has been central in this course. What’s your evaluation of your participation in it? What’s the most important thing you’ve learned doing it? Are you satisfied with your four journal entries about your service learning? Are you happy with the organization you worked with? Should we use it in the future?

7. On a scale of 1 - 10, what has been your **effort level** in this course? Only you can estimate how much you’ve put in to this course. Consider everything you’ve discussed in this self-evaluation, and add anything else you feel is important. An effort level of 10 would be 100%. Finally, what grade would you give yourself? Why?
Given the enormous amount of time we spend doing self and peer evaluation, I believe it is really important that students do a final self-evaluation of all their work over the semester. I have found that it is rare that a student gives her/himself a higher grade than deserved. In fact, students often give themselves lower grades than I give them. We also do a final in-class evaluation of the semester, so students can hear from each other.
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

Transformative Community Based Action Research: The Color of Public Policy
Rose M. Brewer

Critical Reflections
Community service is the accepted mainstream term for student-community engagements. My goal is to turn this traditional definition on its head and really connect with the community through socially meaningful, community based action research projects. This research is collaborative, structured in deep relationship with community needs. Students work closely with community organizations that are organized by and for communities of color and based in these communities. This work involves a deep interplay among the readings, reflections, writing, and the actual community based research and engagement. This is not an easy course to put into practice. As I have come to understand, the course instructor will need to work in alliance, over time, with the communities involved in social change efforts. Indeed this kind of community based learning requires that scholars take action in the world. This is not simply about student engagement but faculty commitment to social change through scholarship and action.

At the core of this work is the principle of thinking and acting in deep relationality with communities in struggle for change and justice. Thus students through this faculty conduit become engaged in observation, learning and research, working with communities on a collaborative basis to create a useful final piece of research. We call this creating change and generating “policy” from the bottom up.

Classroom Praxis
The crux of each class session is what organizer Sam Grant asserts is “consistent active reflection on what we are each doing in our projects, and actively supporting each other to be as effective as possible.” This activity is thought about in deep reflection with the readings and discussion. We thus develop an experientially rooted theory and practice of community based learning through action research. Importantly, our community partners become co-teachers throughout the semester.

The indigenous frameworks which inform their research and social commitments are central to the development of the transformatory knowledge and practice which guides our work, our learning, and our commitment to social change. The classroom becomes a transformed social space for rethinking what is valorized as knowledge. Thus students are remade through community learning as they engage with communities to remake the world.
SYLLABUS: The Color of Public Policy
4231
Spring Semester 2007
The Color of Public Policy: African Americans, Native/American Indians, Chicanos/Latinos, and Asian Americans

Instructors Phone numbers email Location and Times
Prof. Rose M. Brewer -- 612-625-9305 Brewe001@umn.edu Blegen 210—Mon. 5:30-8:15

COURSE DESCRIPTION
This course is designed to familiarize students with the history of U.S public policy development and social relations across racial-ethnic-nation cultures. The focus will be on the United States, but recent developments from the global context will be incorporated for comparative purposes. In this course we will examine the structural and institutional conditions through which people of color have been systematically marginalized, and how diverse populations have fought for and won or lost policy change.

The course will help students better understand and interpret the “dominant paradigm” in which public policy has been set. Then, we will examine how and why this paradigm has shifted over time, and what the current prospects are for policy transformation in the domestic and global arenas.

The goal of this course is to analyze and determine potential strategies to transform the structural and social dimensions of inequitable public policy in the United States especially. We are crucially concerned with how the groups themselves have defined policy goals from within the group rather than the dominant policy paradigms. Students will be prepared to evaluate public policies within the context of both the goals of struggles led in communities against inequitable policy and a mutually constructed vision of ideal policy outcomes – along the lines of democratic empowerment and well being for all people. We will do comparative analysis and power analysis of public policy formulations from above versus policy formulations from below – using concrete examples within the United States. Central here is the issue of community based research.

In order to do this, students must become familiar with the policy literature, and the theories and models that inform the creation and implementation of policy. Also, this course will help students better understand how communities who suffer as a result of inequitable policy fight for policy change.

COURSE OBJECTIVES
Understand the history of public policy formulation, management and change in the United States;
Learn how communities in the United States have fought for, won and lost on policy transformation campaigns;
Better understand the values and principles behind policy from the bottom up;
Participate in a people’s action research project, through which all students will directly engage in work with community constituencies on better understanding, analyzing and exploring ways to change existing public policy and strategies for fundamental social change.

COURSE FORMAT
Course sessions will be divided into two to three components each time we meet. Generally we will structure the class in the following way (but this is not set in stone): Students will start class in small groups discussing readings, policy questions, other issues that emerged for them in reflecting on the material. This
will usually happen from 5:30 to 6:15. The 2-3 page critical papers will help shape these discussions. From 6:15 to 7:00 p.m. there will be lecture and dialogue, based both on the readings and what students are experiencing in their action research work. From 7:00 p.m. to 7:10, we will take a brief break and the last hour of the course will be devoted to films, speakers, reflections, etc. On some evenings the community based research groups will focus exclusively on their projects. Invited guests will help us to develop critical skills or discuss some concrete policy issues we are working on. All these components are important, and active participation is required in all components in order to pass the course.

**ACTION RESEARCH POLICY PROJECT OR RESEARCH POLICY PROJECT**

During the first few sessions we will discuss your involvement an action research project. Major options involve work on poverty and wealth, transportation equity, educational justice, prison ministry, immigration, or an environmental injustice project. There may be other possibilities if some of you are already connected to a community group with research needs. The course second option involves developing a policy research paper without working directly with a community group. I can imagine a project that connects to the issues surrounding Hurricane Katrina, for example. All students must determine what they will do rather soon since the work is collective. Progress reports on projects are due twice during the semester. The initial project proposal/design is due week in the first report (a second brief report is also due later in the semester). I will provide more information on these and expectations for them. A final project write up is due the last day of class – at which time all student teams will present their methodology, findings and outcomes.

**EVALUATION AND GRADES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Final Action Research Project or Research Policy Paper (includes progress reports)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Presentation</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midterm exam</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small group work/participation</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 page reading responses</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REQUIRED TEXTS**

- *Research Methods for Community Change*
- *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*
- *The Spirit Catches You & You Fall Down*
- *The Color of Wealth*
- *The Constraints of Race*
- *Deserving and Entitled*
- *Turning Back*
- *Asian and Latino immigrants in a Restructuring Economy*

**Office Hours:** Wednesday 2-3:30 p.m. and by appointment. Social Sciences 810, 612-624-9305, e-mail: brewe001@umn.edu.

**Disability Statement**

If you have a disability and need to discuss this with me, please see me immediately.

**Readings and course framework**

Readings are Due on the date under which they appear.
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

WEEK 1—JAN. 22
Receive syllabus. The course will formally meet for the first time on January 29.

WEEK II—JAN. 29
I. The Dominant Paradigm – Policy from Above and the Oppositional Response: Policy from Below

Readings


WEEK III—FEB. 5
Dominant and Oppositional Policy Analyses: The Tension Continues

Readings


#1—2-3 page critical reflection due

WEEK IV—FEB. 12
Continuing Discussion of Community Research and oppositional policy frameworks
How It All Began: Inequality and Policy in Historical Context

Readings
Ingram and Schneider, *Deserving and Entitled*, part I, chapters 1-3.

#2—2-3 critical reflection due

WEEK VI—FEB. 19
Readings

Ingram and Schneider, *Deserving and Entitled*, part II, pp. 111-172.

Video, “Kill the Indian, Save the Man”

#3—2-3 page critical reflection due

WEEK VII—FEB. 26
MIDTERM EXAM

WEEK VIII—MARCH 5
Completing the Discussion of Research for Social Change

Readings
Stoecker, *Research Methods for Community Change*, pp. 115-231

Interim report #1 on community based research

WEEK IX—SPRING BREAK—MARCH 12-18

WEEK X—MARCH 19
Cultural Contestation
Fadiman, *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down*, pp. 3-288.

#4—2-3 page critical reflection due

WEEK XI—MARCH 26
Special Topics
A. Weath and Inequality in the U.S.: The Role of Governmental Policies

Readings
Lui, et. al. *The Color of Wealth*, chapters 1 through 3, pp. 1-130

Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS:
TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

WEEK XII—APRIL 2
Readings

#5 critical reflective paper due

WEEK XIII—APRIL 9
Readings
B. Globalization and Migration
Readings

#6--2-3 page critical reflection due

WEEK XIII—APRIL 16
Readings


#7--2-3 page critical reflection due

WEEK XIV—APRIL 23
Whither Policy?
Readings

#8-2-3 page critical reflection paper due

WEEK XV—APRIL 30
Class Presentations on action research &
Final Project Paper Due -- Late Papers will not be accepted!
Linking Theory & Practice: Social Theory & Society  
Walda Katz-Fishman

SYLLABUS

Department of Sociology & Anthropology  Walda Katz-Fishman  
Soci 85173 — 100-01 Social Theory & Society Office: Douglass Hall 229  
Soci 83664 — 200-01 Hours: TTh 1-2pm, Th 3:30-5pm & by appointment  
Fall 2006 — TTh 2:10-3:30pm  202.806.6853/5327; 301.367.1079 (c)  
Douglass Hall 223  Wanda Parham, Grad Assistant  
email

COURSE OVERVIEW & PURPOSE
The course involves interactive learning, assigned readings (required and supplementary), class lectures, discussions, essay exams and other written assignments and, on occasion, participation in forums and other interactive activities. Through these various media, we explore the historical context – social, political, economic, and intellectual – that gave rise to sociology, the scientific study of society. We consider the three sociologies that developed, based on 3 philosophies of science and social science:

1. **Positivism/organic theory** (functionalism, “abstracted empiricism”): e.g., St. Simon, Comte, Durkheim, Spencer, Pareto, Parsons, Merton – “law and order”- social control sociology;

These sociologies formed in the period of the 19th and early 20th centuries out of the revolutionary transformation of society from feudal, agrarian society to modern industrial capitalism. The Enlightenment was the intellectual expression of this motion and the French Revolution was its political expression. Though society today has entered a new phase – postindustrial, postmodern and the high tech electronic global economy – many of the foundations and insights of 19th and 20th century sociology remain relevant, but fluid.

We critically examine Enlightenment thought, the works of de Tocqueville, Martineau, Taylor & Mill, St. Simon, Comte, Marx and Engels, Durkheim, Weber and others. We look at their assumptions about society, history, social problems and solutions, and social change; their concepts and conclusions; and their applicability to today’s society through the works of scholars, news clippings, and small group projects.

We are concerned with each theorist’s view of social reality, of methodology for the study of that reality, with the relationship between the individual and society, freedom and equality, wealth and poverty, material reality and culture and consciousness, popular struggles and social change. This course is designed to connect theory and practice in the scientific process, thought and action in our practice as students/scholars; and to develop in each of us a “sociological imagination” – a critical and analytical perspective for understanding society,
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS:
TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

visioning a new world, and fundamental social transformation.

TEXTS (required) look for texts in Soc 100 & grad 200
Rowman & Littlefield.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS (from different theorists for book essays+ book forum books)
Peery, Nelson. 2002. The future is up to us: A revolutionary talking politics to the American people. Chicago:
Speakers for a new America books (available in class – not in bookstore).

Meet the Author Book & Community Forums – Sept. 7, Sept. 26 & Oct 26
Forum: Thurs., Sept. 7, 2006, 6:30 pm @ St. Stephen’s – 1525 Newton St., NW (corner Newton & 16th Sts.)
Forum: Tues., Sept. 26, 2006, 5:30 pm @ American U – location tba (leave HU 4:15 pm-6th St. DH center gate)
Forum: Thurs., Oct. 26, 2006, 5:30 pm @ Howard U – Blackburn Center (room tba)

Earn credit & extra credit through participation (details shared in class)
** Articles, pamphlets, clippings, papers for assignments will be distributed in class. **

COURSE REQUIREMENTS
Students earn points for the following work

REQUIRED:
• ESSAY EXAMS: 3 during the semester & final. Each exam = 15% x 4 60%
• WORKSHOP on Today’s Globalization. Teams of 2 students each will use tools from text to conduct & write-up workshop & become “instant experts” on 3 events (1 per line) = 10%

REMAINING 30% FROM THE FOLLOWING OPTIONS: 30%

• MEET THE AUTHOR BOOK & COMMUNITY FORUMS:
Forum dates: Thurs., Sept. 7 @ St. Stephen’s – 6:30pm; Tues., Sept. 26 @ AU & Thurs. Oct. 26 @ HU – 5:30-7:30pm
Forum & workshop dates to be announced in class – more info as available. Materials will be distributed in class. Extra credit may be earned by forum/organizing/workshop attendance & course credit for 2-4 page typed essay describing the event – what all participants said, etc. Identify theory & answer “critical
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS:
TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

questions” attached, ASR format (attached). Attendance & summary essay each forum = 10%

• NEWS CLIPPING COMPARISONS:
Concise, well written summaries of news clippings from “mainstream” and “alternative” presses.
Select 1 article from mainstream press and 1 article from the alternative press ON THE SAME GENERAL TOPIC, identify the theory used in each article, and compare the articles – answering the “critical questions.” You may add personal reflections once you have provided summaries and comparisons. Write comparison essay 2-4 typed double-spaced pages, with citations, ASR format (attached). Each comparison essay = 10%

• BOOK ESSAYS (supplementary readings & book forum books):
Concise, well written analytical and critical book essays. If you do 2 essays, to be turned in the last 2 months of the semester - see dates for assignments below. You must answer “critical questions” attached as the framework for the book essay(s). Essay should be 4-6 typed double-spaced pages with citations and references, using American Sociological Review - ASR format. Essays will be evaluated in terms of content, organization and style. For ASR format see attached Each book essay = 10%

SELECT FROM THESE ITEMS TO OBTAIN A TOTAL OF 30%

NO ASSIGNMENTS ACCEPTED AFTER DEC. 7, 2006. A FULL LETTER GRADE WILL BE DEDUCTED FOR ASSIGNMENTS TURNED IN AFTER December 7th.

Total: 70% (Exams & Workshop) + 30% (Other assignments) = 100%

See the Howard University Academic Code of Student Conduct for information on plagiarism and the rules on grades, “I”s. “I” will not be given except under the most extreme and justified circumstances. “I”s must be accompanied by student contract prepared & signed by student and turned in by October 17, 2006.

COURSE OUTLINE & READINGS
1. Locating Social Theory & Our Lives in Social History – answer in small groups
Economy, Power, Popular Movements & Democracy—“why we’re so miseducated” weeks 1-3
Theory overview & interactive social history timelines (1400s-present), emphasis 20th & early 21st century
Introductions – name, major, year & question/issue you are most interested in
What is social theory? What is social history? What are the 3 social theory paradigms? How are these all related? What have we been taught about capitalism (race-class-gender) & democracy? What is the real history of the US? Where are we today in our struggle for popular – bottom-up – democracy and for social justice and equality?
READINGS: Berberoglu Introduction & theory paradigm chart.

2. The Origin of Sociological Theory in Social Philosophy weeks 4-5
The Enlightenment - 18th century
• Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755)
The Spirit of the Laws – typology of societies, functionalism
• Jean Jacque Rousseau (1712-1778)
The Social Contract and Discourses - human nature, social inequality, the social contract; Emile & Sophy on gender differences and inequality
• Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797)
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

Vindication of the Rights of Women - on gender equality

READINGS: Zeitlin Preface & Chpts 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5

** EXAM 1 **

3. Reaction vs. Enlightenment  
   week 6
   The romantic-conservative reaction: idealism and metaphysics - Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Hegel
   The Catholic counter-revolution - conservative philosophy: religion, the state, hierarchy, inequality, & social control
   • Louis de Bonald (1754-1850) Theorie du Pouvoir
   • Joseph de Maistre (1754-1821) Oeuvres Completes

READINGS: Zeitlin Chpts 6 & 7

   weeks 7-8
   • Saint Simon (1760-1825): Positivism and the "new" social order, "science" and social progress, industrialism, internationalism, the "new" religion
   • August Comte (1798-1857): Positivism, the "sociological church," moral and intellectual anarchy, social order – hierarchy and inequality
   • Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859): Democracy and the "three races" in America
   • Harriet Martineau (1802-1876): Politics, Morality, Slavery & Women
   • Harriet Taylor (1807-1858) & John Stuart Mill (1806-1873): The subjugation of women & liberty

READINGS: Zeitlin Chpts 8, 9, 10, 11 & 12

** EXAM 2 **

5. The Challenge of Historical Materialism  
   weeks 9-10
   Dialectical and historical materialism; class struggle for power; the state and culture as the expression of ruling class interests and ideology; species being, the family, social consciousness and all social life as the expression of material reality and being; social history as revolution and the objective movement toward communism (society organized around human needs not private profit).
   • Karl Marx (1818-1883) & Frederick Engels
     Capital, Manifesto of the Communist Party, The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State
   • Lenin & Gramsci on state, revolution & ideology
   • Kollantai on gender, class & equality
   • DuBois & Frazier on race, class & equality

READINGS:  
Berberoglu Chpts 1, 7, 8 & 9  
Zeitlin Chpts 13, 14, 15 & 16  
Marx & Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party & Wage-Labor and Capital  
DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk  
hooks, Feminist Theory  
Peery, The Future is up to us

** EXAM 3 **
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

6. Positivism Reasserts Itself week 11

- Emile Durkheim (1858-1917): Positivism, social facts, functionalism, social control, social order; consensus, social and moral solidarity
  Suicide, The Division of Labor in Society, & The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life
- Herbert Spencer (1820-1903): Cosmos, positivism, evolution and social darwinism
  The Study of Society

READINGS:
Berberoglu Chpt 2
Zeitlin Chpt 22
Durkheim, *Suicide, Division of Labor, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*

7. The Social Action Debate with Marx’s Ghost week 12

Ideas, culture and religion; verstehen and ideal-types; types of authority/domination autonomous from economy; bureaucracy; & social stratification
- Max Weber (1864-1920)
  The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization & The Methodology of the Social Sciences

READINGS:
Berberoglu Chpt 3
Zeitlin Chpts 17 & 18
Gerth & Mills *Essays from Max Weber*

Project South. 2005. *Today’s Globalization – Workshop must be conducted & write-up turned in by November 30, 2006*

8. Elite Theorists week 13

- Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923): Positivism, sentiments, residues (non-logical action) and derivations; circulation of elites and fascism; *The Mind and Society & Les Systems Socialistes*
- Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941): Ruling class and parliamentarism *The Ruling Class*
- Robert Michels (1876-1917): Iron law of oligarchy *Political Parties*

READINGS:
Berberoglu Chpt 4
Zeitlin Chpts 19, 20 & 21

9. The Social Action Tradition Continues week 14

- Karl Mannheim (1893-1947): Ideologies & utopias, intellectuals, the sociology of knowledge

** Ideology and Utopia **
- Sigmund Freud (1856-1939): Development of personality and civilization; id, ego, superego; thanos and eros

READINGS:
Berberoglu Chpt 6
Zeitlin Chpt 23

** FINAL EXAM **
Tuesday, December 19, 2006
12 noon - 2pm in course classroom
(Note: confirm date in class schedule)
7-30-06
Subversive syllabus critical questions for analysis

What is the main subject matter analyzed? socio-historical context:
- time, place & people
- political economy & technology
- power, politics & the state
- culture & ideology
- social life
- popular struggles

What is the main theory used for analysis?
Are other theoretical perspectives discussed & how are they evaluated?

What does the theory used bring to the analysis?
- What are the problems or issues – root causes & immediate context – discussed?
- What solutions are proposed? [see organizing models chart]
- Is social change – reform or revolutionary (anti-capitalist) – part of the solution?
- Who/what are the agents of this change?
- How are they organized?

Who is the main intended audience for this work?

Through the lens of the scholar & academic:
- What is most useful about this work?
- What could be different?

Through the lens of the activist & movement builder:
- What is most useful about this work?
- What could be different?

Personal reflection:
- How does this work help you shape your own intellectual & political worldview?
- How does it help you shape your theoretical perspective & your practice – your action orientation?
Section V: TOOLS FOR SCHOLAR ACTIVISTS: TRANSFORMING OUR CLASSROOMS & OUR PRACTICE/PRAXIS

Book Forums as Popular Education
Walda Katz-Fishman

About ten years ago Project South, and a few colleagues and sociology students – graduate and undergraduate – at Howard University and American University began a collaborative project in the Washington, DC area. Teaching & Organizing for Justice: Washington Book Forum is built into our course syllabi; and at the same time creates an open space for many and diverse voices from different universities and the grassroots community to learn and teach, to share critical analysis, vision the future, and take political action to bridge the campus-community divide and connect our students to movement building today.

Book forums, as we have done them in Teaching & Organizing for Justice, model a powerful and accessible tool to infuse popular education methods into scholarly dialogue, into our syllabi and classroom practice, and as a bridge from campus to social movement spaces.

The model and principles of liberatory teaching and learning that we practice in Teaching & Organizing for Justice are popular education skills and teams; and bringing grassroots, scholar and student activists together on the basis of equality to develop leadership from both communities for social transformation. Through intellectual work and educational spaces and processes, including popular education as well as theoretical education, we share our analysis of problems and systems, our visions of the future, and strategies and actions for social change and building movement.

The beauty of the Teaching & Organizing for Justice: Washington Book Forum is that it combines a format familiar to scholars, professors and teachers – a book discussion or featured speaker – with popular education tools, such as the “Aha” moment and small group discussion, that flip the script on the “banking model” of expert knowledge.

See below for a sample program, description, guidelines, “Aha” question and small group questions.
TEACHING & ORGANIZING FOR JUSTICE

Washington Book Forum
interactive dialogue on

The Color of Wealth
The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide

October 26, 2006 at Howard University

Program

Welcome, Introductions & “Aha”
Program Facilitators

Featured Speaker

Rose Brewer
Professor of African American & African Studies,
at University of Minnesota

Q & A

Taking it home – small groups
Small group facilitators
Students at Howard University & American University & Community Activists

Evaluation

Thanks to the members & staff of Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty & Genocide, American University Sociology Department & Office of Multicultural Affairs, Howard University Organization of Graduate Sociologists (OGS), Plymouth Congregational UCC Board of Social Action, Committee of Indigenous Solidarity (CIS-DC), United for a Fair Economy & St. Stephen’s Church for their hard work and support in making this forum happen!
Teaching & Organizing for Justice
Raising Consciousness for Movement Building

Our purpose is to create a safe and open space where students, scholars & grassroots activists from diverse class, race/ethnic/nationality and gender backgrounds come together to develop a deeper understanding of the problems affecting our communities and our world, to think about a vision for the future, and to develop our leadership as part of the growing movement for social change.

We use popular education methods – interactive dialogue & small group sharing – to hear all voices and to learn from each other. We begin with personal experience – our “aha” moment, hear the authors’ analysis and perspective in their own words and engage in interactive dialogue. In small groups we reflect collectively on what this means for us and our communities and how we can be active in building today’s movement for social and economic justice.

**GUIDELINES**

- Be aware of time
- Step up, step back – we want to hear everyone’s input
- We all have knowledge, we all have things we don’t know – recognize this
- Racism, sexism, classism, ageism, heterosexism & other oppressions exist in society, but we will not allow them in this space
- “Whoa” – stop and back us up if there’s a point of confusion or to “interrupt” oppression
- Open minds only
- Parking lot – put aside for the moment any question or issue that needs to be revisited or discussed

**“AHA” MOMENT**

In your small group, very briefly share your name, organization & answer to the following question. Be sure everyone in your group has time to share their “aha” moment. Select someone to time, record & report back.

When did you first experience race, class and/or gender privilege in society that impacted your life?

**TAKING IT HOME - SMALL GROUP QUESTIONS**

Groups 1, 2 & 3 answer #1, Groups 4, 5 & 6 answer #2, Groups 7, 8 & 9 answer #3. Other groups answer any question you prefer. Select someone to time, to butcher block & to report back.

1. **What is wealth? What is income? How are they different and why is that important?**
2. **What changes do we need to put in place in today’s social, economic, and political system to end the “privilege divide”?**
3. **What strategies for action steps and movement building do we need to develop to end all forms of privilege – class/wealth, race/nationality, gender/sexuality, age, ability, etc.?**

10-18-06
Today’s Movement Building Moment: Libratory Learning & Teaching

Walda Katz-Fishman & Jerome Scott

As scholar activists we are challenged with connecting our classrooms and communities to the rising social movement through liberatory learning and teaching. Whenever our struggles converged into a powerful movement, it was because people united theory and practice— they acted, reflected, and were intentional about the intellectual and subjective side of the movement as well as the action side. Our movement needs to have study circles and popular education to insure the broadest and deepest popular participation in the movement and to develop collective leadership from all sectors of society. In all the spaces where we are theorizing and reflecting, we have to develop a systemic analysis and critical consciousness, a bold vision of the world we are fighting for, and a strategic plan of action to make it happen.

Movement Building—the Strategic Question of Our Times

Because we live in a movement building moment, it is especially important for us, as scholar activists, to model this work. We need to be engaged in the larger movement building process and spaces, to make our classrooms sites for raising critical consciousness and for struggle, and to help bridge the historic divide between campus and the movement.

We share the context of our work—the social forum process, lessons learned from history and our practice, and organizing the first ever US Social Forum as the next step in social transformation and the liberatory process.

In the opening years of the twenty-first century the day-to-day realities in working-class and low-income communities across race, nationality, gender, and generational lines are harsh indeed in the richest country in the world. Crises are deepening and intensifying. The legacy of capitalism—as colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism, and today’s globalization—means ongoing exploitation and growing polarization between the world’s rich and the world’s poor. The long reach of genocide and slavery lives through white supremacy and racism. Patriarchy, gender, and sexual oppression are embedded in every aspect of daily life. War, militarism, repression, and occupation of our communities at home and abroad are ongoing. Ecological and social destruction are now global.

Any semblance of a human needs based society that embodies the collective rights of peoples, working classes, oppressed genders and communities has been destroyed by centuries of exploitation, domination, and multiple oppressions. Yet, the resilience and the power of peoples’ struggles are strong and, once again, are rising up. The question and the challenge is what kind of global justice and equality movement are we building to address these historical forces, to win and hold onto the victories and visions we have for our communities and our planet, to transform society and the world we live in?

The Social Forum Process: A Movement Building Space

The World Social Forum (WSF), inspired by the First Intercontinental Encuentro—“encounter”—for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism organized by the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico provides an important space and context for building today’s bottom-up movement. The WSF, happening every January since 2001, is a popular—civil society—gathering of the
world’s worker, peasant, youth, women and oppressed peoples’ struggles. It takes place at the same time and in response to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland – a gathering of global corporate and political elites who plan expansion of markets and profits at the expense of working people and the environment world over. The WSF is an expression of the ongoing movement building process that fights against global capitalism, its neoliberal policies, and U.S. empire and war. Its mantra, “another world is possible,” challenges us to vision that “other” world we are struggling to create (Katz-Fishman & Scott, 2004a; Mertes, 2004; Scott, Katz-Fishman & Brewer, 2005).

The World Social Forum process brought forth the call for a United States Social Forum. Grassroots Global Justice (GGJ), an alliance of 60 U.S.-based grassroots groups organizing to build an agenda for power for working and poor people rooted in the local-global justice movement, answered the call. GGJ came out of two recent trends: the growth of grassroots base building organizations in the United States over the last thirty years in response to the crises of today’s globalization and neoliberalism; and the emergence of the global justice movement, represented in the World Social Forum process. GGJ stepped forward to organize a consultation process and the formation of the National Planning Committee (NPC) – the coordinating body for the US Social Forum – in 2004-05.

The legacy of centuries of movement building in the United States, and especially its deep roots in Southern resistance to Indigenous genocide and African slavery with the powerful voices of women, led many of us to struggle for having the US Social Forum in the U.S. South. The NPC, also recognizing the strategic importance of the U.S. South, selected Atlanta, GA as the site for the US Social Forum, June 27-July 1, 2007. Within today’s context of building a transformative and liberatory movement, organizing the US Social Forum – as part of a world social forum process linking social movements locally, nationally, and globally – was the critical next step in gathering together the various fronts of struggle and creating a shared vision of the United States and the world we want and need for ourselves, our families and communities, our sisters and brothers in the Global South, and the planet itself (www.ussf2007.org). Another world is possible, another United States is necessary; and it is already happening.

Lessons Learned From History And Struggle For Building Today’s Movement
We have to know our history so we can understand the present moment, and plan for our future. The following six key lessons from social history and social struggle inform our movement building processes – educating and organizing – in the early twenty-first century.

1) The Centrality of Oppression and Exploitation in the US Context
The United States was forged in the oppression and exploitation of Indigenous and African peoples, peoples of color, immigrant and working class communities, and women and youth. This oppression and exploitation was reproduced in new ways in every century since the late 1400s; and those most adversely affected have consistently resisted and struggled for their freedom and liberation. These realities are central to our social history and movement building practice.

2) We Only Get What We Are Organized to Take
Whenever gains were made it was because of popular struggles of those most adversely affected. The reforms addressed the demands of that section of society leading the
movement, e.g., the New Deal addressed the demands of the powerful trade union movement – mostly white male workers in industry, but excluded agricultural and service workers, where most blacks, other people of color and women were. So the demands we put forward in today’s movement building moment have to answer the problems of all of those at the very bottom of society – the poorest and most oppressed among us.

3) We Need A Long-term Outlook
The ruling class takes a long-term view – e.g., in Bretton Woods in 1944, they put in place the major international financial institutions (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, General Agreement on Tariffs) that today, sixty years later, dominate the economic and political landscape of capitalist globalization and its neoliberal policies (Project South, 2005). Our bottom-up movement also needs a long-term strategic outlook that informs the tactics of our day-to-day struggle.

4) Unity of Theory and Practice
Whenever our struggles converged into a powerful movement, it was because people united theory and practice – they acted, reflected, and were intentional about the intellectual and subjective side of the movement as well as the action side. Our movement needs to have study circles and popular education to insure the broadest and deepest popular participation in the movement and to develop collective leadership from all sectors of society.

5) There Are No “Good Old Days”-
What is Our Vision and Strategy for the Future?
The major victories and reforms of the twentieth century – e.g., labor, civil rights, gender, sexuality, ability, the environment, and peace – were won through great struggles on the part of the people, and made a difference in peoples’ lives. But poverty is still with us, as are white supremacy, patriarchy, ecocide, and war. And today we find our hard won gains under attack and rolled back. This is because we reformed the system, but did not change it fundamentally. Today’s movement needs a vision looking forward – there are no “good old days” to go back to. We also need to reflect on what it will take to hold onto our victories over the long haul. What is our consciousness and analysis of the system? What is our vision? What is our strategy and how will we implement it in our daily work?

6) Electronic Technology Creates Abundance - Our Movement Can End Poverty and Misery
Today’s capitalist globalization is happening in a new objective moment in social history. The global electronic age is based on electronics, which is labor-replacing technology. The industrial age was based on machines, which was labor-enhancing technology. This means several critical and new realities. Working people are needed less and less in the production, distribution, and communication processes of the market economy. With fewer good jobs and lower wages, working people all over the world often cannot afford to buy the necessaries of life. Because of this, it is harder and harder for global corporations to sell all the goods and services produced by this highly productive technology. Within the context of the capitalist market, workers are in a spiraling crisis of poverty and all its social effects; and even global capital is facing a crisis of glutted markets. On the other hand, today’s electronic technology (computers, robots, all forms of automation) makes it possible to create an abundance of all the things we need – e.g., food, housing, clothing, health care, education, transportation – while protecting the earth. Our movement needs to embrace the potential of this new technology that can truly liberate
humanity if we transform society organized around private property and maximum profits into a cooperative and collective society organized to meet human needs and the collective rights of the peoples of the earth (Katz-Fishman & Scott, 2003a; Project South, 2005; Peery, 2002; Robinson, 2005).

Lessons Learned From Political Practice - Liberatory Organizing And Educating

As scholar and grassroots activists, we have also learned critical lessons from our experience and day-to-day practice of educating and movement building. It is important to sum these up to guide our work in transforming our classrooms, bringing together our various fronts of struggle, and our many organizations as we go forward.

We Have To Challenge Historic Divides Inside The Movement

The powerful ruling class strategy of “divide and conquer” is so much a part of society across the globe that it too easily enters our political work and our movement. Divides and privileges based on race, class, nationality, language, culture, gender, sexuality, age, religion, and more are embedded in and reproduced by the economy; political and legal structures and processes; educational institutions; ideology, culture, media, and the arts; and all aspects of social relations. Often those with power, privilege, and resources in the larger society (e.g., whites, those with more money, those with more formal education, men, heterosexuals, adults, citizens) bring their privilege and power into their organizations and the larger movement. In addition, working and low-income people bring ideologies and practices into their organizations and the movement that reproduce divisions from the larger society – such as white supremacy and racism, anti-immigrant stereotypes and actions, male supremacy, heterosexism, and ageism. Inside our movement – within and among organizations – we have to intentionally challenge these divides through dialogue, popular and theoretical education, and action; and have internal processes for accountability and dealing with issues as they arise (Mohanty, 2004; Kelley, 2002).

We Have To Walk The Talk - Model The World We Are Trying To Create

People often ask how are we ever going to build a movement to fundamentally change society when things are so unjust and unequal. It is essential that we strive inside our organizations and movement to “walk the talk” – to model the world we are trying to create. Concretely this means the power and leadership of people and communities at the grassroots are central in the process of creating liberation; and that
leadership needs to be collectively held and continually developed through education and practice. This leadership needs to be diverse in terms of race, gender, class, nationality, sexuality, and age and we have to be very intentional about developing and lifting up the voices and leadership of those most adversely affected who are pushed forward in struggle. We also have to be intentional about creating inside our organizations structures and processes that are collective and cooperative. This requires within our organizations building relationships and building trust through dialogue and practice across divides. All this takes time and patience.

**Politics Leads And Requires Financial Independence**

Much has been said about the relationship between money and politics – especially that those with the money set the political agenda. This is truly problematic for today’s organizations that say they are committed to social justice and social change, but are part of the vast array of 501(c)(3) organizations with government tax-exempt status, and funded in large measure by foundations and in a few cases by university affiliation. From within these organizations we are having conversations and even conferences about the “501(c)(3)ing” of our justice and equality movement; and often repeat the slogan “the revolution will not be funded” (INCITE! Women of Color, 2007)

Two of the most obvious challenges and contradictions are that funders set agendas; and funders foster turf issues and competition among organizations rather than cooperation and collaboration. Even progressive foundations and universities most often have a reform agenda and even more specific funding guidelines that constrain the political worldview and practice of their grantees. As a result community-based organizations have lost the culture of grassroots fundraising and resource gathering, and find their very survival financially in the hands of external funding sources most of which do not really want social transformation and human liberation. Also, as a result of these dynamics, building collective and egalitarian structures and processes within our organizations and movement are very difficult.

It is important that movement building organizations that take university and/or foundation resources not alter our vision and our work because of these grants. It is critical that we continue to develop our grassroots fundraising as the only way to maintain our political independence, and believe that we can and must “sell” our political analysis and our movement building work to our members and supporters as a long-term strategy for our survival and for the larger project of human liberation.

**Unite Organizing And Educating**

Another challenge to long haul and liberatory movement building is that inside many of our organizations theory and analysis are less valued and given less time than direct action, campaigns, protests, providing services, and advocacy to address immediate needs or fight for short-term policy changes. Clearly both short-term fixes as well as long-term transformative movement building need to
be part of our agenda. Theory has to guide practice both strategically and tactically, and practice needs to inform theory development and application.

For us theory is “living theory” – not theory as doctrine or dogma, but theory as the intellectual side of political struggle and movement building for liberation. We took up popular education within the movement building process to address this need of the movement and our organizations for reflection, analysis, and, as the movement developed, for visioning and political strategy. It remains a challenge to get organizations to take time for reflection, education, and theory. But as crises have intensified and the movement has grown, organizations are a bit more willing to take the time to do this intellectual work of movement building.

Another challenge is the historic campus-community divide, particularly given the separation between radical and revolutionary activists and scholars as a result of the McCarthy era anti-communism and “witch-hunts.” For us the challenge is connecting university-based intellectuals and movement-based intellectuals in a meaningful way within the movement building process so theorizing is rooted in political practice, practice is grounded in living theory, and both sections of society are part of the emerging social movement.

As an organization that, from our beginning, intentionally sought to create a space to bring scholar and grassroots activists together on the basis of equality, we struggle to be a bridge between these communities and to the larger movement. We do this through relationship building and popular education in both movement spaces and campus and scholar spaces. Twenty years ago this was very difficult work and is still difficult today; but as activism and the movement have become more visible, more folks in both communities are willing to take time for the intellectual work of uniting theory and practice.

Think Outside The Box, Have A Bold Vision, And Long-term Strategy

The ideological hegemony of the corporate and political elite permeates peoples’ formal education and mass culture, and thus their consciousness. We often view capitalism, racism, patriarchy, homophobia, etc. as “permanent” structures and social relations, rather than temporary. So the critical work through popular education and living theory to guide the movement through the consciousness, vision, and strategy stages is vital. Understanding social history and the crisis of global capitalism in the electronic age moves those most adversely affected to begin to vision a world and a United States that is not capitalist, not white supremacist, not patriarchal, not homophobic. We have seen this need and desire for visioning and growing need for concrete next steps. Through the theoretically grounded popular education tools we developed to explore consciousness, vision, and strategy, we are able to be part of pushing the movement building process forward in this historic moment.

From Nairobi To Atlanta: Another World Is Happening

Central to this historic moment is the World Social Forum and global social movement process, in response to deepening crises of global capitalism and neoliberal policies over the last two decades. We offer our reflections on the seventh WSF in Kenya and the first ever US Social Forum.

Africa and the World Social Forum 2007

In January 2007, the world came to Africa to talk about the problems of the world – not just the problems of Africa – and how to collectively build the global social movement necessary to
resolve these problems and create the world we vision.

The seventh World Social Forum (WSF) took place in Nairobi, Kenya, January 20-25, 2007 within the context of the African continent whose rich history and culture, and whose human and natural resources have been dominated and exploited by centuries of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and today’s global capitalism. The legacy of this violence, repression, and theft of Africa’s peoples, their labor, their land, and their resources hangs heavy in the air. The widespread and grinding poverty is challenged daily by the tactics of survival – economically, socially and culturally. The people’s resistance is vibrant and their social struggles are growing.

The WSF 2007 in Nairobi, which brought together 60,000 participants, was a powerful and instructive experience. The massive contradictions of the larger society were also found inside the social forum. The most obvious include corporate sponsorship and commercialism, special contracts for government officials, a large police presence to keep the “order,” highly visible church participation, NGOism (large and well-funded non-governmental organizations attempting to silence grassroots and low-income organizations and voices), and slum dwellers fighting to get into the space because of the cost. The entry fee of 500 Kenyan shillings, the equivalent of 1 week’s pay for the average Kenyan, was waived after protests. Another demonstration closed down the prime-spot restaurant and bar run by a top government official, but only after the demonstrators drank and ate everything they wanted.

But the overwhelming reality of WSF 2007 remains the resilience and rising power of the many fronts of struggle in a way not seen before in social forum spaces. African and Kenyan social struggles were highly visible and brought a clear voice. Feminists, led by African women, were well organized and brought forth demands for ending all forms of violence against women and girls – whether violence in war, domestic violence, or physical and cultural violence against their bodies; demands for economic and political equality; and demands for full access to treatment and drugs for HIV/AIDS. The LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) community was more present and militant than in earlier social forums, calling for equality and an end to all forms of oppression. The youth from the slum dwellings of Korogocho and Kibera – two of the largest slums with roughly 200,000 and an estimated 1 million residents, respectively – fought their way into the WSF, and offered workshops and tours to share their day-to-day realities and struggles. The organizing efforts within these slum dwellings are connected to the International Association of Slum Dwellers.

The historic tension within the social forum between the forum as a space for debate and as a social movement building space has been answered for the moment – the Social Movements Assembly has asserted itself and now shares the space. We united behind the slogan of the social movements: “The social forum is not for sale.”

The fourth day, organized by the Social Movements Assembly, was a compelling movement building process. It began with an open mike session in the morning, followed by thematic assemblies to plan coordination and action throughout the year in the various fronts of struggle (workers, women, anti-debt, anti-war, anti-privatization, the People’s Assembly, etc.). The day ended with a gathering of 2000 participants, where socialism was put on the
table as part of our vision for the future. Also discussed was the coordination of days of action for January 2008 (in the place of a 2008 WSF) and the convergence of our fronts of struggle into a unified movement.

This intentional process led by the Social Movements Assembly was, for us, the highlight of WSF 2007. What we take away is how to make this a reality.

The social forum process has its own set of contradictions. The leadership of the WFS, the International Council (IC), is composed of many members who represent both reformist political tendencies as well as revolutionary tendencies; who are largely European and Brazilian; and who are majority scholars rather than social movement activists. At the same time, within the Social Movements Assembly are revolutionary elements who are gathering their forces and gaining strength. This sets the basis for intense political struggle. The question is: “Will they continue to be able to share the social forum space?”

Another key political question is: “How do we build into the social forum process ongoing political education, analysis, vision, and strategizing?” As we plan for coordinated days of action and global campaigns in January 2008 and throughout the year, we also need to pay attention to and create the intentional space for collective study and dialogue, to deepen our consciousness and our intellectual grasp of the systemic nature of our problems and crises, and the transformative quality of our struggles.

The Road to Atlanta and the US Social Forum
What does this mean for the US Social Forum (USSF) and building a transformative movement in the belly of the beast? It means, most strategically, that we in the United States — activists, educators, and organizers — have the responsibility to build a U.S. movement worthy of uniting with our brothers and sisters in the Global South.

As we were gathering our forces in the U.S. and planning for the USSF over the last three years, this was our strategic goal. It set the basis of our struggle to get the USSF to the U.S. South — the historic location of the most intense repression and exploitation and equally intense resistance and struggle, and to insure leadership from people of color and low-income led organizations.

To make this happen, Grassroots Global Justice (GGJ), an alliance of 60 grassroots organizations representing people of color and low-income communities in the United States, took the lead in forming the National Planning Committee (NPC), the coordinating body of the USSF. The NPC, which consists of over 40 organizations, with a majority working class and people of color led, has the overall responsibility of organizing the USSF. The site we selected is Atlanta, GA — home to centuries of struggle for racial, economic and gender justice and equality.

As USSF organizers, we identified four additional goals to move us toward realizing our overall strategic goal of a powerful and transformative US movement.

- Convergence of our diverse fronts of struggle;
- Linking local and global organizing;
- Creating organizational infrastructure and coordination — building trust, relationships, and networks across historic divides;
- Visioning another United States as part of another world.
Another United States is Happening
After three years of organizing and planning, a buzz is growing around the upcoming USSF this summer in Atlanta – June 27-July 1. The question is “Why?”

This is what we think. First, the social forum process was initiated by social movements of oppressed and exploited peoples in the Global South; and no one group in the United States “owns” it. Second, the social forum is being brought home to the United States by grassroots organizations – with people of color and low-income led organizations in the leadership. Third, the social forum is a convergence process of all our fronts of struggle; it is multi-issue and multi-sector, and inclusive of all who are struggling for justice, equality, and peace. Fourth, the social forum is a space where a broad range of political analysis is welcomed – from progressive to revolutionary.

We return to where we began; our liberatory model of learning and teaching is “outside in.” Those of us working inside the academy are moved to deeper reflection and action by the intensifying social struggles in our communities across the globe. Our critical challenge is to become one with today’s rising movement, to become a part of the process and the space in a way that respects the diversity and grassroots leadership of the movement and that links our struggles inside the university with the larger social movement for systemic transformation and liberation.

The mantra of social forum process – “another world is possible,” takes on new meaning for activists, organizers, and educators in the United States in the historical context of hosting the first US Social Forum, June 27-July 1, 2007. Another United States is necessary. It is the ongoing task of the U.S.-based bottom-up movement to vision it and develop the political strategy required. This is why the US Social Forum is the place to be this summer if you are a movement builder, if you have a vision of another world, if you want to make it happen!

REFERENCES & POPULAR EDUCATION RESOURCES
REFERENCES


American Association of University Professors. 2005 (Fall), “Employment Status of All Faculty.” Faculty Matters 1:1. Washington, DC.


Bush, R. 1999. We are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle. NY: NYU Press.


joann@ggjalliance.org www.ggjalliance.org
Section VI: REFERENCES & POPULAR EDUCATION RESOURCES


Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE), *The Environment and Economic Justice Project (EEJP)* with AGENDA, The Los Angeles Metropolitan Alliance,


Section VI: POPULAR & POLITICAL EDUCATION RESOURCE LIST

**WEBSITES**

Catalyst Centre  [www.catalystcentrecaindexhtm](http://www.catalystcentrecaindexhtm)

Center for Popular Education and Participatory Research  [www.gse.berkeley.edu/research/pepr/](http://www.gse.berkeley.edu/research/pepr/)

Centre for Popular Education  [www.cpe.uts.edu.au/](http://www.cpe.uts.edu.au/)

Growing Communities for Peace  [www.humanrightsandpeacestore.org](http://www.humanrightsandpeacestore.org)

Highlander Center  [www.highlandercenter.org](http://www.highlandercenter.org)

IPEA  [www.peopleseducation.org/](http://www.peopleseducation.org/)

Popular Education News.  [www.popednews.org](http://www.popednews.org)


Project South  [www.projectsouth.org](http://www.projectsouth.org)

Resource Center of the Americas  [www.americas.org](http://www.americas.org)

United for a Fair Economy  [www.faireconomy.org](http://www.faireconomy.org)

OTHER RESOURCES
**PROJECT SOUTH PUBLICATIONS**

Project South creates various publications and popular education toolkits for community organizations, educators, facilitators, organizers and others. All Project South publications grow from our work with various communities and community-based organizations. All publications list below can either be purchased on our website or by contacting us by phone or mail.


**PROJECT SOUTH WORKSHOPS**

Project South calls our workshops Building A Movement (BAM) and the general BAM is a 2-day popular education retreat open to all educators, organizers and community members looking for a dynamic space to discuss consciousness, vision and strategy in our growing movement. Below are some examples of workshops that can be tailored to your communities needs.

Anatomy of a Movement: Learning from History to Create the Future
Creating A Vision for Our Movement
Tree of Life
Democracy for the Few: Voting Rights Then and Now
Welfare and Jobs in the New Economy Today’s
Globalization: How Does It Affect You and Me?
The Changing Face of Health Care
Criminal Injustice and the Growing Police State
The Black Radical Tradition
Who’s Got the Money?
Globalization Hits the Hood: Gentrification in the Electronic Age

**OTHER POPULAR EDUCATORS**

Highlander Education & Resource Center
1959 Highlander Way
New Market, TN 37820
phone: (865) 933-3443
fax: (865) 933-3424
www.highlandercenter.org

Institute for People’s Education & Action
140 Pine St., Room 10

Florence, MA 01062
phone: 413-585-8755
www.peopleseducation.org

Catalyst Centre
Suite 500 - 720 Bathurst St.
Toronto, ON M5S 2R4 CANADA
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Georgia Citizens’ Coalition on Hunger  www.gahungercoalition.org

Kensington Welfare Rights Union  www.kwru.org

Youth Action Research Group  http://socialjustice.georgetown.edu/research/yarg/

Alternate ROOTS  www.alternateroots.org/

Families & Friends of Louisiana’s Incarcerated Children (FFLIC)  www.jpl.org

Southwest Organizing Project  211 10th St. SW Albuquerque, N.M. 87102  www.swop.net

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

SEIU 1199 Florida  Jobs With Justice  www.jwj.org
Grassroots Global Justice Network  www.uevermont.org/ggj

National Organizers Alliance  www.noacentral.org

INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE POLITICS NETWORK

Independent Progressive Politics Network  www.ippn.org

Racial Justice 911  www.caaav.org/coalitions/rj911.php
Sociologists Without Borders  www.sociologistswithoutborders.org

World Social Forum  www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/index.php

U.S. Social Forum  www.ussocialforum.org

NATIONAL & GLOBAL NETWORKS

Independent Progressive Politics Network  www.ippn.org

Racial Justice 911  www.caaav.org/coalitions/rj911.php
Sociologists Without Borders  www.sociologistswithoutborders.org

World Social Forum  www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/index.php

U.S. Social Forum  www.ussocialforum.org