

**LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL CHANGE**  
**MBA 292N3 Fall 2015**  
**Wednesdays 2-4pm**  
**Cheit 110**

Instructor

Nora Silver, Ph.D.

Faculty Director, Center for Nonprofit and Public Leadership

Haas School of Business – Office F475

Office hours: by arrangement

Telephone: 510 642 1625

E-mail: [silver@haas.berkeley.edu](mailto:silver@haas.berkeley.edu)

Graduate Student Reader: Amy Chou ([amy\\_chou@mba.berkeley.edu](mailto:amy_chou@mba.berkeley.edu))

**Context and Purpose**

From Indian independence to marriage equality, history is packed with examples of large-scale social change. Behind many of these changes lies a social movement: collective action by ordinary people working outside existing institutional frameworks toward a common goal, with the intent to disrupt the status quo.

Graduate students interested in creating large-scale impact often take courses on leading and managing individual institutions. Yet much large-scale social change occurs extra-institutionally, beyond the purview of individual businesses, governments, and social sector organizations. In this course, we will move beyond the walls of traditional institutions and society, building an understanding of the key levers available to those seeking to create major social change. Together we will also seek to understand how businesses interact with social movements and how we as individuals can continue to create large scale social change when we leave Berkeley.

Rising business leaders also have much to learn from social movements. From Airbnb to Uber to Etsy, some of today's most successful companies have centered around the theme of disruption, challenging existing power structures while building loyal communities of brand advocates. There is certainly much controversy about the tactics used by these companies, much like there is controversy about tactics used by social movements. As the line between businesses and social movements continues to blur, leaders from each sphere will increasingly stand to learn from one another.

This is a first-time offering. As the instructor, I am enthusiastic about this course because it will teach us to think big, look beyond traditional institutional growth and change theories and strategies, and challenge ourselves to work with different constituencies and levers for change. It will also teach us to appreciate and understand how movements around the world have mobilized and how we might orchestrate our own large scale social change. This course has been developed with the input of many,

## SYLLABUS

foremost among them Amy Chou, MBA 2016, and Charlotte Hill, MPP 2016, who have been instrumental in the design. I am grateful to them.

### Approach

This is an interdisciplinary course that helps students understand and apply the levers of large-scale social change. Each week, we will examine social movements from around the world, examining the effectiveness and limitations of different levers.

The levers we will study include:

- finance and commerce
- the law
- technology
- grassroots organizing and networks
- structure and leadership, including celebrity
- communications, including framing and the media

Other topics we will cover over the course include:

- reform vs. revolutionize: when do you disrupt from within and when do you destroy a system to build a new one
- the role of context and external threats
- the lifecycle and key phases of social movements
- theory of change: strategy, goals, and tactics
- the roles of business, government, and the social sector in social movements
- disruptive businesses that behave like social movements, including social enterprises

### Course Objectives

- Understand key levers that have been used to create and sustain social movements around the world and throughout history
- Analyze the uses and limitations of different instruments for large scale social change
- Identify challenges facing current social change movements and develop smart strategies to help them move forward
- Apply the levers by designing a large scale social change effort on a topic of the student's choice (final small group project)
- Provide students with a toolkit of frameworks to take beyond Berkeley-Haas
- Have students understand how they can continue interacting and supporting social movements they care about when they graduate whether they are working at a Fortune 500 firm, boutique design-consulting firm, returning to the military, or going on the various other next career steps.

### Teaching Methods

This course will explore significant social change movements through written cases, articles, portions of books, films, podcasts, featured guests and more.

### Deliverables

*Individual paper - Analyzing the Criminal Justice Movement in the US*

Your assignment is to write a 3-5 page paper that accomplishes two goals: (1) analyze the movement to date, using your understanding of levers and cases we have covered in class and your own judgment and insights, and (2) propose a strategy (theory of change) and plan for moving forward over the next year. Be sure to address the limitations and tradeoffs of your strategy. Due October 9th. Email to instructor and reader.

*Pre-reads: Introduction to "The New Jim Crow" by Michelle Alexander and "Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System" by Douglas Massey (available in Study.Net).*

Consider this quote from "The New Jim Crow" by Michelle Alexander:

"More African American adults are under correctional control today - in prison or jail, or probation or parole - than were enslaved in 1850, a decade before the Civil War began. The mass incarceration of people is a big part of the reason that a black child today is less likely to be raised by both parents than a black child born during slavery. The absence of black fathers from families across America is not simply a function of laziness, immaturity, or too much time watching Sports Center. Thousands of black men have disappeared into prisons and jails, locked away for drug crimes that are largely ignored when committed by whites."

#### Option 1:

There is a growing social movement against police brutality and racial profiling in the US, arising from cases from Ferguson, MI to Los Angeles to New York City. For background information, please read <http://journalistsresource.org/studies/government/criminal-justice/police-reasonable-force-brutality-race-research-review-statistics>

#### Option 2:

The current movement towards "smarter sentencing" and the decriminalization of certain offenses has been a notably bi-partisan movement in the US which is gaining traction. For background information, please read <http://journalistsresource.org/studies/government/criminal-justice/cost-benefit-longer-prison-terms>

## SYLLABUS

### *Group project - Design a Strategy for Large-Scale Social Change*

Identify an emerging large-scale social change about which you are passionate and form a small team of 2-3. Prepare a class presentation on your strategy for reaching your stated goal to achieve the social change you seek. Presentations will be 20 minutes, with 10 minutes following for comments from the class. Presentations will be assessed on three dimensions: clear and convincing (logical plan, feasible, good use of data and sequencing of actions) and compelling (able to generate excitement, commitment, resources needed) and the professional quality of the presentation. Please provide a printed copy of the presentation to the instructor and reader just prior to your presentation. Due December 2nd.

### *Brief Reflection Paper*

Your assignment is to write a 2-3 page paper reflecting on what you have learned in class. Questions to consider are: (Do not feel like you have to address all these questions, but please discuss something of real meaning to you.)

1. How do you plan to take the concepts, levers, and frameworks in this class in your everyday life going forward? In your career?
2. How will you continue to be involved with large scale social change once you leave this class?
3. How will you maintain your commitment and your moral compass?

Due December 9th. Email to instructor and reader and bring a hard copy to our last class.

### **Expectations and Grades**

Students attend a weekly 2-hour class and are expected to commit on average 4-6 hours/week to the course.

We ask that you come to class each week having read and thought about the assignments, ready to share your analyses with your classmates and participate actively and respectfully in class discussion. We will create space for everyone to be heard, even (and especially) dissenting voices, and strive to embrace differences and disagreements as opportunities for further reflection and growth. There is also a no electronics (including cell phones, laptops, and tablets) policy as per Haas norms.

The Discussions feature of bCourses is open for students to share relevant articles, media, and events with each other. Here are the ground rules for posting a Discussion topic:

## SYLLABUS

1. You must post an article, video, blog post, or some other type of media to start a discussion. Please include a 2-3 sentence summary of what you're sharing and why to frame the discussion.
2. Posting, as well as responding to posts, is strictly optional. However, posts and responses will be monitored and count towards participation.
3. Please be respectful with your posts and comments, and as always, be open to diverse opinions.
4. There is one Discussion thread specifically reserved for sharing events. Please make sure the event is relevant and appropriate.

The final grade will be based on:

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Class attendance and participation | 30% |
| Individual paper                   | 20% |
| Group project                      | 40% |
| Brief reflection paper             | 10% |

### Readings and resources

Required readings are noted in the attached class plan and are available online on bCourses or Study.Net.

### Detailed Class Outline

| Week / Date  | Overview & Objectives  | Prep Work   |
|--|--|---|
| Week 1<br>August 26  | <p>OVERVIEW OF CLASS AND SOCIAL CHANGE</p> <p>Case: Climate Change</p> <p>Goal: Understand how a social cause has been approached (see some the different options of levers available) and how data is used in social movements.</p> <p>Guest Instructor: Ben Mangan, executive director, Center for Social Sector Leadership, and Amy Chou, class GSR</p> | <p><a href="#">Manuel Pastor: How do we build movements based on vision and values?</a></p> <p><a href="#">What is a Social Movement?</a></p> <p><a href="#">Market Rebels: How Activists Make or Break Radical Innovations</a></p> |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Why are you interested in this course and what are you hoping to get from it?</li> <li>2. When you think of a successful social movement, which one(s) come(s) to mind?</li> <li>3. What experience do you have with social movements?</li> </ol> |  |   |

## SYLLABUS

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Week 2<br/>September 2</p>   | <p>THE LAW</p> <p>Case: Marriage Equality, Pro Life</p> <p>Speaker: <a href="#">Clarke Forsythe</a>, Senior Attorney,<br/>Americans United for Life</p> | <p>Marriage Equality Strategy Memo</p> <p>Levels of the Court graphic</p> <p><a href="#">American United for Life's Defending Life 2015: Celebrating 10 Years of Defending Life - A State-by-State Legal Guide to Abortion, Bioethics, and the End of Life</a> up to page 37</p> <p>Politics for the Greatest Good: The Case for Prudence in the Public Square, Chapter 1: Prudence and the Fulfilled Life, Clarke Forsythe</p> <p>Video: <a href="#">My Generation Will End Abortion</a>: The history of the pro-life movement in 5 minutes</p> |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What do the movements of marriage equality and pro life have in common in the way in which they approached the law, and what are the differences?</li> <li>2. Is a change in law the ultimate goal of all movements--why or why not?</li> <li>3. What are the risks a movement takes by bringing their issue to the courts?</li> </ol> |   |  |
| <p>Week 3<br/>September 9</p>   | <p>FINANCIAL/COMMERCIAL</p> <p>Case: Blood Diamonds, Divestment</p>   | <p><a href="#">A Rough Trade: The Role of Companies and Governments in the Angolan Crisis</a></p> <p><a href="#">Global Witness leaves Kimberley Process diamond scheme</a></p> <p><a href="#">5 Questions about Divestment Strategies as Fossil Fuels Take Center Stage</a></p> <p><a href="#">The #GlobalPOV Project: Can We Shop to End Poverty?</a></p> <p><a href="#">On Web and iPhone, a Tool to Aid Careful Shopping</a></p>   |

## SYLLABUS

Preparation Guidelines:

1. In economic terms, there is a strong preference for market-based solutions. Is this also true for social movements?
2. When has finance been used successfully as a lever? Is it better as a carrot or a stick?
3. Can consumers effectively vote or create social change with how they spend their dollars? What are limitations to using consumer purchasing power as a lever?

|                                |   |   |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| <p>Week 4<br/>September 16</p> | <p>COMMUNICATIONS</p> <p>Case: Indian Independence, Immigration, (Marriage Equality)</p> <p>Speaker: <a href="#">Angana Chatterji</a>, PhD, Anthropology; Co-chair, Project on Armed Conflict Resolution and People's Rights, India</p> | <p><a href="#">Gandhi trailer</a></p> <p><a href="#">What Moves Masses: Dandi March as Communication Strategy” by Suchitra</a></p> <p><a href="#">My Life as an Undocumented Immigrant</a></p> <p><a href="#">“The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement” by Doug McAdam</a></p> <p><a href="#">"Types of Frame Alignment" by Sidney Tarrow from "Constructing Meanings through Action", from "Frontiers in Social Movement Theory"</a></p> <p>Revisit the <a href="#">American United for Life’s Defending Life 2015: Celebrating 10 Years of Defending Life - A State-by-State Legal Guide to Abortion, Bioethics, and the End of Life</a> to read pages 276 – 279</p> |
|--------------------------------|---|---|

Preparation Guidelines:

1. How did the Indian Independence movement and Immigration movement frame their messages to gain greater success? What were other alternative frames that could be used?
2. How did these movements approach reframing from an internal perspective (targeted at Indians and immigrants, respectively) versus from an external perspective (targeting people in power)? What are the arguments pro/con people of the movement speaking for themselves versus having allies, proponents, experts speak for them? When does it make sense to use each?
3. Often a trade-off must be made because a particular frame that dramatizes the issue and attracts some might also alienate other players. How do you balance trade-offs between different groups as you create a particular frame?
4. Revisit the American United for Life’s Defending Life 2015: Celebrating 10 Years of Defending Life - A State-by-State Legal Guide to Abortion, Bioethics, and the End of Life pages 276 - 279: Model Legislation. How does expanding the “anti-abortion” frame to “pro-life” benefit the movement? How does it hurt?

## SYLLABUS

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Week 5<br/>September 23</p>   | <p>GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING AND<br/>COALITION BUILDING/NETWORKS<br/>MOBILIZATION OF PEOPLE: WHAT WORKS WHEN</p> <p>Case: Abolition in the UK, The Kayapo, anti-GMO</p> <p>Speaker: <a href="#">Adam Hochschild</a>, Journalist and Lecturer. Author of “Bury the Chains” and “<a href="#">King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa</a>” among others.</p> | <p><i>Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire’s Slaves</i>, Introduction (p. 8-25), chapter 6 (p. 142-163), and chapter 8 (p. 177-204) (available in Study.Net)</p> <p><a href="#">Belo Monte, Brazil: The tribes living in the shadow of a megadam</a> (article)</p> <p><a href="#">KAYAPO: Defenders of the Amazon</a> (video)</p> <p><a href="#">“Damming the Amazon River.” 60 Minutes</a> (video)</p> <p><a href="#">Kayapo Fund</a> (video)</p> <p><a href="#">“Bill Nye the Science Guy Explains GMOs”</a> (short video)</p> <p><a href="#">“Consumer Activism, EU Institutions and Global Markets: The Struggle over Biotech Foods”</a> (research article)</p> <p><a href="#">“Vote for the Dinner Party” by Michael Pollan</a> (article)</p> |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What have these 3 movements done effectively to mobilize people who are on a wide spectrum of being affected by a movement? How do they create a personal interest that is compelling to those outside those who are most affected?</li> <li>2. Does the importance and do the methods of mobilizing people shift from sparking a movement to building of the movement and if so, how?</li> <li>3. What aspects of a movement best lend themselves to helping to mobilize people?</li> <li>4. What about the free rider problem?</li> </ol> |   |   |

## SYLLABUS

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <p>Week 6<br/>September 30</p>   | <p>TECHNOLOGY</p> <p>Case: Arab Spring/Egyptian Revolution, Abolition in the UK</p> <p>Potential Speaker: Alicia Garza, co-founder of #blacklivesmatter movement (or video, if unavailable)</p> | <p>The Usage of Social Media in the Arab Spring: The Potential of Media to Change Political Landscapes throughout the Middle East and Africa (short book)</p> <p><a href="#">Revolutionizing Revolutions: Virtual Collective Consciousness and the Arab Spring</a> (article)</p> <p><a href="#">Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted</a> (article)</p> <p><a href="#">Online Social Change: Easy to Organize, Hard to Win</a> (video)</p> <p><a href="#">“Money Is Raised; Now Lessig’s Super PAC Must Win”</a> (article)</p> <p><a href="#">“How to waste \$10 million”</a> (article)</p> |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In Core operations, we learned that process choices should be integrated, consistent, self-reinforcing and support a company's value proposition. How does the choice to use technology in social movements support its value proposition? What new gaps does it create?</li> <li>2. What’s next? What new problems will technology solve? What problems will it create?</li> <li>3. Taken from an NRA reading, “Online advocacy certainly is here to stay and plays a role in moving your message. However, online advocacy is the lowest form of commitment.” What can movements do to equip their stakeholders to show up offline?</li> <li>4. We have focused on new technologies and how they have sparked or helped a movement. Are there existent technologies that could be better used?</li> </ol> |   |  |
| <p>Week 7<br/>October 7</p>  | <p>STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION, INCLUDING LEADERSHIP AND CELEBRITY</p> <p>Case: US Civil Rights, #blacklivesmatter</p>   | <p>“Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System” by Douglas Massey (required reading for paper)</p> <p><a href="#">We Shall Overcome: The Players</a></p> <p><a href="#">Dexter Avenue Church</a></p> <p><a href="#">Wikipedia: Montgomery_Bus_Boycott</a></p> <p><b>Individual paper due Friday, October 9th</b></p>  |

## SYLLABUS

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <p>Preparation Guidelines</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Can completely decentralized movements truly be successful? Do we have examples of this?</li> <li>2. What organizations are coming together now over what emerging issues, and starting to form movements? What are their next moves?</li> </ol>   |   |  |
| <p>Week 8<br/>October 14</p>   | <p>CONTEXT<br/>ROLE OF SHOCK AND THREAT IN CATALYZING ACTION<br/>BARRIERS/CHALLENGES (REPRESSION, CO-OPTION, COMPETITION, INERTIA)</p> <p>Case: Refugees, Working Conditions, Minimum Wage, Occupy, Kayapo, #BlackLivesMatter</p> | <p><a href="#">External Efforts to Damage or Facilitate Social Movements: Some Patterns, Explanations, Outcomes, and Complications</a></p> <p><a href="#">Global Refugee Figure Passes 50 Million</a></p> <p><a href="#">Making Sense: Undisputed Facts about Minimum Wage</a></p> |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Be prepared to share your reflections on the paper.</li> <li>2. There were different circumstances and consequences in the “freedom” movements for Indian Independence and the Egyptian Revolution. How did differing circumstances and threats lead to different tactics and outcomes?</li> <li>3. The collapse of the <a href="#">Rana Plaza building in Bangladesh in 2013</a> catalyzed many large apparel manufacturers to pay more attention to their supply chains. Are disasters like this a necessary evil to serve as a wakeup call?</li> <li>4. On June 20, 2014, The UN refugee agency reported that the number of refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced people worldwide for the first time in the post-World War II era, exceeded <b>50 million</b> people. We have discussed framing and communication of the immigration issue here in the US. How would you frame and address the issue for the millions of refugees fleeing from Syria, Ukraine, South Sudan?</li> <li>5. How would you assess the challenges and opportunities for the minimum wage movement?</li> </ol> |   |  |
| <p>Week 9<br/>October 21</p>   | <p>LIFE CYCLE/PHASES OF LARGE SCALE SOCIAL CHANGE<br/>AFTERMATH/RESOLUTION OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT/REVERSAL</p> <p>FEEDBACK ON INDIVIDUAL PAPERS WILL BE PROVIDED</p>  | <p><a href="#">Four Stages of Social Movements</a> by Jonathan Christiansen</p> <p><a href="#">"Movement Success and Failure: Looking both at “Ones” and “Zeros”</a> by Marco Giugni</p>   |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Let’s take a movement we have looked at already and trace its development over its life cycle. Now, let’s identify movements we know at each stage of the cycle, and figure out what helps movements advance to the next stage.</li> <li>2. How can a movement best ensure that its successes won’t be reversed over time?</li> </ol>   |   |  |

## SYLLABUS

3. The Nazi movement in Europe effectively ended with the conclusion of WWII, and was reviled worldwide for many years. Today there is a rise in Neo-Nazi movements. What do you think has prompted and supported the revival?
4. Let's follow the Marriage Equality and Pro Life movements forward. Both have or have had pending cases in the State or US Supreme Court. Let's do some scenario planning for what happens post-court rulings.

|                                |  |   |
|--------------------------------|--|---|
| <p>Week 10<br/>October 28</p>  | <p>HOW IS LEADERSHIP DIFFERENT IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?</p> <p>Speaker: <a href="#">Glen Caroline</a>, Director NRA-ILA Grassroots Division (via Skype) to discuss the use of the structure lever</p> <p>Panel of social movement leaders, including <a href="#">Minh Dang</a>, anti-sex trafficking activist and distinguished Berkeley alumna; <a href="#">Emily E. Arnold-Fernandez</a>, Executive Director of Asylum Access: Making Refugee Rights a Reality in Africa, Asia &amp; Latin America; <a href="#">David Evan Harris</a>, Founder and Executive Director of the Global Lives Project and Research Director at the Institute for the Future.</p> | <p><a href="#">Grassroots Organizing with the NRA</a></p> <p><a href="#">“Five Reasons the NRA Won the Recent Gun Control Debate That Have Nothing to Do With Politics” by Amy Showalter</a></p> <p><a href="#">Leading Change: Leadership, organization, and social movements by Marshall Ganz</a></p> <p>Speaker requested pre-reads:</p> <p>Minh Dang<br/>Read <a href="#">terminology on Global Slavery Index website</a> and explore site</p> <p>Emily E. Arnold-Fernandez<br/>Read <a href="#">"What Are Refugee Rights?"</a> and <a href="#">"Our Model"</a> on <a href="#">Asylum Access.org</a></p> <p>David Evan Harris<br/><a href="#">Excerpt from <i>The Nature of the Future</i>, Marina Gorbis (2013)</a></p> <p><a href="#">GlobalLives.org</a> - watch the 3-minute video on the homepage and explore site</p> <p>Skim: Unheard Stories: Building Empathy through the Global Lives Project, 2014 (available in bCourses)</p> |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> |  |   |

## SYLLABUS

1. Explore the [NRA website](#) and read Glen Caroline's, and the panelists' (Ming Dang, Emily E. Arnold-Fernandez, and David Evan Harris) bios. Please come prepared with questions.
2. How is leadership within a social movement different from leadership in corporate change management and social entrepreneurship?
3. What are the skills/knowledge/attitudes needed to be successful?
4. How do social change leaders sustain themselves?

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <p>Week 11<br/>November 4</p>   | <p>HOW DOES YOUR EXPERIENCE IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS INFORM YOUR WORK IN BUSINESS?</p> <p>ROLE OF DIFFERENT SECTORS – BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT, SOCIAL SECTOR, ACADEMIA</p> <p>BUSINESSES RUNNING AS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS</p> <p>Speaker: <a href="#">Andrea Armeni</a>, Co-Founder and Executive Director of Transform Finance</p> | <p>“To Tweet or Not to Tweet: What Business Can Learn from Social Movements” by Paula Goldman (available in Study.Net)</p> <p><a href="#">Collective Impact by John Kania &amp; Mark Kramer</a></p> <p><a href="#">“Misguided calls for ‘business thinking’” by Michael Edwards</a></p> <p>Read <a href="#">"Impact Investing: the Benefits and Challenges of an Emerging Field"</a> and <a href="#">"Impact Investing: Lessons from the Field"</a> for an interesting framework for some of the challenges at the intersection of finance and social justice</p> |
| <p>Preparation Guidelines:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Please read Andrea Armeni's bio and come prepared with questions.</li> <li>2. Where do businesses fail and social movements step in?</li> <li>3. Can a business truly operate as a social movement, or can it only borrow properties of a movement?</li> <li>4. What are the strengths/roles of NGOs, commercial companies, and government in social movement building?</li> <li>5. How might the movements we have studied thus far better used cross-sector collaboration?</li> <li>6. How might Berkeley-Haas better encourage and develop cross-sector leaders?</li> </ol> |  |   |
| <p>November 11</p>  | <p>VETERANS DAY HOLIDAY</p>  |   |
| <p>Week 12<br/>November 18</p>  | <p>FUTURE OF LARGE SCALE SOCIAL CHANGE – WHAT'S NEXT FOR YOU?</p> <p>Panel of student speakers engaged in large scale social change</p>  |   |

## SYLLABUS

|                       |                           |  |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| November 25           | THANKSGIVING DAY HOLIDAY  |  |
| Week 13<br>December 2 | SMALL GROUP PRESENTATIONS |  |
| Week 14<br>December 9 | SMALL GROUP PRESENTATIONS | <b>Reflection paper due Wednesday, Dec 9th</b> |