

# *ORGANIZING:* A GUIDE FOR STAFF UNIONS



*A summary of:*

Chapter 2

POWER:

The Power of Relationships and Struggle  
in Union in Organizing

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## *POWER:*

The Power of Relationships and Struggle  
in Union in Organizing



*To obtain this PowerPoint File:*



Mike Horner, Washington Education  
Association Staff Organization at

[mhorner@washingtonea.org](mailto:mhorner@washingtonea.org)

# *POWER:*



“Power consists of one’s capacity to link his will with the purpose of others, to lead by reason and a gift of cooperation.”

- Woodrow Wilson, Twenty-eights President of the United States

# *It Takes Power to succeed*

- Power is essential for progress
- Unions must apply principled power
- The COG method is an exceptionally effective organizing system

The principles and dynamics of building and applying power are the essential starting point for all union organizing campaigns

# *The Nature and Use of Power*

Every social act is an exercise of power, every social relationship is a power equation, and every social group or system is an organization of power.”

- A. Hawley, Community Power.

# *Power is pervasive*



## Power is reflected

- Orders from our bosses and those we give our children
- Suggestions we give and get from our spouses
- “who is in power” – “power of solidarity” – “organizational power”

# *Power Dynamics – Hotly Contested and Poorly Explained*

- “the capacity to accomplish great things”
- “the means to dominate someone”
- Approaches to power
- Types of power
- Sources of power
- Roles/Functions of power



# *Concept of power remains elusive*

- Voltaire simply pronounced, “Power consists of making others act as I choose.”
- Talcott Parsons understood power to be “the general capacity of a social system ‘to get things done in the interest of collective goals.’”
- Cicero said “Freedom is participation in power.”

# *Concept of power remains elusive*



*English labor scholar, John Kelly observed:*

“Because we have no clear and agreed-upon definition of power in industrial relations, we lack a reliable way of measuring it and we do not have a convincing theory of its acquisition and appointment.”

# *Concept of power remains elusive*



*It should be no surprise that both union organizers and bargain unit members repeatedly question the function and use of power in the workplace.*

# *Question power in the workplace*



- “Should we be comfortable with the notion that our union has and can exercise power?”
- “Should unions avoid manipulating or controlling the behavior of others by rejecting the use of power altogether?”

# *Question power in the workplace*



- “Are there generally applicable systems, dynamics, or rules for building power?”
- “What are the commonly accepted practices for how to apply power effectively?”

# *Power Is Complex and Variable*



Start with our definition of “organizing” –

Individuals banding together to create a *power base* for the purpose of achieving mutual self-interest.

# *Power is complex*



- In organizing, power is best understood and employed as a union's capacity to mobilize resources to achieve a principled purpose.

# *Power is complex*



- Organizers must help members overcome any resistance to taking collective actions in support of a common purpose.



# *Power is complex*



- Power can be used for good purposes (the principled use of power)

or

- Power can be used for bad purposes (the unprincipled use of power) .

# *The Principled Use of Power:*

- The principled use of power builds or achieves something worthwhile.
- The principled use of power requires unions — their *leaders* and organizers, and perhaps even their rank-and-file unit members — to understand the complexities of power.
- The principled use of power requires a working understand the dynamics of power and its application.

# *Recognize 3 operating principles*



1. Power is a relationship — power is an integral part of the relationships among people in the workplace

# *Recognize 3 operating principles*



2. Power is a tool to advance or maintain people's real, concrete interests through conflict

# *Recognize 3 operating principles*



3. The foundations of power differ — from claims of entitlement, money, and the threat of sanctions to being based on people and the commitment arising from people's willingness to act collectively and in concert

# *Power is built from relationships*

- Allocation of power can be changed and improved
  - Inequitable power relationships or disparities persist because someone benefits from them

# *Power is built from relationships*



- Power is not a zero-sum entity
  - Empowerment comes from shared power
  - Shared power benefits members, leaders and the overall organization's capabilities

# *Power is built from relationships*

- Progress unions/members seek requires conflict
  - With those who hold and control economic, political, social and moral resources
  - Some might be resolved through reasoned persuasion or “give-and-take” compromise
  - Some only through resolve through struggle on the basis of POWER



# *Power Determines Fairness and Justice in the Workplace*

- Justice is the Basis for American Ideals
  - Society must hold the widest range of political or social liberty compatible with the same liberty for all other members of the society .

# *Power Determines Fairness and Justice in the Workplace*

- Justice is the Basis for American Ideals
  - Society must not permit inequalities in power, wealth, income, and other social resources to exist, except insofar as they work to the absolute benefit of the worst-off members of society.

# *Power Determines Fairness and Justice in the Workplace*

- Working People Demand Justice and Fairness
  - Both from the Employer and the Union
  - Getting the same treatment – no favoritism
  - Employers must recognize people's abilities and performance
  - Employers must live up to their management's promises

# *Procedural Justice*



## *Fair processes:*

- *Does the employer give me a fair opportunity to be heard in the workplace?*
  - Allocation of rewards and burdens of work life
  - Fair decision-making process

# *Procedural Justice*



## *Fair processes:*

- *Do I get my “day in court” (voice, accurate, consistent, unbiased)?*
  - Overriding focus of union “service” model of representation

# *Interactional Justice*

## *Fair interpersonal treatment:*

- *Does the employer treat me with dignity and respect?*
  - The manner in which work rules, procedures, and employment decisions outcomes are actually implemented
  - The workplace as partnership which permits the people actually doing the work to control their own work lives

# *Interactional Justice*



## *Fair interpersonal treatment:*

- *Does the employer give me adequate explanations?*
  - Permits the people actually doing the work to control their own work lives

# *Distributive Justice*

## *Fair workplace outcomes:*

- *Does the employer give me what I deserve (pay, benefits, promotions, recognition, etc.)?*
  - Employment rewards are consistent with the actual contributions they make or bring to a workplace



# *Distributive Justice*



## *Fair workplace outcomes:*

- *Does the employer give me what I deserve (pay, benefits, promotions, recognition, etc.)?*
  - Many employers disregard both job performance and seniority

# *Distributive Justice*

## *Fair workplace outcomes*

- *Does the employer give me what I deserve (pay, benefits, promotions, recognition, etc.)?*
  - Disparities in the pay ratio between bosses and workers has become increasingly understood as a violation of the standards of distributive justice

# *Power's Purpose & Function in Organizing*



“Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love. Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment.”

- Mohandas Gandhi, community organizer & revolutionary

# *Power's Purpose & Function*

“Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are people who want crops without plowing the ground; they want rain without thunder and lightning; they want the ocean without the roar of its many waters. The struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, or it may be both. But *it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand; it never has and it never will.*”

- Frederick Douglass, civil rights organizer & revolutionary

# *Power and Struggle*

- Most effective approach is by “organizing”
- Determines whether or not a union “wins or loses”
- Power is the *essential* element that permits achievement of objectives
- Foundation for and the engine of organizing

# *Organizers Must*

- Develop an intuitive mastery of the purposes and functions of power.
- Have a practical understanding of how power functions.
- Know both how to build power and how, when, whether, and way to USE power.
- Without this “performance understanding” organizers will not WIN workplace justice.

# *Two Approaches in Exercising Power*



In American society, power exists and people commonly exercise it through two primary approaches:

***The Power-Over***

and

***The Power-To***

# *Collective Exercise*

## *“The Power-To”*

Capturing the nature of *the power-over*, sociologist C. Wright Mills observed:

“By the powerful we mean, of course those who are able to realize their will, even if others resist it.”



# *Unilateral Exercise*

## *“The Power-Over”*

- One’s ability to dictate to another
- Other person’s contrary wishes are irrelevant
- Exercised to promote expediency of the moment
- Domination and exploitation

# *Unilateral Exercise*

## *“The Power-Over”*

- Deprivation of essential resources by the mean-spirited who object to government and its support through taxation
- Many react negatively to the very notion of “power” and the attempt to avoid and even seek to refrain from using it

# *Collective Exercise*

## *“The Power-To”*

Capturing the nature of *the power-to*, Martin Luther King, Jr., observed:

“Now, *power* properly understood *is* nothing but *the ability to achieve purpose*. It is the strength required to bring about social, political, and economic change. In this sense power is not only desirable but necessary in order to implement the demands of love and justice.”

# *Collective Exercise*

## *“The Power-To”*

- Functions as the ability to effectively act, the capacity to accomplish something of merit
- Capacity to achieve change through sustained *public* relationships
- Emphasizes the principled exercise of power:
  - using legitimate means to achieve principled, socially responsible ends
  - use of power in the service of the progress for us all.

<b>Element</b>	<b>Power-To</b>	<b>Power-Over</b>
<i>System orientation is . . .</i>	Inclusive	Exclusive
<i>System focus is . . .</i>	Bi-lateral	Unilateral
<i>Conduct is . . .</i>	Reciprocated, horizontal relationship building	Top down dictates
<i>Empowering force is . . .</i>	Trust, openness, mutual respect, & shared interests	Unilateral (& often coercive) influence
<i>Motivation is . . .</i>	Mutual benefit	Selective domination
<i>Primary value is . . .</i>	Collective	Individualistic
<i>Decision-making practice is . . .</i>	Open and public	Closed and personal
<i>Decision-making approach is . . .</i>	Democratic	Authoritarian
<i>Goal is . . .</i>	Collective power	Personal power
<i>Objective is . . .</i>	Mutual benefit & a shared desire for progress	Self-centered, exclusive control (& often domination) over benefits
<i>Calculus of benefit is . . .</i>	Synergistic & non-zero-sum	Instrumental & zero-sum
<i>Tactical orientation is . . .</i>	Unity & solidarity	Divide & conquer

# *The Power-Over & The Power-To*

Neither fully explains the realities of the workplace

- Day-to-day regularities of work life reality are neither one nor the other
- All authority systems and power structures inherently depend on people's support or acquiescence
- The fundamental nature of power in the workplace is contingent and conditional

# *The Power-Over & The Power-To*

Neither fully explains the realities of the workplace

- Good employers rely on *The Power-To* provide meaningful work and accomplish socially valuable objectives
- Bad employers exercise *The Power-Over* to deny employees dignified employment and self-actualization. They pursue selfish objectives and personal profit.

# *The Power-Over & The Power-To*

Neither fully explains the realities of the workplace

- Good unions rely on *The Power-To* to promote their members' common interests and accomplish socially valuable objectives
- Bad unions exercise *The Power-Over* to deny their members' self-determination and power. They pursue selfish objectives and personal profit.



# *The Power-Over & The Power-To*

Neither fully explains the realities of the workplace

- Good Employers & good unions exercise both Expert and Referent Power to accomplish legitimate, principled objectives
- Good Employers & good unions exercise Legitimate, Reward, and Coercive Power to induce others to accede to their legitimate, principled interests.

# *The Power-Over & The Power-To*

Neither fully explains the realities of the workplace

- Bad Employers & bad unions exercise both Expert and Referent Power to accomplish illegitimate, unprincipled objectives
- Bad Employers & bad unions exercise Legitimate, Reward, and Coercive Power to induce others to accede to their illegitimate, unprincipled interests.

# *The Power-Over & The Power-To*



## *The Power-Over*

- Employers and supervisors often create conditions in which employees are dependent on their goodwill
- They attempt to exercise The Power-Over employees

# *The Power Over & The Power To*



## *The Power-To*

- The real power in the workplace emanates from the collective strength of employees and their union
- All authority systems and power structures inherently depend on people's support or acquiescence
- *Should people choose to assert themselves, they can and often do change the system.*

# *The Sources of Power*

- People may be born rich, but they are not born powerful
- Power originates for identifiable sources
- Based on and originate from social relationships of various kinds
- Origins can be identified and understood

# *French & Raven's Taxonomy of Power*

French and Raven advanced a widely accepted system for classifying (*i.e.*, a “taxonomy”) the sources of power.

This taxonomy identified five sources of power.

# *French & Raven's Taxonomy of Power*

## *Three Sources of Power are Positional*

- Legitimate Power
- Reward Power
- Coercive Power

# *French & Raven's Taxonomy of Power*

## *Two Sources of Power are Interpersonal*

- Expert Power
- Referent Power



# *Legitimate Power*

- Formal position/authority to a legitimate right to require and demand compliance
- Exercises influence OVER the Target
- Based on the belief that the Power Actor has a “right” to exact compliance
- Target has the obligation to comply

# *Reward Power*

- Based on positive reinforcement
- Power Actor exercises influence over Target
- Offers and confer valued material (monetary and non-monetary) inducements
- Includes status, preferential treatment, favor or other intangible rewards
- May even approximate coercion

# *Coercive Power*



- Raw Power
- Target wishes to avoid sanctions or punishments within the control of the Actor
- Real or believed capacity to dispense punishment to those who don't voluntarily comply
- Rules, orders, “requests”, laws or demands

# *Expert Power*

- Based on valued skill, expertise, knowledge or information
- Actor influences Target by relying on Target's acceptance of Actor's special knowledge or expertise
- Expertise is relevant and important to person or organization
- Originates from a capacity to think, analyze, solve problems and make good decisions to produce desired results

# *Referent Power*

- Based on identification, affinity, relationship and reciprocity.
- Actor influences by reciprocity of a relationship
- Real capacity to promote identification, develop affinities and form strategic alliances

<b>Source of Power</b>	<b>Description</b>
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**Positional Power Sources:**

<b><i>Legitimate Power</i></b>	The Power Actor exercises influence <i>over</i> the Target (induces the person targeted to engage in desired behavior) based on a belief that the Power Actor has a “right” to exact compliance and the person targeted has a correlative obligation to comply.
<b><i>Reward Power</i></b>	The Power Actor exercises influence <i>over</i> the Target through the capacity to offer and confer valued material (monetary or non-monetary) inducements.
<b><i>Coercive Power</i></b>	The Power Actor exercises influence <i>over</i> the Target who wishes to avoid sanctions or punishments, believed to be controlled by or within the capacity of the Power Actor.

**Interpersonal Power Sources:**

<b><i>Expert Power</i></b>	The Power Actor exercises influence <i>with</i> the Target by relying on the Target’s acceptance of the Power Actor’s special knowledge about or expertise in the best way to do something.
<b><i>Referent Power</i></b>	The Power Actor exercises influence <i>with</i> the Target by relying on a reciprocal relationship between the Target and the Power Actor. The Target views the Power Actor as model against which the Target evaluates behavior and beliefs ( <i>i.e.</i> , the Target “refers” to the Power Actor & “confers” power on the Power Actor).

# *French & Raven's Taxonomy of Power*

French and Raven's taxonomy of the sources of power has practical utility. Their 5 power source taxonomy:

- Meets the day-to-day needs of Organizers

# *French & Raven's Taxonomy of Power*

French and Raven's taxonomy of the sources of power has practical utility. Their 5 power source taxonomy:

- Provides a ready and relatively clear tool for identifying, differentiating, and describing power in the work place



# *French & Raven's Taxonomy of Power*

French and Raven's taxonomy of the sources of power has practical utility. Their 5 power source taxonomy:

- Can be used to identify the power relationship in a particular organizing environment and determining its affects

# *French & Raven's Taxonomy of Power*

French and Raven's taxonomy of the sources of power has practical utility. Their 5 power source taxonomy:

- Is an effective tool for planning and implementing organizing strategies and tactics to create, build, and apply union power

# *Dynamics and Mechanisms of Power in Organizing*



“Power is not only what you have,  
but what the enemy thinks you  
have!”

- Saul Alinsky

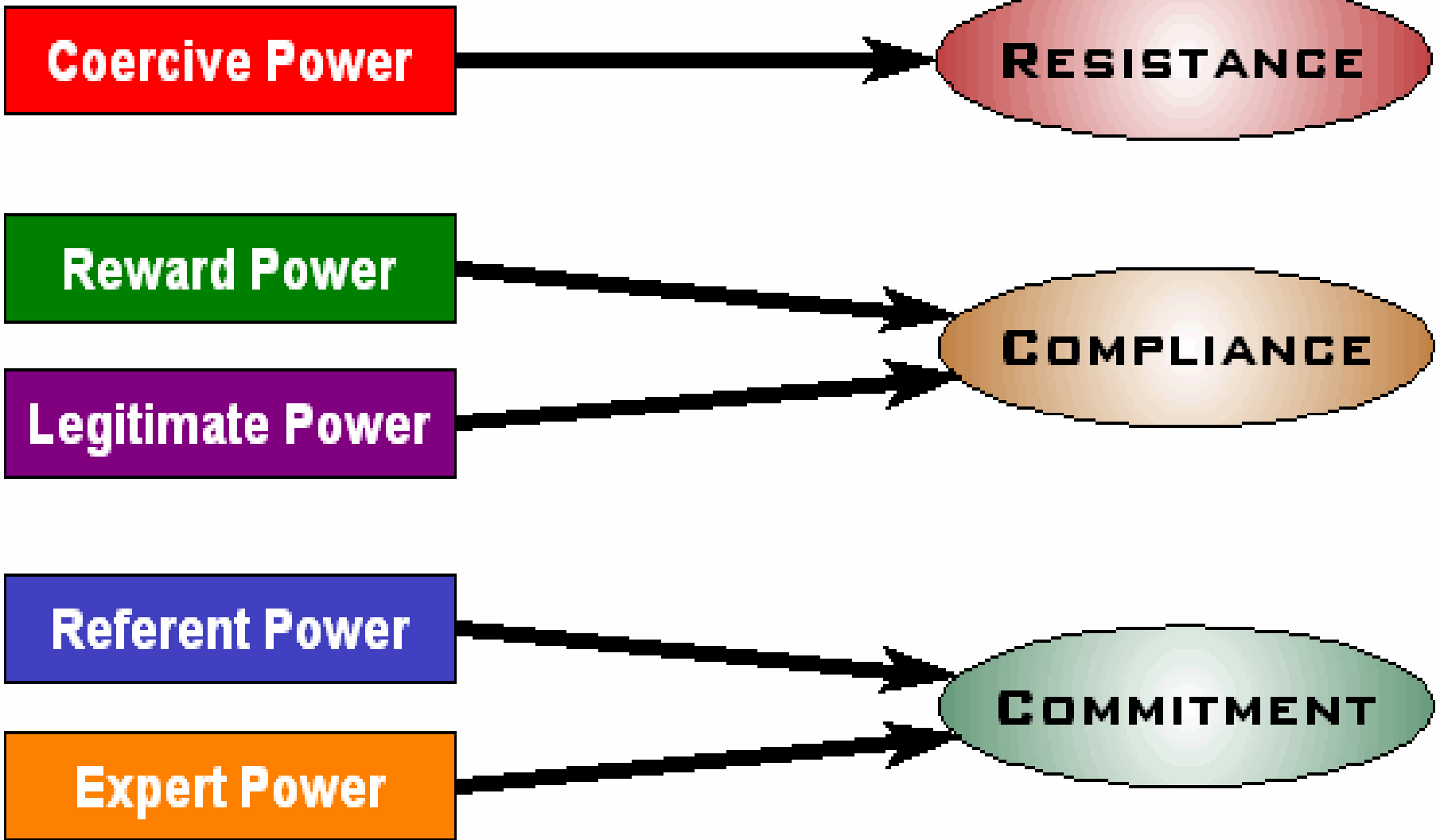
# *Power has Predictable Consequences*

All exercises of power have three potential outcomes:

- *Compliance*
- *Resistance*
- *Commitment*

*Sources of Power*

*Consequences of Power*



<i>Source of Power</i>	<i>Consequences of The Exercise of Power</i>		
	<b>Resistance</b>	<b>Compliance</b>	<b>Commitment</b>
<i>Coercive Power</i>	<i>Most Likely Outcome, if:</i> Power Actor uses power in a punitive, manipulative, oppressive, or arrogant manner	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> Power Actor uses power in a progressive and non-punitive manner to achieve ends consistent with the culture of the workplace	Very Unlikely Outcome
<i>Legitimate Power</i>	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> Power Actor uses power in a punitive, manipulative, arrogant, regressive, or "illegitimate" manner or for improper ends or goals	Most Likely Outcome, if: Power Actor uses power in a benign manner or for proper ends or goals	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> Target sees the Power Actor's ends and means for power as proper and the Target strongly shares the goals
<i>Reward Power</i>	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> The reward is insufficient or infrequent; or the Power Actor uses power in a punitive, manipulative, arrogant, or regressive manner	Most Likely Outcome, if: The reward is sufficient and frequent enough & the Power Actor uses power in a benign manner	<i>Possible Outcome if:</i> The Target views the reward as VERY generous, its frequency is assured, and the Power Actor uses power in a subtle, very personal manner
<i>Expert Power</i>	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> Power Actor uses power in a manipulative, arrogant, or regressive manner; or the Target opposes the task or the expert's goals	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> Power Actor uses power persuasively, but the Target is neutral or relatively apathetic about the task or goals	Most Likely Outcome, if: Power Actor uses power persuasively/ the Target shares Power Actor's perspective-interests in the task - wishes to achieve the goals
<i>Referent Power</i>	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> Target opposes the task or its goals or Power Actor uses power contrary to the Target's convictions or interests	<i>Possible Outcome, if:</i> Target views the task-goals as unimportant/relatively uncostly; Power Actor uses power in a manner irrelevant to the Target's interests	Most Likely Outcome, if: Power Actor shares power and is worthy of trust & the Target believes the Power Actor to be a model against which to refer

# *Power has Predictable Consequences*

Organizers need to understand the results an exercise of power produces and anticipate its consequence on the Targets of power. Only then can organizers really use to their union's advantage.

# *The Organizer's Job*



- Identify who exercises power, identify the sources of their power, and predict the consequences of the exercise of power
- Then organize to shift the balance in particular workplace to constructive democratic, bottom-up form of power



# *The Organizer's Job*



- Manage the consequences of employers' exercise of power
- Create and manage the conflict which results from exercise of power by constructively, appropriately selecting and applying power from one or more of the five sources of power.

# *Power Originates from Identifiable Sources with Predictable Consequences*



## Working organizers:

- Must understand and be able to recognize the patterns of causation inherent in exercising any sources of power.

# *Power Originates from Identifiable Sources with Predictable Consequences*



## Working organizers:

- Must be able to predict and account for these outcomes, regardless of whether the power is exercised by their own union or by their employer adversary.

# *Power Originates from Identifiable Sources with Predictable Consequences*



## Working organizers:

- Must also understand the dynamics that actually produce these consequences.

# *Employers Use Three Mechanisms to Assert “Power Over”*

Power Actors use “power over” in complex and frequently covert ways.

Organizers must:

- Anticipate
- React
- Adapt to
- Counter

employers’ uses of power over & against members

# *Steven Lukes: Three Dimensions*



Lukes understood that the means the powerful use to promote their interests and gain of others like them operated in three dimensions. Lukes exposed the three faces of power.

# *Steven Lukes: Three Dimensions*

Expose the means that the powerful use to promote their interests for their own gain and the gain of others like them by their

- Influence of outcomes in open competition
- Control by decision-making by limiting/avoiding participation
- Influence of people's understandings to control expectations, wants and demands

in an open pluralistic decision-making process

# *First Dimension of Power*

The capacity to effectively mobilize material and non-material resources to influence outcomes.

- Overt, formal decision-making activities
- Rule driven, game-like processes of bargaining
- Influence over jobs, raises, conditions and professional discretion



# *First Dimension of Power*

- Public Policies that determine, governs and implements workplace health, safety, conditions, overtime, compensation, retirement.
- Raw political and economic POWER over
- Typified by anti-democratic, “special interest” control over decision-making

# *Second Dimension of Power*

The capacity to control access to the decision-making process to promote Power Actor's own interests:

- Limits or avoids open pluralistic decision-making
- Power to “decide” prior to formal process
- Intentionally includes or excludes agenda and people by controlling access to process

## *Second Dimension of Power*

- Pre-determination of mandatory or permissive subjects of bargaining
- Using Labor Law to foreclose certain subjects for consideration or open discussion
- Uses Labor Law to take “permissive subjects” off the collective bargaining agenda while still claiming “good faith”

# *Third Dimension of Power*

The capacity to effectively shape perception, preferences, ideologies, and worldviews

- Controls workplace by shaping wants, demands and expectations
- Shape how employees understand their work and the world – also used with general public
- Attempt to define our frameworks, understandings, interpretations, preferences of work; our community and our society

# *Third Dimension of Power*

- Attempt to shape the very consciousness of the people they wish to control or disenfranchise
- Influence employees expectations of their own role in the work place, other employees, their boss and even union organizers
- Control entitlements and intentionally use power to pre-determine all aspects of the world

	<b><i>First Dimension of Power</i></b>	<b><i>Second Dimension of Power</i></b>	<b><i>Third Dimension of Power</i></b>
Power is understood & functions as:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Completion among, publicly acknowledged issues in an open political system</li> <li>• Groups win or lose</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to arenas where Power Actors decide policies and issues</li> <li>• Interest groups hold or are excluded from "seat at the table"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shape consciousness of issues through socialization; religious/ethical tenets; laws; information control (e.g. advertising, spin, secrecy)</li> <li>• Prevent issues, beliefs or understandings from ever arising</li> </ul>
Causal theory of power	Operates with "invisible hand of the market" and the political processes efficiently allocates materials and nonmaterial resources	Political/legal processes sort out those worthy to make policies and allocates resources competently	Competition in the market place of ideas sorts out meritorious convictions, views, ideologies and beliefs
Powerlessness is primarily caused by:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of resources to compete effectively</li> <li>• Individual choice</li> </ul>	Structural or systemic barriers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exclude certain groups from arenas of power and certain issues from being raised</li> <li>• Denial of necessary resources for exercising power</li> </ul>	Ideology and consciousness barriers shape: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expectations of powerlessness</li> <li>• Lack of critical consciousness</li> <li>• Censorship and filtering of information</li> <li>• Self-blame by the victim</li> </ul>
Understanding of nonparticipation:	Not a problem, but a reflection of individuals apathy or relative contentment with status quo	Not a problem, but a reflection of a group's lack of worth or capacity to effectively participate in decision-making	Not seen at all, understood as the natural order of things

	<b><i>First Dimension of Power</i></b>	<b><i>Second Dimension of Power</i></b>	<b><i>Third Dimension of Power</i></b>
Empowerment strategies focus on:	<p><b>Service Approach:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Service on behalf</li> <li>• Professional policy leadership &amp; “expert” knowledge</li> <li>• Education not needed; citizenship automatically brings self-evident knowledge of participation in the system</li> <li>• Issues/Policies are narrow and “winnable” by good faith participation &amp; application of the rules of existing system</li> <li>• Setting of agendas &amp; priorities; formulation and enactment or repeal of policies</li> </ul>	<p><b>Advocacy/Citizen Action Approach:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocacy for or with</li> <li>• Professional advocates (e.g. lawyers, lobbyist, business reps) represents local organizations &amp; and their leadership</li> <li>• Education on operating the system available</li> <li>• Issues/Policies “winnable” by challenges to allocation of power and forcing the existing system to follow its own professed rules</li> <li>• Building powerful representation organizations to exert influence over policy formation and implementation</li> </ul>	<p><b>Organizing Approach:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organizers follow Alinsky’s “Iron Rule” to frame issues, create conflict &amp; build &amp; apply power through organizing</li> <li>• Grassroots rank &amp; file decision-making</li> <li>• Educate to develop political awareness, consciousness of rights &amp; capacity for power</li> <li>• Issues/Policies “winnable” by focusing and managing conflict to force concession of power and change the rules of the system</li> <li>• Building collective power within &amp; among organizations to demand power over policy formation and implementation</li> </ul>
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Change Action concentrates on:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual bargaining obtains satisfactory wages, hours &amp; working conditions</li> <li>• Petitioning the government for redress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collective bargaining obtains satisfactory wages, hours &amp; working conditions</li> <li>• Political contributions &amp; lobbying the government for redress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work place organizing to force the employer bargaining concessions needed to obtain desirable wages, hours &amp; working conditions</li> <li>• Political organizing on issues &amp; candidates to obtain appropriate policy</li> </ul>



# *Three Dimensions Applied to Five Sources*



- Employers' capacity to apply power originates from one or more of the French and Raven typology's five sources of power.
- May begin by using Legitimate Power based on their ownership or supervisory status

# *Three Dimensions Applied to Five Sources*

- Failing compliance, they escalate to the use Reward or Coercive Power to influence employees and their unions
- Employers exercise Reward Power by extending promotions (or other favored status) to their bargaining unit supporters: “want-to-be” managers, stooges, and scabs
- Where Legitimate and Reward Power alone are insufficient, few employers hesitate to apply Coercive Power through threats of employee job loss or salary reduction

# *Unions must change these dimensions and the allocation of power*

- “Restrike the Balance.”
- Use Referent and Expert Power
  - Build the “people power” needed to influence decision-making outcomes
  - Apply it by mobilizing member collective power
  - Apply power to secure concessions & induce employers to accede to union bargaining positions and other desired objectives
- Use of Coercive Power with concerted non-violent actions to compel compromise

# *Referent and Expert Power*

Unions must influence the expectations of both employees' and the general public about the most effective and just application of authority, the appropriate allocation of workplace responsibilities, and the fair allocation of gains and benefits of employment.

# *Unions Use Three Mechanisms to Advance The Power-To*

Union organizers refer to process and mechanisms for applying power in all three of Lukes' dimensions simply as ORGANIZING!

# *Unions Use Three Mechanisms to Advance The Power-To*

Union organizers know that process and mechanisms for applying power through collective action promotes organizing functions:

1. The *Relational* function mechanisms
2. The *Interpretive* function mechanisms
3. The *Influential* function mechanisms

# *Unions Use Three Mechanisms to Advance The Power-To*

## Union organizers:

- The three functions of organizing for power - regularized through the COG method - organizers can counter and best employer exercises of the three dimensions of power.
- They can also build union members' belief and confidence in their own innate power to change the workplace into "the world as it should be."

## *Organizers Teach and Lead Employees from Habitual Obedience to Mindful Resistance.*

Until Unions organize for POWER employers will use traditional employer command and control practices and coercive power tactics to control the workplace.

- impose directives from above
- obeying their “superiors” orders, commands, and “requests”
- generally comply through ingrained habit



*Using the COG Method,  
Organizers must Act in the face of employer power:*



The *Relational* function of organizing;

- organizers teach and help union members to build confidence in their own power to affect events and attain their own goals through solidarity and collective action

*Using the COG Method,  
Organizers must Act in the face of employer power:*



The *Interpretive* function of organizing;

- organizers teach and help union members to understand that improvements in their work life are not only justified, but also practical and realistic

*Using the COG Method,  
Organizers must Act in the face of employer power:*



## The *Influential* function of organizing

- Organizers help manage member actions that can overcome the regressive position and competition from employer Power Actors and induce decision-maker to “do the right thing”

*Using the COG Method,  
Organizers must Act in the face of employer power:*



It is the organizer's job to use and to teach others to rely on these three mechanisms to transform the habitual obedience of the workplace into active resistance.

## *2. Employee Resistance Is Governed by a Well Established Dynamic*

Ethicist Errol Harris observed that obedience to *power-over* :

“can never be exercised without the acquiescence of the people - without the direct corporation of the large numbers of people and the indirect cooperation of the entire community.” Tyranny has “flourished only where people through ignorance, or disorganization, or by actual connivance and complicity, aid and abet the tyrant and keep him in power by allowing themselves to be the instruments of his coercion.”

# *Mohandas Gandhi*

Argued that any change in people's patterns of obedience and cooperation and in their will to resist depended upon:

1. People's psychological change away from passive submission to self-respect and courage;
2. People's recognition that their assistance makes a regime of power possible; and
3. People's progressive, incrementally increasing determination to withdraw cooperation and obedience.

# *Mohandas Gandhi*

Gandhi deliberately brought changes about in organizing India's campaign for independence.

“My speeches,” Gandhi said, “are intended to create ‘dissatisfaction’ as such, that people might consider it a shame to assist or cooperate with the government that has forfeited all title to respect or support.”

# *The Factors Producing Employee Compliance or Resistance*

Three factors primarily determine employees' willingness to cooperate and obey employers:

1. Employees' relative desire to counter the dictates, control, and influence of their employer;



# *The Factors Producing Employee Compliance or Resistance*

Three factors primarily determine employees' willingness to cooperate and obey employers:

2. Employees' belief about relative strength of their unions and their capacity to oppose the power of their employer; and

# *The Factors Producing Employee Compliance or Resistance*

Three factors primarily determine employees' willingness to cooperate and obey employers:

3. Employees' relative willingness to collectively withhold their obedience and cooperation (*i.e.*, their consent to under control).

# *To Organize, Unions Must Identify The Power Actors*

Virtually every organization has a power structure.

Power structures exist and operate within individual employers, in local communities, and at broader societal levels—like industries, political parties, or state and national governments.

# *Identification of Power Actors*

- Organizers must know who functions as Power Actors and then influence their actions.

# *Identification of Power Actors*

- Organizers must also understand how an environment's power structure is constituted and operates.
  - The effectiveness of union strategies and tactics depend both on the ability to identify the key Power Actors adversaries and on understanding their incentive structures.

# *Identification of Power Actors*

- Similarly, organizers must also identify the key Power Actors - the natural leaders - among our own union members and community allies.
  - Effective organizing requires that unions also influence these friendly Power Actors and understand their incentive structures, too.

## *Methods for Identifying Power Actors*

*Tait, Bokemeier, and Bohlen advance four methods for identifying Power Actors:*

***Positional Method:*** Identifies individuals who occupy key formal positions of authority in target organizations

## *Methods for Identifying Power Actors*

*Tait, Bokemeier, and Bohlen advance four methods for identifying Power Actors:*

***Reputational Method:*** Selection of knowledgeable community members who, in turn, can provide organizers the names of leading Power Actors they believe or have reputations for social power



## *Methods for Identifying Power Actors*

*Tait, Bokemeier, and Bohlen advance four methods for identifying Power Actors:*

***Decision-Making Method:*** Tracing the history of decision-making activity surrounding a particular issue

## *Methods for Identifying Power Actors*

*Tait, Bokemeier, and Bohlen advance four methods for identifying Power Actors:*

***Social Participation Method:*** The creation of lists of formal leadership position holders in a variety of voluntary associations or social networks

# Conclusion



- Organizers must use the union's *Power to* counter the employer's *Power Over*.
- However, the experience of union organizers and of community, civil rights, and environmental organizers suggests that the dynamic interplay between the sources of power and consequences of power has significant implications for organizers.
- At their simplest and most direct, the nature and use of power requires organizers to master four power dynamics which directly affect the success of their organizing campaigns.

# *Four critical generalizations*

1. *Power is inherently relational*: People exercised power in relationships to influence other people. As a result, the consequences and vitality of any source of power always depends on voluntary reactions or the consent of the Targets of power.

# *Four critical generalizations*

2. *The outcomes or results usually produced by each of the sources of power are predictable.* However, they are not inevitable. Organizer can prepare for and influence the reactions of the Targets of power.

## *Four critical generalizations*

- 3. Some sources of power are better means of producing compliance than others. Only Expert and Referent Power are likely to produce commitment. Coercive Power is likely to produce resistance.*

## *Four critical generalizations*

4. *Since power depends on voluntary consent, its Targets can overcome exercises of the power-over from positional power sources with nonviolent resistance.* Unions, their members, and other Targets of power can build and intensify their *power-to* through the commitment created by mindful reliance on Expert and Referent Power.

# *Power Practice in Organizing*

- Unions must exercise power to build power
- The five sources of power has a distinct tactical use.
- Effective unions employ the source of power most appropriate to the situation, the organizing environment, and the characteristics of the Targets of power



# *Power Practice in Organizing*

- The consequences of employing any particular power tactics largely depend on the manner in which power was exercised
- Each source of power has the potential to produce positive and negative effects on both those that exercised power and those that were its target