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## LECTURE NOTES ON SOCIAL POLICY, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

#### WHAT'S THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THIS CLASS?

- The formal course title, as you certainly know, is Social Legislation and Social Policy.
- The actual subject matter of the course falls into three broad categories:
  - 1. Social problems
  - 2. Policy-oriented solution strategies
  - 3. Principles and practices of lobbying for social change
- The first two thirds of the class will be taken up with looking at social problems and solution strategies; and the final one-third will be devoted to principles and practices of lobbying for social change.

#### WHAT IS "POLICY"?

- A specified course of action for an organizational or institutional actor, set out in law, ordinance, administrative rule, procedure, practice, judicial ruling, etc., formally or informally adopted, that *enables or restricts rights, roles, and re*sources for specific individuals, groups, and populations under particular circumstances.
- What are some examples of formal policy—say in relation to this class?
- What are some *examples of informal policy*? (E.g., discrimination in hiring practices.)
- What is an *example of informal policy determining practice*? (E.g., racial profiling by the New Jersey state police.)

#### WHY DO PUBLIC POLICIES GET MADE? (AS OPPOSED TO HOW)

- Typically we think of a *political compromise* between competing interests over a well-defined problem or concern.
- What would be an example—say, for example, regarding the current national debate on immigration policy?
- Why do you imagine that a *bank's policy to redline a residential area* gets made? (Spurred by competitive pressures and desire for greater profits.)
- Why do you imagine a policy like *lifeline utility rates gets made*? (Spurred by fortuitous coming together of activists and organizers.)

• What about a policy like *restrictive deed covenants*? (Probably the initial result of profit-driven individual developers, but eventually becoming institutionalized.)

#### WHAT ARE THE **BASIC TYPES** OF POLICY?

- *Regulatory* policy *limits the action(s) of persons or groups* to protect the public interest. (For example, consider the recent debate over Oxycontin.)
- *Distributive* policy determines *how the income on wealth will be shared* with various groups. (This is the arena in which social welfare policy is made.)
- *Redistributive* policy determines *redistribution of political or economic resources*, i.e., wealth itself rather than the income on wealth. (Examples would be changes in policy of granting FCC licenses, bank charters, or in the formation of public jurisdictions.)
- *Constitutional*—what may be also be called structural or deep policy—affects the *basic structures of society*, such as those expanding voting rights or eliminating the tax on wealth, and are usually very long-lived.
- *Policy targeting* may also be characterized according to whether it primarily serves a special interest or the commonweal or public interest, and whether it is aimed at achieving equity or equality.

### WHO ARE THE *PRIMARY PLAYERS* IN THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS?

- Wealthy individuals (e.g., Bill Gates)
- Powerful political advocates (e.g., Senator Diane Feinstein, etc.)
- Organized *corporate special interest lobbying* groups (e.g., oil and gas lobby, pharmaceutical industry lobby, etc.)
- Organized, *nonprofit public interest lobbying organizations* (e.g., Common Cause, Nader organization, etc.)
- Organized labor unions and labor federations.
- Established, nonprofit special interest national membership organizations (e.g., NRA, AARP, Sierra Club, Greenpeace, etc.)
- Challenging nonprofit grassroots organizations, federations, and coalitions (e.g., IAF, PICO, etc.)
- Challenging nonprofit Internet-based organizations (e.g., USAction, MoveOn, and ActForChange).

# WHAT ARE THE LOCAL, REGIONAL, STATEWIDE, AND NATIONAL ARENAS OF POLICY-MAKING THAT WE'RE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN?

- *Public*: city councils, county boards of supervisors, state legislatures and regulatory bodies (e.g., public utility commissions), and the Congress.
- *Private profit-making*: corporations, business organizations (e.g., chambers of commerce, the Business Roundtable, etc.), and professional organizations (e.g., the AMA, NASW, etc.).
- *Private nonprofit*: foundations, universities, professional associations (lawyers, doctors, etc.).

#### WHO MAY INTRODUCE A POLICY PROPOSAL OR PROPOSED LEGIS-LATION?

- Only a *member* of Congress or other legislative body may directly introduce legislation.
- At the state and local level, however, through the *initiative and referendum* processes, laws and ordinances may be introduced through petitioning and balloting.
- This process may even be used to introduce structural policy, say in the form of creating a new public jurisdiction, such as a city or special district.

#### WHAT ARE THE MAIN VARIABLES IN POLICY-MAKING OUTCOMES?

- Power
- Public or private interest
- Expertise
- Publicity

#### WHO ARE THE MAIN EXPERTS IN PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING?

- *Corporate spokespeople* who have massive resources and access to gather and present expert opinion
- Corporate lobbyists
- *Public bureaucrats* who have longevity, knowledge, access to officials, legislative mandate, and political savvy
- *Legislative committees* that make critical trade-offs (bargaining and negotiating) and have long-term continuity in the policy-making process
- Public interest lobbies, institutes, think-tanks, and research organizations

#### WHAT ARE SOME OF THE *THIRD-PARTY ORGANIZATIONS* THAT IN-FLUENCE POLICY-MAKING?

- Print press and broadcast media
- Regulatory agencies and organizations
- Civil and criminal courts
- Universities and colleges

### WHAT ARE THE MAIN THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS?

- *Rational problem-solving* assumes that policy-making reflects *rational assess-ment* of all relevant values, interests, and outcomes for the sake of the general public interest.
- *Interest group* policy-making assumes that policy is the outcome of openly *competing pluralistic interests*.
- *Elite-dominated* policy-making assumes that a handful of *wealthy and powerful individuals are dominating* the process.
- *Incremental* policy-making assumes that policy-making is largely an *evolutionary process*, with each policy reflecting those that came before it.

#### WHAT IS A "SOCIAL PROBLEM"?

- One conventional definition is that a social problem exists when there is a sizable gap between social ideals and their actual realization in social life.
- So, given that definition, is "racial discrimination" a social problem?
  - 1. Who says so?
  - 2. What makes it a social problem?
  - 3. How can we say that our social ideal is equality if the dominant social forces maintain discrimination on a relatively large scale?
  - 4. What is it that feeds those forces of discrimination?
- How does a sociologist reach a definite conclusion on whether or not racial discrimination is a social problem?
- In professional community organizing practice, we use three different but related terms to deal with this subject:
  - 1. Social *conditions*, such as the fact of racial discrimination, regardless of any value judgments about it;
  - 2. Social *problems*, such as when a group of people determine that a social condition injures them or adversely affects their interests; and
  - 3. Social *issues*, which emerge when the interests affected by a particular problem motivate different groups to take competing or conflicting positions on a particular problem.

### WHAT'S THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

- What is a social movement?
- What's the difference between an organized social movement and one that's unorganized?
- How does a social movement begin? [PUNISHING CONDITIONS AND PEO-PLE TALKING TOGETHER ABOUT THEM]

- Suppose you're one of those thousands of working class people, like household domestics, who has to rely on public transportation in L.A.
  - 1. You live in a low-income neighborhood, far away from the upper-middle-income neighborhood in which you work.
  - 2. You can't afford a car, insurance, and upkeep.
  - 3. Public transportation is slow, expensive, and not reliable, causing you to suffer both personal and economic hardship.
  - 4. What might that hardship entail?
- What's the obstacle to the emergence of a social movement, which requires that people begin talking about these punishing conditions and identifying them as shared social problems?

# THE FIRST STEP IN RESOLVING SOCIAL PROBLEMS REQUIRES THE EXISTENCE OF COMMUNITY, OR THE BUILDING OR REBUILDING OF COMMUNITY IF NECESSARY.

- What is "community" and why should it be essential to resolving social problems?
- What's the difference between a *community* and, let's say, a "population," an "institution," an "organization," or a "group"?
- The community structures in which the seeds of the civil rights movement were planted in the South after World War II were:
  - 1. Beauty parlors and barber shops
  - 2. Churches
- When I began community organizing in Compton more than 30 years ago, crime there was totally out of control—a very small percentage of individuals were criminally victimizing the large law-abiding majority.
  - 1. The police department was incompetent and corrupt.
  - 2. It has since been disbanded and replaced by a contract with the L.A. County Sheriffs, which apparently has not resolved the social problem of crime in Compton.
  - 3. It was so bad in the early 1980s that many people had stopped reporting crimes and were afraid to leave their homes unattended to go to church.
  - 4. Here's the interesting piece: When I began organizing in the Compton Gardens neighborhood, I learned two salient facts almost immediately: (a) the neighborhood park had been taken over by gangs many years before, dead bodies were frequently discovered there, and neighborhood residents had not used the park for years; and (b) very few residents knew their neighbors well enough to address them by name, so there was virtually no talk about the problems of gangs and the park.
- The point is that nothing could happen to resolve those problems without the existence of community with relationship networks that gave residents the op-

- portunity to acknowledge the conditions, reach agreement on which were problems for them, work out their positions on the issues, and formulate plans for taking action together.
- So the first step was to bring neighborhood residents together informally to get acquainted, discover their common problems, and identify their common interest in organizing themselves to take action.

#### WHICH BRINGS US TO THE SECOND STEP IN RESOLVING SOCIAL PROBLEMS—BUILDING ORGANIZATIONS.

- Why would people in Compton in 1981 need to build neighborhood organizations?
- What do you imagine are some of the advantages of formal organizations if a neighborhood wants to deal with a social problem?
- Organizations offer opportunities for the development of:
  - 1. Competent and committed leaders
  - 2. Widely shared understandings about conditions, problems, and issues
  - 3. Strategic and tactical plans
  - 4. Disciplined political action
  - 5. Alliances and coalition-building with other organizations
- When organizations with common goals and methods begin to ally themselves—whether in the labor movement, the civil rights movement, or a town like Compton—we get the beginnings of *organized* movement.
- In Compton, some dozen neighborhood-organizations came together in a citywide movement to deal with crime.

#### SO LET'S CONSIDER MOVEMENTS IN MORE DETAIL.

- What are some movements that we might regard as successful, even if we don't particularly share their interests or ideologies?
  - 1. American independence in the 18<sup>th</sup> century
  - 2. Mormons in the 19<sup>th</sup> century
  - 3. Labor in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

  - 4. Civil rights in the 20<sup>th</sup> century
    5. Women in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries
- What are the benchmarks of their success—why do we regard them as success ful?
  - 1. Achieved changes in institutional policies and practices
  - 2. Achieved changes in institutionalized structures
  - 3. Achieved a permanent place at the "table of power"
  - 4. Institutionalized their own resource-acquisition (e.g., through tithes, taxes, payroll-deduction dues, etc.)
- But why did they succeed—what were the critical variables in their success?

- 1. Historic punishing conditions that fostered widespread identification with the movement
- 2. Inspiring moral and strategic vision
- 3. Commitment to effective leadership development
- 4. Commitment to building federations, coalitions, and alliances
- 5. Development of a professional organizing cadre (i.e., trained and full-time working staff)
- 6. Courage and competence to mount large-scale social and political actions and campaigns that confront and engage in constructive conflict with powerful opponents
- 7. Persistence born of necessity and insight into incremental character of constructive and durable fundamental social change