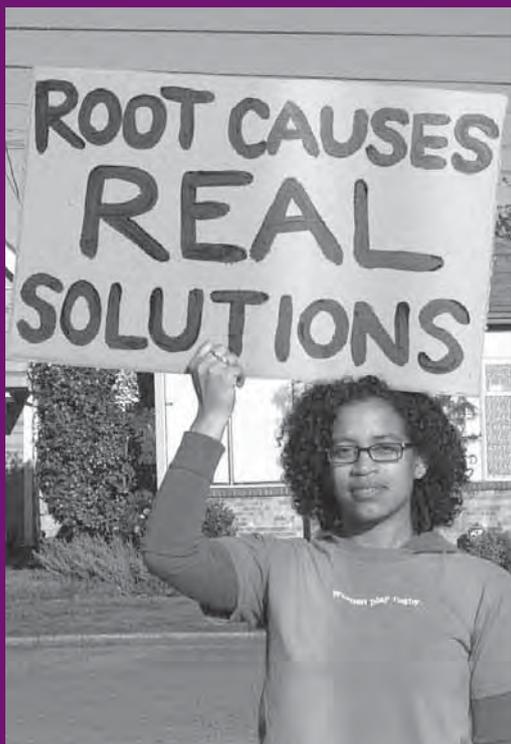


CHALLENGING GRANTMAKERS TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNITIES



Strengthening Democracy, Increasing Opportunities

IMPACTS OF ADVOCACY, ORGANIZING, AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST REGION

by Gita Gulati-Partee and Lisa Ranghelli

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I. Executive Summary

The social concerns that funders address with their grantmaking – education, human needs or environment, for example – exist in a larger context shaped by many forces, including public policy, economics and community culture. Many funders believe that to be successful in their chosen areas of interest they must address the larger systems that shape these realities. Why and how do foundations and other institutional grantmakers invest in policy advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement by nonprofit organizations, and how does it make a difference in the daily lives of local residents if they do?

This report describes, measures and, where possible, monetizes the policy impacts that 20 community organizations in the Northwestern region of the United States achieved with foundation support during a five year period (2005–2009). NCRP found that Northwest nonprofits and funders seeking long-term change for local communities face many obstacles because of the complex local and state political environments, sheer size of the states, incredibly diverse populations and longstanding disparities. Despite these challenges, the sample organizations have developed innovative organizing and advocacy strategies and achieved impressive policy and civic engagement impacts with grantmaker support.

In fact, community groups in the Northwest have developed a complex, sophisticated movement building orientation that stands out in comparison with other states studied for this project. Often, their cross-cutting approach looked beyond their individual organizations, issues, constituencies and short-term campaigns in favor of longer-term and more holistic processes that built power, changed mindsets as well as policy, addressed root causes and built their organ-

izations strategically. Also unique to the region, and perhaps related to this, is the rich infrastructure of regional networks, capacity building providers, and funders with a strong social justice and movement orientation.

Using these resources and strategies, the groups had significant accomplishments:

- > Collectively, the groups helped garner more than \$5 billion for marginalized communities over five years. These dollars were in the form of wages, expanded services, state investments in housing and other programs, savings from costly and ill-conceived initiatives that were prevented, and other benefits.
- > The groups achieved substantial impacts that could not be monetized; yet, these benefited tens of thousands of underserved residents. Examples include protecting and advancing LGBTQ rights, promoting fair immigration policies and protecting communities and natural resources from environmental threats.
- > The 20 groups demonstrated a remarkable depth and breadth of civic engagement. Collectively, they trained more than 11,000 leaders, grew their memberships by 98,000 individuals and turned out 417,000 people at public actions. They also registered more than 71,900 voters, including many Native Americans, Latinos and people of color.

Foundations and other institutional grantmakers provided critical monetary, capacity building and convening support to these efforts. Funders contributed \$23.2 million, or 69 percent of all policy engagement funding over five years. Members of the organizations also contributed significantly to their own success: among 15 organizations, membership dues collected

over five years totaled almost \$4.9 million.

NCRP totaled the monetary benefits of the impacts in Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington and calculated a return on investment (ROI). For every dollar invested in their advocacy, organizing and civic engagement (\$33.9 million total), the groups garnered \$150 in benefits for their communities.

The ROI is not intended to be a precise figure, which would be nearly impossible to estimate. It uses the best data available to show how financial support by grantmakers and other funding sources has contributed to the collective policy impacts of these groups. The use of an aggregate ROI helps focus the findings on contribution to success, rather than attribution to one group or one grant. It is one among many tools NCRP used to document impact, along with civic and voter engagement data, interim progress outcomes and qualitative information on how the groups achieved success. NCRP also interviewed groups in Alaska and Wyoming to complement learning from the other four states.

STATE HIGHLIGHTS

The full report shares detailed descriptions of the policy impacts of the organizations by issue area, and then summarizes them by state in the appendices. Below are a few highlights for each of the four states represented among the twenty-group sample.

Idaho advocacy and organizing groups focused on a range of issues, including children's health care access, minimum wage, discrimination against immigrants and people of color, harmful factory farms and promotion of clean energy. Key impacts include:

- > Negotiating unprecedented state rules to make spraying of toxic dairy animal waste on agricultural lands safer for humans and better for the environment.
- > Organizing residents to stop a proposed nuclear power plant in Elmore County.
- > Winning state legislative approval of minimum wage increase, ensuring farm workers continue to receive fair wages.

In **Montana**, interviewed organizations supported voting reforms, living wages, women's and children's health, culturally appropriate education, immigrant rights, environmental protection and clean energy. Examples of impact include:

- > Convincing the state to adopt water standards to protect rivers from pollution associated with coal bed methane development.
- > Expanding eligibility for Medicaid and Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) from 175 percent to 250 percent of the federal poverty level, thereby covering up to 30,000 more children.
- > Winning same-day voter registration and "no-fault" absentee ballots. Increased use of absentee ballots (to 29 percent in 2006 and 43 percent in 2008) has contributed to higher voter turnout rates in Montana in recent elections (to 64 percent in 2006 and 74 percent in 2008)

Oregon groups worked in a range of policy areas, such as early education and care; lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBTQ) rights; worker issues; immigrant rights; racial justice; tax fairness; tenant rights; and criminal justice. Highlights from Oregon include:

- > Stopping a prison construction initiative that would have cost taxpayers \$1 billion in upfront construction costs and hundreds of millions in ongoing operational expenses annually.
- > Defeating two anti-immigrant ballot initiatives in Columbia County.
- > Winning and then defending statewide LGBTQ anti-discrimination policy and domestic partnership rights for same sex couples.
- > Securing more than \$74 million in increased funding to expand Oregon Head Start Pre-Kindergarten.

In **Washington**, organizations tackled issues including homelessness and housing, predatory lending, immigrant rights, health care access, urban Native American inclusion, and environmental health. Some of their impacts include:

- > Persuading the governor to launch the Washington New Americans Program to welcome immigrants and help them become citizens.
- > Securing \$300 million in state funding for affordable housing development and preservation, leveraging four times that amount in additional housing resources.
- > Winning creation of Health Insurance Partnership to provide health care subsidies for low income employees of small businesses.
- > Developing jobs for low-income residents to make

Spokane homes and businesses more energy efficient – generating needed income and cutting energy costs for residents.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES

To achieve these impacts, the organizations creatively engaged affected constituencies in their cities and states. This engagement was valuable in its own right, helping marginalized groups find a voice in the democratic process. It also marshaled the people power needed to make change happen. NCRP found that both the quantity and the quality of civic commitment were distinctive. The report profiles several grassroots community leaders who were able to tackle issues of direct and immediate concern through their involvement in community organizations – such as 10-year-old Marcelas Owens, a member of the Washington Community Action Network who gained national visibility when he attended President Obama’s signing of health care reform legislation in 2010.

The Northwest groups designed leadership development programs that were tailored to their constituencies, whether immigrants, Native Americans or youth. They integrated nonpartisan voter outreach and ballot initiative work with their year-round organizing and issues campaigns, so these strategies mutually reinforced each other. They reframed how issues were discussed in the media and in public debates. And many organizations did cross-cutting issue work, for example linking early childhood education to crime reduction, or housing code enforcement to health outcomes. They also built bridges across constituencies, not only because it made sense for their organizations’ missions, but also to support their allies and foster broader movements for change over the long term.

This movement orientation went hand in hand with strong coalitions. These sophisticated coalitions built organic and trusting relationships, developed well articulated goals and strategies, fostered inclusive leadership, and identified clear roles for coalition members. Often these coalitions went beyond the “usual suspects” to engage labor unions, faith communities, and business leaders. Broad coalitions have hung together successfully because their strength is in their relationships and common values, which remained constant even as issue priorities changed. Even when coalition members disagreed on some issues, they had worked through a process to ensure that their unity was not weakened by it.



Photo courtesy of Statewide Poverty Action Network.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR GRANTMAKERS

Grantmakers were critical to the success of these organizations, helping them build their capacity over many years to get to the point where they could work on the often geographically dispersed local level, as well as statewide and even nationally. This report provides many examples of effective funder-nonprofit partnerships, such as:

- > The Campion and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundations joined forces to build the capacity of the Washington Low Income Housing Alliance and its allies to fight homelessness.
- > Social Justice Fund Northwest helped Montana Women Vote take its voter and civic engagement work to the next level, thereby amplifying its public voice.
- > McKenzie River Gathering and Northwest Health Foundation have made long-term investments in Oregon nonprofits, going beyond grants to helping with communications, convening, reaching out to other funders, and acting as true partners on the ground.
- > The Bullitt Foundation helped Snake River Alliance in Idaho expand its mission from nuclear energy watchdog to clean energy proponent as well.

The findings suggest that if more local and regional foundations added advocacy funding to their toolbox of strategies to achieve their missions, communities could accomplish even greater impact. The region continues to face many urgent issues in areas such as immigrant rights, education, health, housing, low-wage work, LGBTQ rights and environmental justice. There is much to be done.

NCRP encourages nonprofits and funders to use this report to educate others about the ways philanthropists can leverage their grant dollars to advance their goals more effectively and help the communities they care about. Many funders and nonprofits share the same principal goal of making a bigger impact for those most in need. NCRP provides some research-based answers on how to achieve that shared goal by developing long-term strategies to change systems.

For foundations to maximize their impact, NCRP recommends that funders:

1. Engage board members and/or donors in dialogue about how advocacy and organizing can help achieve long-term goals.

Sharing concrete examples from this report with trustees and major donors can help demystify advocacy and organizing, and encourage discussion of how these strategies fit among a variety of approaches needed to achieve change on the issues funders care about. Grantmakers can seek out and learn from the experiences of funder colleagues and community organizations in the region as they engage in these conversations.

2. Add advocacy, organizing and civic engagement strategies to the foundation's grantmaking portfolio, or increase the percentage of grant dollars devoted to these strategies.

Some funders already recognize the significant return offered by investing in policy advocacy and organizing, and devote a substantial percentage of their grant dollars to this work. If other funders initiate funding or increase the proportion of their grant dollars devoted to these strategies, they will augment the impact of their own investments in direct service projects, increase the capacity of underserved communities to engage in participatory democracy and contribute to solving large scale problems rather than addressing only symptoms.

3. Work together to foster philanthropic cooperation and shared learning.

Northwest funders will see better results if they communicate with each other and with national funders to leverage their resources effectively to address the pressing issues facing the region. In doing so, regional and national philanthropies can capitalize on the unique qualities of advocacy and civic engagement in the region, including cross-issue and cross-constituency, movement building orientation.

4. Invest in organizational capacity and a nonprofit advocacy infrastructure

This report features a cross-section of highly sophisticated advocacy and grassroots groups in the Northwest. None of the groups in the sample achieved their current size and scope overnight; it took time, experience and investments in organizational capacity. Foundations can invest in culturally appropriate capacity building and in a nonprofit advocacy infrastructure in each of the Northwest states and the region overall.

5. Provide general operating support and multiyear grants.

Nonprofits must simultaneously build capacity, train and develop new leaders, and work across multiple issue areas in order to engage in effective advocacy and organizing work. Uncertain policy environments require flexibility to respond to rapidly changing circumstances. Funding partners can be of greatest help by investing in a way that enables groups to achieve the highest possible impact.

6. Explore the value of grants for advocacy in rural states and states that may seem politically challenging.

States that some funders may deem resistant to policy change or too sparsely populated to invest in advocacy actually may hold tremendous potential to make change. Rural communities have many assets that benefit advocacy work, including easier access to policymakers and strong community relationships. These assets can help overcome perceived political barriers. Lack of investment in these states by grantmakers is a missed opportunity, especially when a grant dollar can go further in achieving an advocacy impact.

II. Definition of Terms

ADVOCACY: “Advocacy” is the act of promoting a cause, idea or policy to influence people’s opinions or actions on matters of public policy or concern. Many types of activities fall under the category of “advocacy” and are legally permissible for 501(c)(3) public charities to engage in, such as: issue identification, research and analysis; public issue education; lobbying for or against legislation; nonpartisan voter registration, education and mobilization; litigation; educating government agencies at all levels; participation in referenda and ballot initiatives; grassroots mobilization; and testifying before government bodies. There are no legal limits on how much non-lobbying advocacy a non-profit organization can undertake.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: In broad terms, “civic engagement” or “civic participation” encompasses any and all activities that engage ordinary people in civic life, including through community organizing, advocacy and voter registration, education and mobilization. It often involves building the skills, knowledge and experience that enable people to participate effectively in the democratic process.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING: “Community organizing” is a process of building relationships, leadership and power, typically among disenfranchised communities, and bringing that power and collective voice to bear on the issues that affect those communities by engaging with relevant decision-makers. The issues raised, solutions identified and strategies developed to achieve those solutions all are defined and acted on by the leaders themselves, usually with help from professional organizers. “Community organizing” can be one part of an overall advocacy or public policy cam-

paign strategy, but it is distinguished by the fact that affected constituencies are the agents of change, rather than paid advocates or lobbyists who represent the interests of such constituencies.

IMPACT: “Impact”¹ refers to long-term or aggregate change, a desired end result. An “outcome” is the short-term change or result that a program or initiative produces. Several outcomes can contribute to an impact. An “output” is the tangible product that results from a program’s activities. For example:

Output: Twenty organizations endorsed the minimum wage proposal; the minimum wage proposal was introduced in the Senate; a key legislator received 500 calls and letters from constituents favoring this proposal.

Outcome: Minimum wage legislation was passed in the legislature.

Impact: Low-wage workers’ incomes were raised as a result of a minimum wage increase.

LOBBYING: “Lobbying” generally is defined as an attempt to influence, directly or indirectly, the passage or defeat of government legislation. Lobbying can be one part of an advocacy strategy, but advocacy does not necessarily have to involve lobbying. This is a critical distinction. Nonprofits can lobby legally. Federal laws determine how much lobbying a nonprofit organization can undertake, but there are no limits on how much non-lobbying advocacy (described above) a nonprofit can engage in. NCRP maintains on its web site a resource list including legal rules and definitions

for nonprofit lobbying (see www.ncrp.org/campaigns-research-policy/communities/gcip/gcip-resources). Alliance for Justice has compiled web-based state law resources on campaign finance and ballot measures, lobbying and voter registration issues. These resources are available for free to nonprofit organizations at <http://www.afj.org/for-nonprofits-foundations/state-resources>.

POLICY ENGAGEMENT: In this report, “policy engagement” is used interchangeably with “advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement.”

“MARGINALIZED” COMMUNITIES: The phrase “marginalized communities” refers broadly to groups that have been underrepresented or denied a voice in decisions that affect their lives, or have experienced discrimination. Groups include but are not limited to: lower-income people; racial and ethnic minorities; women; immigrants; refugees; workers; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning (LGBTQ) individuals; people with disabilities; rural; HIV positive; prisoners and formerly incarcerated; and single-parent families.

III. Research Overview

NCRP used a methodology developed specifically for the Grantmaking for Community Impact Project to measure the impacts of advocacy, organizing and civic engagement among a sample of 20 organizations across four Northwest states over a five-year time-frame from 2005–2009.

First, NCRP identified potential community organizations to be researched in the region by gathering suggestions from nonprofit, foundation and other community leaders. After a complete list was generated,² NCRP considered organizations that met the following criteria:

- > Have been in existence for at least five years
- > Have at least one full-time staff person or equivalent devoted to advocacy or organizing
- > Focus on a core constituency of lower-income people, people of color or other marginalized groups, broadly defined
- > Work on a local or statewide level (may also work regionally or nationally)
- > Have the capacity to provide data for the research

While many new or short-lived groups may engage in advocacy or organizing campaigns, the five-year threshold acknowledges the long-term nature of systems change and the time horizon for being able to show measurable impact. A focus on marginalized groups reflects NCRP's mission to promote philanthropy that serves the public good, supports nonprofit effectiveness and responds to those in our society with the least wealth, opportunity and power.

Through this process, NCRP research staff developed a sample that reflects the diverse constituencies in the region, a broad range of issues, and a mix of approaches to policy engagement. The fol-

lowing 20 organizations partnered with NCRP for the project:

IDAHO

Idaho Community Action Network (ICAN)
Idaho Rural Council (IRC)
Snake River Alliance (SRA)

MONTANA

Montana Human Rights Network (MHRN)
Montana Women Vote! (MWV)
Northern Plains Resource Council (NPRC)

OREGON

Basic Rights Oregon
CAUSA: Oregon's Immigrant Rights Coalition
Center for Intercultural Organizing (CIO)
Children's Institute (CI)
Community Alliance of Tenants (CAT)
Partnership For Safety and Justice (PSJ)
Rural Organizing Project (ROP)

WASHINGTON

Community to Community Development (C2C)
OneAmerica With Justice for All
Spokane Alliance
Statewide Poverty Action Network (SPAN)
United Indians Of All Tribes Foundation (UIATF)
Washington Community Action Network (WCAN!)
Washington Low Income Housing Alliance

To get a fuller picture of the region, NCRP researchers interviewed community leaders in Alaska and Wyoming but did not collect the same depth of data as from the other 20 groups. The report incorpo-

rated information about their important impacts and their experiences with foundations. To preserve the integrity of the research and verification methods, these wins were not factored into the return on investment. The organizations interviewed included: Alaska Youth for Environmental Action (AYEA), Anchorage Faith and Action – Congregations Together (AFACT), Equality State Policy Center and Powder River Basin Resource Council.

A brief description of each organization and contact information is included in Appendix A. Many other organizations, working with similar or other marginalized communities, also met the research criteria and bring tremendous benefits to their communities; this report is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive in its scope.

NCRP researchers collected data from all 20 organizations by interviewing senior staff from each group in person and through written responses to a detailed questionnaire. Several organizations also provided supplemental materials, such as news clippings, brochures, campaign materials, budgets and grant reports. NCRP gathered data from the five-year period 2005–2009 for the following measures:

- > **Advocacy and organizing impacts.** Where possible, groups included the dollar value of policy changes (e.g., income gained from expanded job opportunities, increased funds for health care, affordable housing investments) and the number of constituents benefiting from the changes, as well as strategies and factors contributing to success.
- > **Civic engagement indicators.** For example, the number of leaders trained and people mobilized to communicate with policymakers.
- > **Interim progress and capacity-building indicators.** For example, changes in leaders' skills and access to the policy process.
- > **Amounts and types of funding** the groups received for advocacy, organizing and civic engagement during the five years, examples of positive funder partnerships, and obstacles they faced in seeking funding.

NCRP research staff verified the impacts to ensure that the dollar amounts and number of beneficiaries estimated by groups, as well as the groups' role in the wins, were accurate. NCRP consulted with public officials, researchers and other experts, and examined source materials such as newspaper articles and state budget documents.

Examples of monetary impact include one-time or multi-year state appropriations for a program, the value of a programmatic budget cut that was averted and increased wages to workers through a minimum wage increase. For wins that have a verifiable ongoing economic impact into the future (such as recurring appropriations or a wage increase), the value was calculated through 2012. This method gives organizations credit for impacts that extend well beyond the five-year study period. Also, impacts or wins for which the work was done in the study period are included, even if the impact was implemented after 2009. For example, if a coalition of groups worked on an issue through 2009 but the benefit was seen in 2010 and beyond, it is included.

These data were aggregated to determine the total monetary benefits of all the wins that could be quantified. Financial data were aggregated to determine the total amount invested by foundations and other sources to support advocacy and organizing across the groups. A **return on investment (ROI)** calculation was made using the following formula:

$$\text{ROI} = \frac{\text{aggregate dollar amount of all wins}}{\text{aggregate dollars invested in advocacy and organizing}}$$

The ROI shows how collective financial support by grantmakers and other funding sources for a set of organizing and advocacy groups in a location over time has contributed to the collective policy impacts of these groups. It would be almost impossible to attribute a specific policy change to a particular group or grant. The use of an *aggregate* ROI helps focus the findings on the investment that all of the organizations and their supporters together have made that contributed to success. Unless otherwise noted, every monetary figure attached to an impact and cited in the report for the four states (Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington) is included in the ROI. See Appendix B for a detailed listing of monetized impacts and the calculation of dollar impact for the total ROI.

The ROI is not intended to be a precise figure but to provide a solid basis for understanding the extent of substantial benefit for communities in the Northwest from investments in nonprofits that use advocacy and organizing to achieve long-term, systemic change. It does not capture every input that contributed to these successes. For example, there were many coalition efforts in which groups not featured in this report participated, and their financial information is not reflect-

ed in the ROI. However, for the impacts that are included, one or more of the 20 sample groups played a *significant or lead role* in achieving the victory. Often, even small local groups working in broad coalitions can make the difference because of their strategic relationship to legislators, knowledge about and connection to those most affected by a public policy and ability to mobilize constituents to influence decision-makers. Additionally, a large proportion of the impacts were not quantifiable, making the ROI an *underestimate* of the benefits actually achieved. Appendix C contains a detailed listing of these equally important nonmonetized impacts.

Also, the methodology collects rich qualitative information about how the groups achieved change and how they engaged residents and other stakeholders in the process. Civic engagement that strengthens community cohesion and builds bridges across race, language and other divides demonstrates another kind of impact. The rise of a community leader to become a public official is itself an organizing accomplishment that also aids the achievement of policy outcomes. The methodology attempts to capture these many layers of impact through both numbers and stories.

IV. Northwest Socioeconomic Conditions and Philanthropic Giving

A. DEMOGRAPHICS

For the purposes of this report, we have defined the Northwest region to include the six states of Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. This understanding of the region aligns with that of Philanthropy Northwest, the regional grantmaker association. Some regional foundations also identify the region this way. Others may group the coastal states and mountain states separately, or they may add Minnesota or the Dakota plains states. We know that how each state and the region “identifies” itself varies tremendously, and that the diversity among these six states is staggering. This section seeks to highlight regional trends where they exist while also drawing attention to state-specific attributes and conditions.

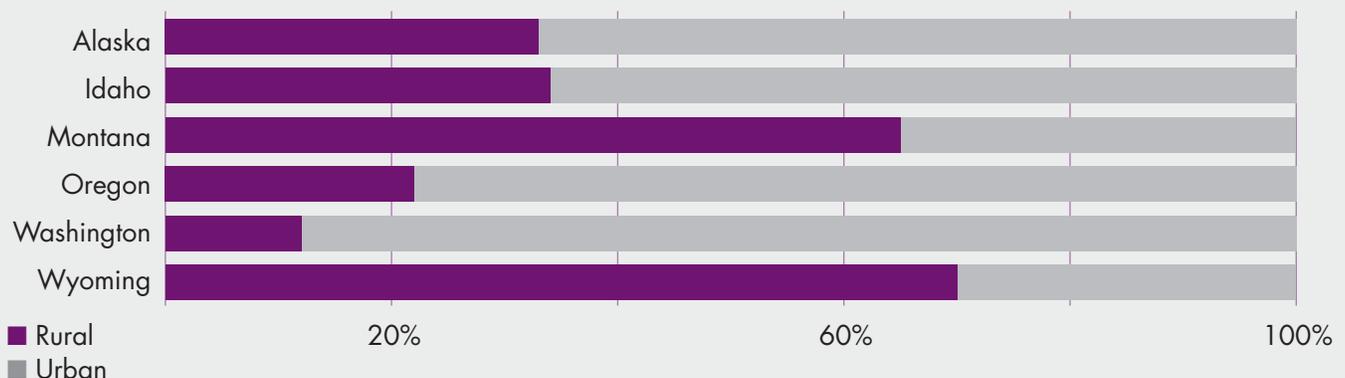
The area covered by this report includes the frozen Alaskan tundra and the dusty deserts of Eastern Oregon, the lush rainforests of the Washington coast and the mighty Rockies of Montana and Wyoming, the densely populated urban stretch from Portland to Seattle and the vast openness of Big Sky country. All six states have seen population growth in recent years,

especially Washington, Oregon and Idaho. Among the six states there is a mix of urban and rural populations, as demonstrated in Graph 1. While decision-makers and funders tend to focus their attention on urban areas in the region, vibrant rural constituencies also are hard at work improving their communities.

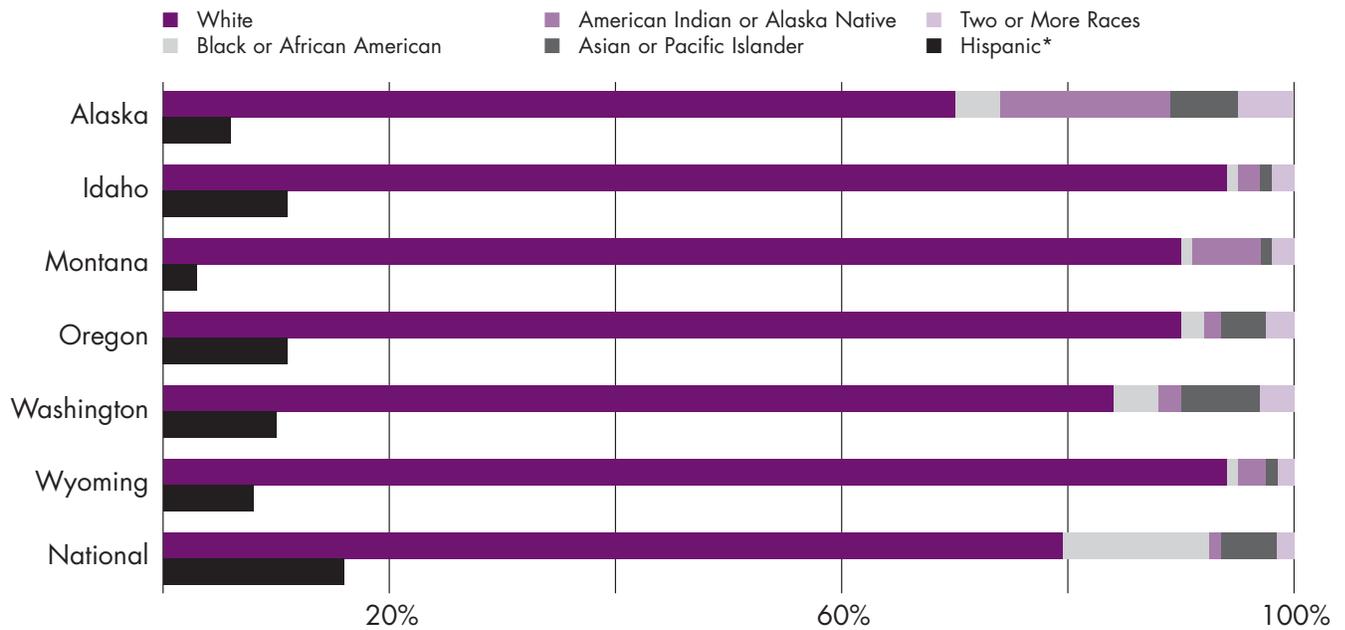
A population graph can’t capture the sheer geographic scale of Northwest states. For example, it takes 11 hours to drive across Montana and 8 hours to drive from Coeur d’Alene to Boise. There are no direct flights between Idaho and Montana, even though the states abut one another. The concept of “rural” in a northwestern state is far different than “rural” in most eastern states.

People are drawn to the rugged beauty and pristine wilderness of the Northwest, and the attitude that environmental quality and economic vitality go hand in hand has inspired many young graduates, skilled laborers, retirees and entrepreneurs to migrate there. However, this also causes tension as inevitably more people move to such pristine places. Growth presents its own set of perceived and real challenges. For these

GRAPH 1: RURAL/URBAN POPULATION RATIOS³



GRAPH 2: RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY 2009⁴



* Hispanic origin is considered an ethnicity, not a race. Hispanics may be of any race. The original race data from Census 2000 are modified to eliminate the "Some Other Race" category. For more information see <http://www.census.gov/popest/archives/files/MRSF-01-US1.html>.

reasons a common slogan in Oregon is "Come visit, Don't stay." The Seattle-Portland corridor also has seen a massive influx of immigrants from around the world, and both cities are home to many international businesses as well as foundations and nonprofits.

Graph 2 and Table 1 compare the diversity of the region to the nation as a whole. The region is less diverse than the country overall but several states are changing more rapidly.

Growth rates of foreign born populations have exceeded the national pace in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. Some urban areas have a much greater concentration – Seattle's foreign born population reached 18 percent in 2008 and Bellevue, Washington

has the state's highest concentration at 31 percent.⁶

Native Americans comprise a significant percent of the population throughout the Northwest, compared with the national figure of one percent of overall population. There are 283 federally recognized tribes across the six states, including 229 in Alaska.⁷ Major tribes include the Chinook, Clatsop, Coeur D'Alene, Colville, Lummi, Samish, Skagit, Snohomish, Spokane, Tillamook, Tlingit, Tulalip, Lower and Upper Umpqua, and many others. Many Native peoples now live in urban centers such as Anchorage and Seattle, while others remain on reservations or traditional lands. The Native peoples of the Northwest are engaged in a constant struggle for equality and self determination, and

TABLE 1: PERCENT OF POPULATION FOREIGN BORN BY STATE⁵

	2000	2008	Percent Change
Alaska	5.9	6.5	19.2
Idaho	5.0	5.9	39.7
Montana	1.8	2.2	29.8
Washington	10.4	12.3	30.9
Wyoming	2.3	2.3	10.4
National	11.1	12.5	22.0

GRAPH 3: NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATION BY STATE⁸

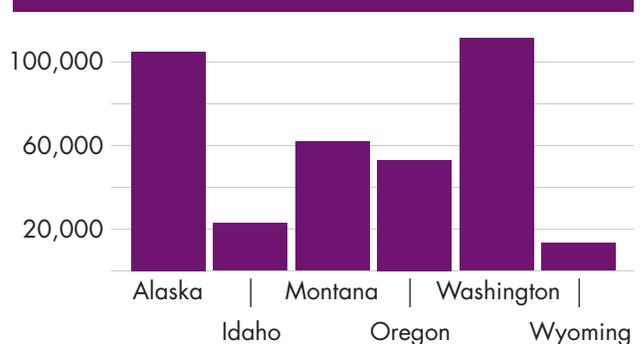


TABLE 2: POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND HEALTH CARE UNINSURED RATES IN THE REGION¹⁰

	Poverty Rate 2008 (%)	Unemployment Rate July 2010 (%)	Uninsured Rate 2006–2008 (%)
Alaska	9.2	7.7	18.2
Idaho	12.5	8.8	15.0
Montana	14.1	7.3	16.3
Washington	11.3	8.9	11.8
Wyoming	9.5	6.7	13.9

a number of inter-tribal organizations work on poverty and disparities in well being, civil rights, land rights, economic development and the preservation and revival of cultural identity.

B. SHIFTING ECONOMY, NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES

With the increasing population of the Northwest also came a shift from an economy based on raw-materials extraction such as mining, fishing, agriculture and logging to one based in the high-tech sector, tourism and added-value wood products. For example, Bend, Oregon, used to be home to the two largest pine sawmills in the world, and now is a “recreation and retirement mecca with an emerging high-tech sector.”⁹ This has had the positive effect of bringing in more jobs, as well as diversifying local economies, making them more versatile and sustainable. However, this shift also has brought about a wider gap between the rich and the poor. There are fewer unskilled or low-skill labor jobs than before, and the wood-products and hospitality industry jobs pay less than the logging and mining jobs did.

Table 2 provides indicators of poverty, unemployment and lack of health insurance for each state. Montana has a high poverty rate despite relatively lower unemployment. Oregon’s poverty, unemployment and health care uninsured rates are all some of the highest in the region.

Racial disparities are another challenge facing the region. Increasingly, organizations are using a racial equity lens to bring visibility to these disparities, which exist in both urban and rural communities. For example, in 2009, advocates in several Northwest states released legislative report cards on racial equity. In 2010, the Communities of Color Coalition in Portland issued a report called *Communities of Color in Multnomah County: An*

Unsettling Profile. The coalition found that people of color earn about half that of white individuals, \$16,636 a year compared with \$33,095; individual income for Latinos is about one-third that of whites. The report also said that one in three children of color live in poverty, compared with 12.5 percent for whites. The child-poverty rate for Native Americans is 46 percent, for African Americans 41 percent and for African immigrants 56 percent.

The growth and transformation of the Northwest also has come with a sharp focus on environmental issues and the birth of the smart-growth movement, although the benefits often accrue differently to populations by race, income and zip code. Cities and towns in the Pacific Northwest such as Portland, Seattle and Eugene are champions of sustainable city planning and environmentally savvy growth. They are known for being bicycle and pedestrian friendly, as well as providing robust public transportation systems. The region also is home to many nonprofits and foundations that are focused on environmental issues. In the mountain states, the focus on clean energy and energy efficiency has grown, and many family farmers and ranchers seek to preserve the environment from dirty forms of energy and from destructive factory farming practices.

C. GOVERNANCE AND POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Based on data from at least three states in the region,¹¹ residents are actively engaged in public life and there is evidence of strong social capital, the bonds that contribute to healthy communities. Seattle, Yakima, central Oregon and Montana ranked higher in many social capital measures than would be expected for their respective demographic profile. All four had above expected levels of engagement in protest politics, civic leadership, associational involvement and diversity of friendships. Montana and Seattle also had higher than

expected levels of social trust, interracial trust and engagement in conventional politics.

Politics in this region are more nuanced under the surface than at first glance, and few states in our sample could easily be labeled “red” or “blue.” In general, Washington and Oregon, especially in the Seattle-Portland corridor, have a very high level of civic engagement and a long history of community organizing, environmental activism and very progressive city planning involving many sectors of society and public forums. Universities in Eugene, Portland and Seattle all have very active and progressive civic engagement programs. However, both Oregon and Washington are politically divided by the cascade mountain range, with the urban corridor in the west being majority liberal, and the rural areas to the east being majority conservative.

Alaska has a similar divide, though reversed. Urban areas in Alaska consistently vote conservative, while more remote areas, which are mostly inhabited by Native peoples, consistently vote progressive. Idaho is consistently a “red” state, as it has not voted for a Democratic presidential candidate since 1964. However, in 2008, Barack Obama’s 36.1 percent showing was the best for a Democratic presidential candidate in Idaho since 1976. Overall, since 1889, Montana has voted for Democratic governors 60 percent of the time and Republican presidents 60 percent of the time. In the 2008 presidential election, Montana was considered a swing state and ultimately was won by Republican John McCain, though by a narrow margin of 2 percent. Wyoming is majority Republican, with all three congressional seats held by Republicans, yet with Democrats serving as governor of the state for all but eight years since 1975. In 1925, Wyoming, “the equality state,” was the first state to elect a woman governor; it also was the first state to grant women the right to vote.

A distinct aspect of the rural states in the Northwest is how accessible policymakers are to their constituents. Advocates in Wyoming, Alaska, Montana and Idaho noted that legislators are members of the local community. A senator representing a whole state in Congress with 500,000 residents can have a different level of engagement with constituents than a senator with six million. On the other hand, in rural states, legislators and civic leaders have a lot more distance to cover to connect with each other face to face.

Another challenge is that several of the Northwest states have biennial legislatures or budgets.¹² Washington

and Wyoming have annual legislative sessions but biennial budgets, and Oregon and Montana have biennial legislative sessions and budgets. Also, in some states, the legislative sessions may only be a few months long. For example, the annual Washington legislative session runs no longer than 60 days; the Wyoming legislature meets for no longer than 60 days total every two years; and the Montana legislature meets for 90 days every other year. Part-time legislators who make little money in that role and typically have another full-time career – and have little if any paid legislative staff – are at a disadvantage when it comes to learning the complex nuances of any given policy issue. This requires advocates to be very strategic in order to make the most of the limited time allocated for state policymaking and budgeting and the limited capacity of citizen legislators.

All six states in our study have ballot initiatives as a major facet of their political structure. This has many implications for nonprofit policy engagement. Ballot initiatives often can be labor intensive and time consuming, especially for a nonprofit that already is working on a thin budget. Ballot initiatives also tend to highlight the fault lines on hot button subjects such as immigration, taxes and LGBTQ issues, at times creating an environment of political hostility. For example, LGBTQ advocates reported that over the past two decades, Oregon has been a testing ground for anti-LGBTQ policies. Through five statewide and more than 25 local anti-LGBTQ ballot measures, those who opposed LGBTQ rights long used this state to assess public resonance with anti-equality policies, test messages and build infrastructure, pouring millions of dollars into their anti-LGBTQ campaigns.

Environmental politics also are a major hot-button issue in the Northwest. One of the frontlines in environmental politics is the battle over drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska. Other major environmental issues include toxic waste from mining sites and nuclear reactors, habitat destruction due to logging, and the tension between proponents of small scale family farms and those with a vested interest in large industrial agribusiness. Overall, citizens of the Northwest are passionate about defending the natural beauty and sustainability of the region, and countless community organizations have come together and won many important battles to protect their land, air and water.

D. NONPROFIT AND PHILANTHROPIC LANDSCAPE

The region has a vibrant nonprofit sector, even in the

more rural states. Graph 4 displays the total number of nonprofits by state, including those that file a 990 tax form and those that do not. Until recently, organizations that bring in less than \$25,000 per year were not required to complete the 990.

Washington and Oregon have a much larger number of nonprofits than any of the other states in our sample. However, when the number of nonprofits is compared to population size, Wyoming, Alaska and Montana show the greatest concentration of nonprofits in the region (see Graph 5).

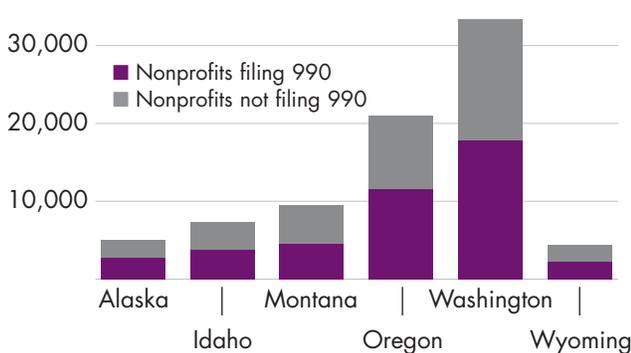
The Northwest is unique in that it has a number of organizing networks and capacity building entities that operate regionally. These include the Northwest Federation of Community Organizations, the Industrial Areas Foundation Northwest and the Western Organization of Resource Councils. The Western States Center is a capacity building entity that works also with groups throughout the region. Idaho, Montana and Oregon have thriving statewide nonprofit membership associations that play an important role in strengthening the nonprofit infrastructure, including the capacity of nonprofits to engage in advocacy. In rural states, these organizations play a critical role in fostering connections and overcoming a sense of isolation for nonprofit leaders.

Graph 6 summarizes total foundation assets, total giving and gifts received for the six states in our study. The disparities in the table reflect the findings of *The Philanthropic Divide*, a 2007 report by Big Sky Institute. The report found that three states in our sample are among the ten states with the fewest foundation assets: Montana, Alaska and Idaho. Meanwhile, the state of Washington ranked third highest nationally. According to the report, the gap is growing

between the top and bottom ten in terms of foundation assets. In 1988, the gap was \$9.2 billion; in 1998, it grew to \$25.8 billion; and in 2005, it was \$36.1 billion. The report goes on to explain, “In the divide states, where there are fewer foundations, fewer wealthy individual donors, fewer major corporate givers and limited access to out of-state foundations, local nonprofits often find themselves straining to play larger roles with the same, or shrinking, budgets.” Nonprofits in Montana, Alaska and Idaho, already at a disadvantage, may have been less prepared than those in the other Northwest states to weather the most recent economic downturn.

Major grantmaker associations in the region include Philanthropy Northwest, which covers all six states in our sample, and Grantmakers of Oregon and Southwest Washington. Philanthropy Northwest has an active public policy committee and a new program manager focused specifically on helping foundations explore how to advance their charitable work through partnerships and advocacy. Philanthropy Northwest provides its members with resources on advocacy as well as information on current federal, state and local regulations affecting philanthropy. The board and staff also assist members in tracking and understanding the context of policies affecting communities in the Northwest, and they facilitate dialogue about important regional topics. “Philanthropy Northwest thinks it is critical that its members understand advocacy as a tool to achieve their missions,” said Daniel Kemmis, chair of the Philanthropy Northwest Public Policy committee. “Our public policy committee strives to help funders engage appropriately in policy work and also to foster constructive relationships with public officials.”

GRAPH 4: NUMBER OF NONPROFITS BY STATE, 2008¹³



GRAPH 5: TOTAL NUMBER OF ACTIVE NONPROFITS PER 10,000 RESIDENTS, BY STATE¹⁴



Grantmakers of Oregon and Southwest Washington serves a diversity of funders in Oregon and Clark County, Washington. The regional association provides its members with information on community issues, grantmaking and good governance. The overall vision is a community that enables all people of the region to reach their full potential. The regional association has a history of educating its members on the opportunity and value of including advocacy in grantmaking portfolios.

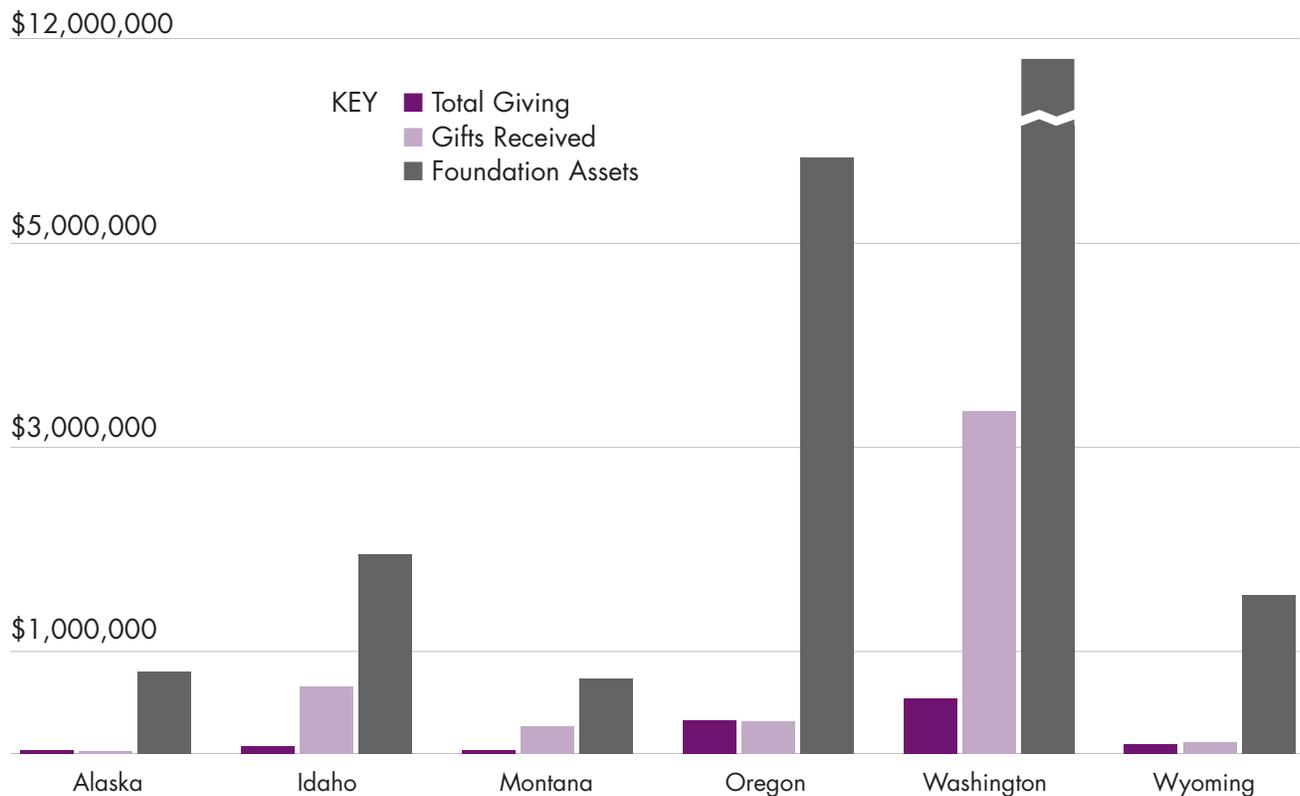
The Oregon Social Justice Funders (ORSJF) is an informal network of people in the funding community who share a commitment to social justice. The purpose of the group is to increase funders' knowledge of social justice movements in Oregon, to increase the amount of funding for social justice, and to strategize ways to strengthen the infrastructure that supports that work. The network has done briefings on ballot initiatives and on advocacy and organizing.

Philanthropy Northwest's 2010 *Trends in Northwest Giving* report showed that grant dollars to the region increased by 21 percent from 2006 to 2008, outpacing national growth in the same period. However, the recent economic recession has deeply affected the nonprofit

sector as well as ordinary citizens of the Northwest. Overall, grantmakers have reduced their giving. In 2008, the majority of funders in Oregon and Southwest Washington (71 percent) reported losses in the overall value of their assets with 26 percent reporting more than 30 percent loss in value, according to a report by Grantmakers of Oregon and Southwest Washington. Through our conversations with organizations across the region, we learned that nonprofits are experiencing a shortage of funding, especially in Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. During the current crisis, many nonprofits have had to tighten their budgets, greatly reducing the services they can provide and the advocacy role they can play, and some have been forced to shut their doors altogether. In many communities this has compounded the negative effects of the recession on low-income and marginalized populations.

This overview of key issues in the Northwest region highlights many assets as well as pressing issues. It provides important context for the findings presented in this report. Organizers, advocates and their foundation partners face a set of challenges and opportunities – some common and some unique – as they seek tangible benefits for underserved communities in their state and the region.

GRAPH 6: FOUNDATION ASSETS AND GIVING BY STATE, 2007¹⁵



V. Findings

A. RETURN ON INVESTMENT AND AGGREGATE BENEFITS

The research shows that nonprofits engaged in advocacy, organizing and civic engagement have contributed significant benefits to Northwest communities. Groups were asked to list their top five most impactful accomplishments. At least 70 separate impacts were verified, of which at least 27 were able to be monetized. These impacts directly benefit tens of thousands of workers, families, students, immigrants, LGBTQ residents and other historically vulnerable groups. Major impacts were found across numerous issues, including economic security, housing, transit, health care, education and civil rights. Detailed explanations of these impacts are found in the next section.

Overall, the numbers show that :

- > The total amount spent on advocacy and organizing across the 20 groups from 2005 to 2009 was \$33.9 million.
- > Of that amount, \$23.2 million was contributed by foundations, comprising 69 percent of all support for advocacy and organizing.
- > The total dollar amount of quantifiable benefits achieved during the five-year period was \$5 billion.
- > The return on investment, which is total dollar value of impacts divided by total spent for policy engagement, is 150.

Thus, for every dollar invested in the advocacy, organizing and civic engagement activities of 20 groups collectively, there was \$150 in benefits to Northwest communities.

As mentioned previously, the ROI is intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive. It does not capture all pos-

sible inputs, such as the funds spent by coalition partners not in the survey sample. On the other hand, many significant impacts simply could not be monetized, making this ROI a conservative figure. For example, it is impossible to quantify the benefit to society of engaging constituents, particularly those previously disenfranchised, in the life of their community, or the payoff for children who fulfill their potential by gaining access to high-quality educational and other opportunities. Further, the ROI does not capture economic ripple effects of impacts. For example, increases in wages likely have a multiplier effect as those earnings are recirculated in the local economy.

NCRP conservatively estimated long-term benefits for recurring or ongoing impacts through 2012, three years beyond the time period studied. Several of the victories will benefit communities well beyond that year. Thus, the ROI would be significantly higher if those estimates were longer term.

Finally, most of the groups are in the midst of long-term efforts still being fought. They may have had partial victories and made interim progress in measurable ways. The investments made by foundations between 2005 and 2009 will reap future rewards that cannot be quantified at present. If more foundations invest resources in advocacy, organizing and civic engagement, no doubt the benefits to the region will be even greater.

B. IMPACTS BY ISSUE

The 20 featured organizations focused their organizing and advocacy efforts on a range of issues at the local, state and national levels. This section and the following one on constituent engagement together offer a rich sense of what it took for the groups to make change.

The groups in our sample collectively faced unique circumstances reflective of the political, economic, and social context of the Northwest region of the country. Further, their experiences differed even from each other based on the specific policy contexts of their respective states and communities. The 20 groups adapted to these local and state challenges to achieve impressive impacts – some easily monetized and others not – all of which are important for the vulnerable communities they engage and represent. They used a variety of effective strategies, such as direct action, town hall meetings, relationship building with legislators, lawsuits, media campaigns, research and mobilizing constituents to advance or defeat both ballot initiatives and legislative efforts.

The NCRP team consulted with government agencies, media outlets, legislative records and other sources to verify the impact data provided by the non-profits in the research sample. Following are highlights of these successful efforts. Appendices B and C summarize all of the verified victories the 20 community groups reported. This section also features impacts from groups we interviewed in Wyoming and Alaska.

1. Economic Security

Minimum Wage – Community groups in Montana and Idaho each succeeded in raising the minimum wage in their states. The Montana Human Rights Network (MHRN) and Montana Women Vote (MWV) were part of the “Raise Montana” ballot initiative campaign in 2006. It sought to raise the state’s minimum wage by \$1.00 and provided an annual cost-of-living adjustment based on the Consumer Price Index (CPI). MHRN gathered more than 9,000 signatures to put it in on the 2006 General Election ballot. It passed with more than 70 percent of the public vote, raising the minimum wage for the first time since 1997. Montana was one of six states to pass a minimum wage increase in 2006, which helped build the momentum to pass a national minimum wage increase through Congress in 2007. Although the national increase eventually surpassed Montana’s increase, Montana workers will enjoy an additional cost-of-living increase in years when there is inflation and the CPI rises accordingly. This win benefited more than 24,000 workers at and just above minimum wage, earning them \$237 million in increased wages over six years. Idaho Community Action Network (ICAN) was involved in the successful mini-

imum wage campaign in their state, which achieved parity for workers covered by the state minimum wage but not the federal. These include farmworkers and restaurant workers who rely on tips. ICAN members rallied, testified, made phone calls, sent letters and talked to the press. At the beginning of the year, ICAN held a large demonstration at the state house during Martin Luther King Jr. Idaho Human Rights Day and called for higher wages. After the rally, ICAN members proceeded inside the Statehouse to speak with legislators. They shared stories and arguments for a more just wage. This was followed by floods of mail and phone calls to the legislative committee chair when the bill was stuck in committee. More than 15,000 workers have benefited from the 2007 raise, adding more than \$48 million to their pockets over six years.

In 2005, CAUSA worked with its partners in Oregon, including the Rural Organizing Project (ROP), Oregon Action, United Labor Lobby and its founding organization PCUN (Pinos y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste) to defeat anti-farmworker collective bargaining legislation and defend annual increases to the minimum wage. The minimum wage now stands at \$8.40 per hour and was raised to this level automatically with the Consumer Price Index. If regressive legislation had passed, annual minimum wage adjustments would have been subject to approval from the state legislature. CAUSA collected testimonies, facilitated member visits with legislators, held press conferences, and organized the 50-mile week-long Walk for Truth, Justice and Community in partnership with ROP to generate support for its efforts.

Employment – Thanks to the efforts of Portland, Oregon-based Partnership for Safety and Justice, in 2007 Multnomah County removed questions about conviction history from its initial generic job application for county jobs, thus increasing the odds of hiring qualified formerly incarcerated people and people with conviction histories. The largest county in the state, Multnomah County employs more than 4,500 people.

Although some people’s criminal records may be relevant to particular hiring decisions, asking people about their conviction history on the initial application creates an unnecessary barrier likely to lead to blanket discrimination early in the process. By doing so, the county could be screening out qualified (and perhaps the best) candidates and sending the wrong message to the public about people with felony convictions. The county adopted a nondiscrimination policy that allows

job applicants to be seriously considered based on their experience and qualifications and to discuss the relevance of any criminal history at a more appropriate time in the hiring process.

Called “Think Outside the Box,” PSJ’s campaign aimed not only to move beyond the box on job applications but also to move beyond people’s preconceptions and stereotypes about people with felony convictions. PSJ developed a speaker’s bureau of formerly incarcerated people who could effectively tell their stories in support of the campaign. PSJ replicated this victory in the city of Eugene in 2009. With wins in two major metropolitan areas of the state, PSJ now will focus on statewide legislation to break down employment barriers for people with conviction histories – providing an example of how local organizing can help generate momentum for statewide policy change.

Employment opportunities benefit not only the people coming out of prison but also their families, communities and taxpayers. U.S. Department of Justice studies show that, with limited employment opportunities, 30 percent of people released from prison are rearrested within six months of release, 44 percent within a year, and 67.5 percent within three years. The Independent Committee on Reentry and Employment reports “up to 60 percent of formerly incarcerated individuals are unemployed ... Yet, if an individual has a job at the start and end of supervised release from jail or prison, federal court statistics show that the success rate is 85 percent.”¹⁶ Formerly incarcerated individuals earn an average of only \$9,000 a year. Meanwhile, taxpayers spend an average of \$27,000 to incarcerate each prison inmate per year.¹⁷

A coalition organized by the Equality State Policy Center won long-needed reform of the Worker Compensation (WC) system in Wyoming. The coalition succeeded in getting the months-long gap in benefits closed for people transitioning from WC to permanent disability. The groups secured an inflation adjustment for permanent disability payments of 3 percent or rate of inflation, whichever is less. And they raised the death benefit for people with no legal dependents from \$10,000 to \$250,000, so that low-income parents of young workers who died could at least afford to bury their grown child and have a financial cushion to address the loss of family income. The opportunity for reform arose when the Joint Labor, Health and Social Services Committee sought to give employers a premium rebate. ESPC partnered with the Wyoming Trial Lawyers Association and the state AFL-CIO to hold a

series of meetings with workers around the state during the 2008 session. Injured workers having trouble with the WC division were emboldened by the trial lawyer’s presence; otherwise they would have been fearful to stand up and speak about the system’s problems. A reporter became interested and talked to workers who testified at meetings in Cheyenne, Casper, Rock Springs and Gillette. One worker who testified had been receiving \$1,300 a month since 1985 and then only \$890 a month since 1997. Others were losing their cars and homes when they were cut off of WC before being approved for disability. When the Labor Committee met, ESPC had 45 workers in the room. Their stories helped propel the state to take action.

Housing and Homelessness – Working with the Washington State Coalition for the Homeless, the Washington Low Income Housing Alliance won passage of the Homeless Housing and Assistance Act in 2005 that established a document recording fee to fund programs to end homelessness. The \$10 fee on the filing of certain documents generated \$16 million per year. An additional \$8 fee was passed in 2007, generating a total of \$28.8 million per year. At least 6,715 individuals have been served with the state portion of these funds, and even more have benefited from funds distributed to counties to implement their efforts to end homelessness.

The Housing Alliance supported its lobbying efforts by mobilizing the grassroots, including bringing close to 500 housing and homelessness advocates, service providers, homeless and low-income people, housing developers, and others to the state Capitol to lobby their legislators. Building on its success, in 2007 this coalition developed a joint housing and homelessness agenda for Washington State.



Photo by Bill Wortley, Washington State Housing Finance, courtesy of the Washington Low Income Housing Alliance.

In addition to human costs, homelessness is expensive financially. Temporary shelter can be more costly to provide than permanent housing. Also, many cities have determined that a “Housing First” approach that combines rapid access to low-cost apartments with support services is more effective to end homelessness. A recent study followed the progress of the Downtown Emergency Service Center (DESC) in Seattle. All the residents at this Housing First-styled residence had severe alcohol problems and varying medical and mental health conditions. When taking into account all costs – including housing costs – the participants in the program cost \$2,449 less per person per month than those who were in conventional city shelters.¹⁸

In 2008, the Housing Alliance won \$200 million in funding for the state Housing Trust Fund, the largest amount ever appropriated for the Fund. The Housing Alliance worked with its member organizations, including the Washington State Coalition for the Homeless and several local groups, to build support in “three corners”: the state house, state senate and governor’s office. The coalition combined effective inside lobbying with external pressure from constituents, including housing providers and developers and grassroots advocates.

The \$200 million for the Fund leveraged other resources at a rate of 4:1, so that investment helped generate \$800 million for the creation and preservation of homes for low-income people. With this one-time investment, the homes created will be affordable to low-income people for at least 40 years. During the 2007–2009 biennium, these resources preserved or created more than 3,400 homes and supported 150 low-income families in purchasing a home. Housing improves local economies and creates jobs. Although not factored into the ROI, every 1,000 units of low-income housing created generates approximately 1,220 jobs, \$79 million in local income, and \$8.3 million in taxes and fees for local governments.¹⁹

While an impressive victory following many years of advocacy, this win happened during a strong economy. By 2009, the state had an enormous budget deficit and pursued an “all cuts approach” rather than increasing revenue. Once again, the Housing Alliance mobilized its partners and secured \$130 million for the state Housing Trust Fund in the 2009–2011 biennium. This included \$100 million in 2009, which leveraged at least an additional \$400 million in other resources to create or preserve approximately 1,935 low-income homes and help 91 low-income families purchase homes. The additional \$30 million in 2010, after our

study period, countered an effort by the legislature to cut the previous year’s funding by \$39 million. This time, given the poor state of the economy, the Housing Alliance’s winning strategy focused on the economic stimulus effect of creating low-income housing, especially the creation of construction jobs, the sector hardest hit by the recession.

In Oregon, the Community Alliance of Tenants (CAT) worked with the Oregon Housing Alliance to pass the Housing Opportunity Bill, which created a dedicated state-level revenue source for affordable housing through a real estate document recording fee. The fee will generate an estimated \$15 million in the 2009–2011 biennium, benefiting many of the 1.15 million tenants in the state as well as low-income homeowners. CAT asserts that funding for affordable housing enables family and community stability. When families move less frequently, their children do better in school and the family can contribute in many positive ways to their community.

Through the Affordable Housing NOW! Campaign, CAT and its allies won a dedicated set-aside of 30 percent of urban renewal funding for affordable housing in the Portland Metro region. This equated to \$125.5 million since 2005, benefiting thousands of tenants in the area. Recognizing that many working families cannot afford housing and still have enough money left for basics like food and medicine, and that rising housing prices severely affect seniors, people with disabilities, and single parent families, the coalition coordinated with hunger and school advocacy groups to support each others’ campaigns for funding. The coalition initiated a mail-in postcard campaign for city council to hear from tenants in favor of the campaign, organized several policy actions and mobilized large groups to provide testimony at strategic council meetings.

Along with allies in the Oregon Housing Alliance, CAT took the lead in 2007 in convincing the state legislature to respond to the negative impact – i.e., the displacement of many long-term tenants and the elimination of precious units of affordable housing – created by Oregon’s condominium building craze. Some building owners were bypassing tenants’ rights, which include the opportunity to purchase their units, by evicting tenants, particularly in low-income properties, with 30 days notice early in the process of converting apartment buildings into condominiums. The legislature passed a law that protects up to 1.15 million Oregon tenants during condominium conversions. With this law, some low-income renters can have more

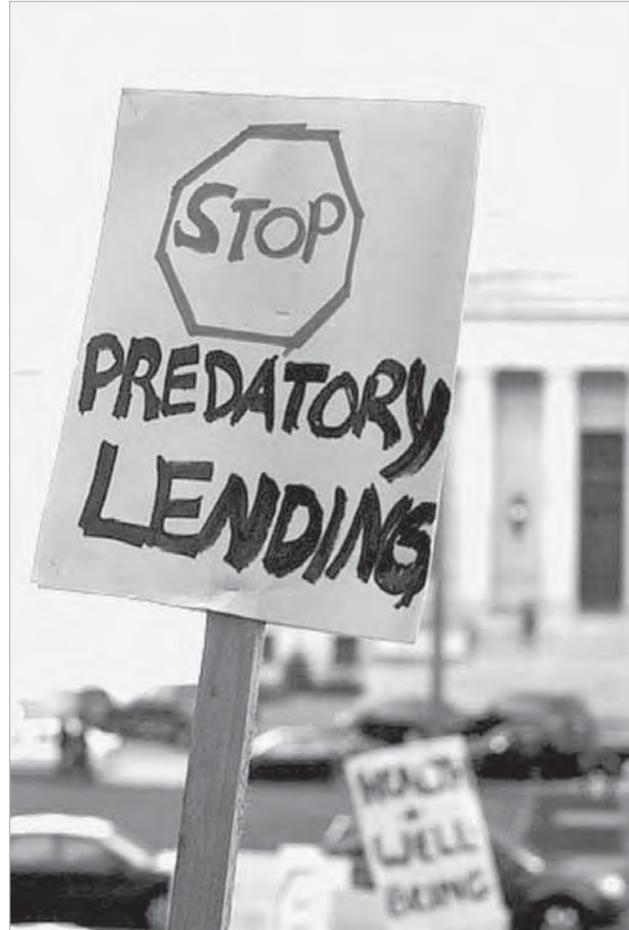
notice to move and possibly qualify for relocation assistance from the displacement.

In 2008, CAT built upon its success in the city of Portland to win adoption of rental housing inspection codes in the neighboring city of Gresham as well as countywide in Multnomah County. CAT worked with community groups, mobilized tenants and participated in jurisdiction-specific task forces to negotiate and develop the inspection codes, which enforce habitability requirements linked to health problems caused by substandard housing conditions such as mold, roaches and lead paint. As poverty shifts out of the city's central core into suburbs and unincorporated areas, consistent codes help low-income residents find housing that is both affordable and habitable. In Gresham, families likely will save thousands of dollars each per year on moving expenses alone, as well as countless savings on medical expenses from housing that makes them sick. Countywide, nearly 30 percent of residents live in rental housing.

With the Landlord-Tenant Law Coalition, CAT won establishment in 2009 of 60-day "no cause" termination notices for tenants in month-to-month tenancies. While this victory doubles the amount of time many tenants have when they are forced to leave their homes, the campaign also raised attention about the fundamental inequity in landlord-tenant relationships exemplified by landlords' ability to force tenants out of their homes for no reason. CAT hopes that raising awareness about this unfairness ultimately will provide a basis for establishing "just cause" principles in the long run.

In 2009, the Statewide Poverty Action Network (SPAN) worked with the Tenants Union of Washington State and Columbia Legal Services to win legislation increasing protections for renters living in foreclosed properties. While the bank lobby killed most of the bill, advocates were able to secure tenant protections such as additional notice before a foreclosed home is put up for sale and before a new owner can evict an existing tenant. Washington State had 61,326 foreclosure filings in 2008, with approximately 40 percent of those units occupied by renters. Communities hard hit by foreclosures and vacant properties can experience blight and neglect. Shelters and other services are stretched thinner when renters lose their homes, and banks lose money when homes sit vacant.

Responsible Lending – SPAN leads efforts in Washington State to curb predatory lending, which costs families hundreds of thousands of dollars in exorbitant interest payments each year. As the sub-prime



Courtesy of State Poverty Action Network.

market began to crash in 2008, SPAN built public support and brought personal stories to lawmakers in order to pass more consumer protections than had passed in the prior decade. These laws gave mortgage brokers fiduciary duty, banned kick-backs for high-cost loans, and banned foreclosure rescue scams. The laws will prevent future abuses in the subprime mortgage market, thus saving families money and keeping them in their homes.

In 2009, SPAN's five-year coalition known as the Alliance to Prevent Predatory Lending overcame powerful and well resourced industry lobbyists to pass Washington's first law to rein in predatory payday lenders. By requiring good repayment plans and limits on the number of loans a person can have per year, the law is expected to save consumers in the state hundreds of thousands in fees.

Asset Building – SPAN not only works to limit the debt burden on low-income families in Washington State, it also aims to build wealth. In 2005, SPAN marshaled

bi-partisan support and won passage of a state law to create an Individual Development Account (IDA) program, the first asset-building program in Washington. This provided momentum that eventually led to the creation of local asset-building coalitions. The law allocated \$1.7 million for IDAs through 2009, generating \$1.8 million in federal and other sources and benefiting at least 512 account holders. SPAN continues to advocate for ongoing funding, which must be allocated every biennial budget.

Stronger Social Safety Net – In 2008, SPAN won a 3 percent cost of living adjustment for recipients of the federal program Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, the first cost of living adjustment for TANF recipients in Washington in 15 years. With a cost to the state of \$7.8 million per biennium, approximately 56,000 families will benefit from the \$20 per month increase. SPAN worked with a coalition of welfare advocates and enlisted the support of Speaker of the House Frank Chopp to secure this budget allocation.

Fair Taxation – Five groups in the sample for this study participated in a broad coalition effort known as “Defend Oregon” that passed two progressive tax measures on Oregon’s 2010 ballot. The Rural Organizing Project conducted extensive outreach to residents businesses and the media, and developed ballot measure guides. Partnership for Safety and Justice educated members and mobilized volunteers to participate in canvassing and phone banks coordinated by both campaign staff and PSJ staff. Basic Rights Oregon also supported the campaign, donating part- and full-time staff, recruiting more than 200 volunteer hours, contributing and raising money, and working to increase support for the measures among its LGBTQ and allied base. CAUSA and the Community Alliance of Tenants also participated in and mobilized support for the campaign. As a result of this broad, coordinated effort, voters passed the first increase in corporate income tax in the state since the 1930s and increased the marginal tax rate on the wealthiest Oregonians. According to state estimates, the measures will generate \$727 million just in the 2009-2011 biennium.

In 2008, Washington became the first state without an income tax to approve a state Earned Income Tax Credit. SPAN worked closely with the Washington State Budget & Policy Center to conduct research and make policy recommendations, and won the support of Senate Majority Leader Lisa Brown to pass the

Working Families Rebate. Advocates consider it the most important change to the state’s regressive tax system in 30 years. When funded, the EITC will provide more than 350,000 families in Washington with an additional tax rebate.

In 2008, the Equality State Policy Center succeeded in a long-term effort to end the sales tax on food in Wyoming. ESPC worked with Ann Robinson, a state legislator from Casper, who took the lead to get the issue on the ballot. The rules of the ballot process make it extremely challenging for a measure to qualify, so even though the initiative got 60,000 signatures it did not make the ballot. However, the overwhelming public support for it demonstrated by the signatures compelled the legislature to take action. Once an alternative revenue source was identified to fill the gap in tax revenue for cities and counties, the legislature passed it.

2. Land Use and the Environment

Clean Energy – Between early-2005 and mid-2006, Idaho Rural Council (IRC) played a behind the scenes role organizing opposition to a proposed coal fired power plant in the Magic Valley, which encompasses portions of eight counties in and surrounding Twin Falls. As a result of public opposition, the legislature and governor acted to prevent permitting the proposed plant by issuing a two-year moratorium on all coal fired plants. Another outcome of the campaign against the plant was the legislature’s initiation of an energy planning process for Idaho that culminated in “a reasonably forward looking plan,” according to IRC’s Rich Carlson.

The “behind the scenes” approach typifies one way that advocates and organizers get things done in this conservative state. Legislators may be responsive to the opinions of ordinary residents, but if they know that an advocacy group is leading the cause, they will be more reluctant to listen. In this case, thousands of Magic Valley residents of all political stripes opposed the Sempra plant, which would have polluted their region while the energy itself would have been exported to other states. IRC and the Idaho Conservation League together bused 100 people to the legislature for hearings, organized the research and testimony, and coordinated ad hoc opposition groups in each of the eight counties.

The Snake River Alliance has grown from a nuclear energy watchdog organization to one that also advocates for clean energy. Executive director Andrea Shipley noted the challenge of explaining the

Alliance's dual mission to funders who think that nuclear energy *is* clean energy. SRA has taken leadership in creating the Idaho Energy Collaborative, which brings together conservation groups, state agencies, businesses and others that rarely work with each other. It has been building a common base of knowledge and advocating for innovative clean energy policies in areas such as energy efficiency, clean energy and, most recently, fostering green businesses and jobs. This new focus has allowed SRA to engage with stakeholders, such as the governor's Office of Energy Resources, that previously were at odds with SRA because of differing stances on nuclear issues. The collaborative hosted its first public forum on energy at The Green Expo in 2009 and has set meetings with both gubernatorial candidates to discuss its agenda.

With help from the NW Energy Coalition and grants from the Bullitt Foundation, SRA began expanding its capacity in clean energy several years ago. NWECE members in Idaho wanted more capacity to work on clean energy issues. To support their goal, Bullitt funded the salary of a clean energy expert who was initially employed by NWECE, until the right organizational fit was found among Idaho organizations. Past efforts to incorporate a clean energy focus hadn't worked out with a few organizations because invariably their other agendas would take over in the face of limited resources. SRA became increasingly interested in the idea of taking on clean energy, and NWECE provided technical and policy support. Ken Miller began working for the coalition in early 2005 and by May of 2007, he transitioned over to SRA. He currently is the board chair of NWECE, ensuring a close working relationship between the two organizations.

Energy Efficiency – Residential energy efficiency has emerged as a top national priority, and funding for it has filtered to the states through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. This funding has enticed for-profit companies into the market, often cutting corners on quality and offering low pay without benefits to workers. Spokane Alliance created SustainableWorks as a 501(c)(3) subsidiary for the sole purpose of creating jobs and cutting carbon and energy costs for moderate-income small business and homeowners/renters by providing energy efficiency retrofits in Spokane, Washington. With funding from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) Northwest expanded SustainableWorks in collaboration with Spokane Alliance to both engage the opportunities of the current policy priority, but also, and more importantly, to provide a clear alternative that provides benefits to property owners, underserved populations, local economies and the environment while training the next generation of energy efficiency workers. Spokane Alliance and Sound Alliance won funding for statewide residential energy efficiency, and through neighborhood organizing made \$1.3 million of SustainableWorks' services available to homeowners in Spokane County. Spokane Alliance typically makes approximately 4,000 contacts and receives 275 responses in each neighborhood, enabling SustainableWorks to conduct 220 audits and 145 retrofits – resulting in 2,500 pounds of carbon cut per home each year and reducing home energy costs by 30 percent. SustainableWorks employs 15 full-time workers and five apprentices.

The Northern Plains Resource Council (NPRC) also worked on this issue, first by partnering with the Western Organization of Resource Councils (WORC), of which it



Photo Courtesy of Snake River Alliance.

is a member organization, to rehabilitate an office space using recycled and renewable materials and incorporating energy efficiency measures. NPRC and WORC's new office in Billings, dubbed Home on the Range, won platinum LEED certification, the highest environmental construction standard, and was the first to be certified platinum in Montana. They use it as a public outreach tool to raise awareness of the potential of renewable energy and energy efficiency as practical, real-world solutions. Subsequently, NPRC secured funding for energy efficiency improvements in Montana's public schools. In 2009, NPRC combined its own legislative proposal with that of allies, mobilized public support, brought leaders to the capital to testify, and gained passage of a \$15 million allocation of federal stimulus funds to expand the use of efficiency improvements in schools. The initiative will reduce energy spending by school districts, allowing them to spend less on utility bills and more on classroom instruction.

Alaska Youth for Environmental Action (AYEA), a program of the National Wildlife Federation, helped youth in Juneau-Douglas High School organize to convince administrators to switch from disposable utensils and trays to reusable ones. Now the youth are helping their peers in other schools pursue the same changes.

Environmental Health – Through its Asbestos Violations & Community Safety campaign, which began in 2006, Spokane Alliance persuaded the Spokane Regional Clean Air Agency to post asbestos contractor violations on its website. The local school district needed safe contractors for its upcoming \$360 million bond election to renovate schools – so the timing allowed Spokane Alliance to not only educate consumers but also build a market for safe contractors. SustainableWorks had found it difficult to locate contractors with clean safety records to serve its approximately 43 customers per year that needed asbestos removal services.

Spokane Alliance leaders and school district representatives worked out a violation standard that allowed contractors with one or two violations to bid on projects, and those with three violations to have a monitoring company verify compliance at the contractor's expense. Those with more than three violations within three years would not have their bids accepted under the responsible contractor provision of state law. This local discussion drew the interest of the Washington State Department of Labor & Industries, which ended up partnering with SRCAA to share information on contractor violations.

Focus on Grassroots Leaders: The Dimond Family Tackles CAFOs²⁰

In the fall of 2006, Dean and Eden Dimond had their hands full running their family farm and raising three children, with a fourth on the way. Dean Dimond was a fourth generation farmer who didn't pay much attention to local politics until he learned that an 18,000 head dairy operation was planning to move into their farm community in east Jerome County, Idaho. With help from the Idaho Rural Council, the Dimonds learned how to take effective action. They began making countless phone calls, attending many meetings, taking trips to the County Planning and Zoning Office, and working with IRC to prepare a comprehensive written response to a lengthy and technical CAFO application. The Dimonds also developed close working relationships with other

stakeholders who took an interest in their cause. The National Park Service, National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Japanese American Citizens League all were concerned about the CAFO because of the land's proximity to the Minidoka Internment National Monument, the site of a World War II Japanese American internment camp.

The Dimonds' cause took Dean Dimond all the way to Boise to testify in front of an Idaho Senate committee. He had learned that a "one-mile rule" was in place statewide, allowing any county to arbitrarily limit testimony on CAFOs only to those whose "primary residence" was within one mile of the proposed animal factory. Yet, many farmers had farmland abutting the property, while their home was located

elsewhere. After Dean testified to eliminate the one mile rule, the Senate committee and full Senate overwhelmingly supported his bill. Unfortunately, a House committee chairperson killed the bill, but the publicity surrounding the proposal caused the Jerome County commissioners to allow testimony at their hearing from those beyond one mile of the proposed operation. Ultimately, county commissioners reversed an earlier vote and approved the CAFO, and recent court challenges failed to overturn the county approval. Yet, the county has rewritten its CAFO ordinance to try to address public concerns, and opponents may make further challenges. Meanwhile, the Dimonds continue to be active leaders in IRC's fight against CAFOs.

Residents of Idaho's Magic Valley have learned the hard way about the harms of unregulated industry when large scale dairy operations moved into the region during the 1990s, mostly from California, seeking cheaper land and less regulation. The number of industrial dairy farms doubled to 500 and the number of cows to 250,000 in one decade. These "mega-dairies" produce massive amounts of waste stored in giant lagoons. The waste contains antibiotics, pesticides, human and animal pathogens and other toxic materials. Yet, it is legally allowed to be spread as fertilizer on fields. IRC's Rich Carlson explained that these toxins then may contaminate tens of thousands of acres of crops, soil and ground water because of airborne "pathogen drift." Samples from just one incidence of overspray contained more than 20,000 Fecal Coliform Units (FCU) per 100 milliliters of water, which is more than 100 times the level at which human waste must be disinfected before it can be applied to land. Carlson said the migrant workers and their kids who harvest sprayed crops are the most directly harmed. While municipal and industrial waste must go through a detailed permitting process to be sprayed on fields, agricultural effluent is not regulated in Idaho.

Over the last five years, IRC has taken a number of steps to curb the bad practices of these "animal factories" or CAFOs (confined animal feeding operations). The proximity of the CAFOs to local farmers and ranchers has spurred these community members to action, and IRC has organized several rural neighborhood groups opposed to land use permits for animal factories. Permit applications must go through a public hearing process that can lead to court challenges, and Carlson said that organizing and providing legal counsel at the earliest possible stage is critical. This "package" is something IRC has a unique ability to provide in Idaho – Carlson is a lawyer as well as an organizer – and in many cases, it has been effective in either preventing construction of mega-dairies or slowing down their development.

IRC decided that it would be best to regulate the whole industry and not only fight individual battles. Between late 2006 and early 2007, IRC worked quietly in the background to mobilize members and residents to speak up when the Twin Falls county commissioners sought public input about locating animal factories in the county. As a result, the revised comprehensive plan in Twin Falls County makes it considerably more difficult to site an animal factory in any of the feasible locations of the county. IRC also saw an opportunity when the industry became more dormant

during the economic downturn – causing the Magic Valley to be called the Tragic Valley. The organization filed a petition for rulemaking, and is in the middle of the process of negotiating rules with the Idaho State Department of Agriculture (ISDA) and the dairy industry to regulate dairy waste. Although the process is ongoing, a 2009 Twin Falls Times-News editorial reported that the ISDA has already agreed to some changes, including adjusting its list of penalties to include a minimum of \$1,000 fine every time sprayed waste leaves the boundaries of a CAFO. The editorial credited IRC for forcing ISDA to act more like a regulator and less like a pure advocate for big agriculture.

Resource Extraction, Processing and Transport – The Northern Plains Resource Council has organized extensively on coal bed methane issues in Montana since 2000. In 2007, NPRC convinced the state of Montana to adopt water standards for the Tongue and Powder Rivers, as well as Rosebud Creek, with regard to pollution from coal bed methane development. These standards give irrigators and other water users the power to challenge such pollution in court. NPRC collaborated with the Tongue & Yellowstone Irrigation District, Tongue River Water Users Association, and the Buffalo Rapids Irrigation District. To convince the state, NPRC conducted research to develop the proposed standards, organized leaders to make the case, organized other members to show support and generate calls to the Board of Environmental Review, continuously monitored the water quality situation on the affected rivers and developed relationships with agency personnel. According to NPRC director Teresa Erickson, prior to the adoption of the new standards, water quality standards on the affected streams were narrative rather than numeric, which made enforcement next to impossible. Enforcement is still a challenge but has improved. These standards also formed the basis for later state requirements of treatment for water discharges.

NPRC challenged the petition of a coal bed methane company that sought to acquire a water right to its discharge water. Erickson explained the significance of the company's request, which would have set a new precedent and upended more than a century of water law that conserves and allocates this scarce resource in Western states. Western water rights law is based on the concepts of "first in time, first in right" and "beneficial use." If methane companies were to succeed in gaining water rights to their discharges, it

would have been a step toward water privatization and would have allowed the methane industry to withdraw ground water to which someone else had a senior water right and market that water to other states. NPRC filed its initial challenge to the water rights application in 2006, went to court in 2007 when the state granted that water right, and won the court decision in 2008; a final judgment was entered in July 2010.

Since 2008, NPRC has been organizing landowners in the path of a 280-mile tar sands pipeline that is part of the development of dirty tar sands in Alberta, Canada. Tar sands are naturally occurring mixtures of sand or clay, water and an extremely dense and viscous form of petroleum known as bitumen. They are found in huge quantities in Canada and are transported via pipeline to supply oil to the United States. The refining and burning of this form of oil reportedly generates more greenhouse gasses than crude oil does. The group's goal was not to stop the project, which would have been very difficult to do, but to prevent the pipeline from foisting liability onto landowners, and externalizing its other costs, contamination of water supplies, need for roads and additional electrical power, and the danger of explosions onto private citizens, natural resources and local governments. NPRC created a formal landowners association to help affected landowners negotiate as a bloc, and to help them influence their local governments to strengthen protections for local communities and hold the pipeline company accountable. The pipeline has not yet received all of its permits and the construction timeframe keeps getting postponed.

Jill Morrison of the Powder River Basin Resource Council described eastern Wyoming as an "energy colony" for the rest of the country. She said that 40 percent of the nation's coal comes from the Powder River basin, which also contains huge reserves of oil, coal bed methane gas and uranium. While tapping these enormous energy reserves reaps economic benefits for the state, the costs of extraction are externalized in the form of polluted ground and well water, polluted air and damaged ranch and farm property. Powder River and its members work to stop or mitigate the negative impacts of these externalities. Morrison explained that most landowners only own the surface rights of their properties. The federal government controls the mineral rights. This arrangement, called a "split estate," allows the federal government to auction off energy rights to companies that then can come onto a farm or ranch and create new roads, remove topsoil and install

whatever infrastructure they need to extract the resources. Powder River has spent decades pursuing greater federal and state regulation of this process. For example, the group recently got stronger state laws that give landowners more negotiating rights for the terms of their property use and that require companies seeking condemnation of land to provide greater justification. And a new state rulemaking now requires companies to disclose to the oil and gas commission which chemicals they use during hydraulic fracturing and gas drilling. Powder River got the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regional office to investigate a longstanding case of water contamination in Pavilion near the Wind River reservation. The organization has been pursuing stronger federal oversight of surface and groundwater contamination from extraction processes. "People view natural gas as 'clean' energy," said Morrison. "But the production end is very dirty. It has huge impacts on people, the landscape, the water, the wildlife and the air."

Nuclear Energy – Snake River Alliance's campaigns at the Idaho National Laboratory (INL) and in opposition to new nuclear power plants have put a spotlight on the safety and environmental concerns associated with nuclear materials and nuclear power. SRA organized to stop a federal Department of Energy proposal to consolidate all its plutonium 238 activities at the Idaho National Laboratory. According to SRA, Pu-238 has a half-life of only 88 years and is much more radioactive than Pu-239, the isotope typically used for developing nuclear weapons. An accident at Los Alamos National Laboratory that caused the leaking of Pu-238 in 2003 was difficult to remediate, causing concern about the risks to local communities in Idaho if isotope-related activities were ramped up at INL.

SRA also has worked with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to ensure ongoing remediation and cleanup at INL, where 750,000 barrels of waste from the cold war era were dumped in unlined pits and trenches. The wastes contained radionuclides, heavy metals and toxic chemicals that have contaminated the Snake River Aquifer, used by more than 250,000 people for drinking water and also as a water source for agriculture. An EPA technical assistance grant allowed SRA to hire an expert who conducted a technical review of INL's remediation plans. INL and SRA reached agreement on the degree of further cleanup needed as well as the best practices that would be used to do so. "The technical assistance grant and

negotiation process strengthened our relationship with the INL,” Executive director Shipley said. “In this part of the work, we [SRA and INL] are now less adversarial and working more as partners.”

For the last three years, Snake River Alliance has been helping communities fend off a nuclear power plant proposed by Alternative Energy Holdings, Inc. (AEHI). The plant hasn’t been approved yet, and SRA is organizing county by county to fight it. Shipley recalled early discussions with residents in Elmore County. “In Elmore County, we went out to the community and said ‘Do you want us to help?’ and they said ‘Yes, please.’ So we took our cues from them. We weren’t coming in to organize on their behalf, and made sure they were speaking for themselves. We had a core group of 40 ranchers, farmers and moms against this plant, and a city council member. We were able to bring people up the rung of understanding the zoning process, then able to bring them up the ladder to understand U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) licensing processes and then took 18-passenger vans of students and members to hearings. It was amazing. Some would testify. A fifth generation alfalfa farmer protested with us and said ‘I haven’t held a sign since Vietnam.’ We engaged highly influential farmers, and increased major donor giving by \$1,500 through that campaign alone. AEHI then picked up and moved to another county.”

Most recently, NRC has reversed itself and agreed with the Snake River Alliance that it should hold a Boise meeting to hear public comment on a proposal by Areva Enrichment Services to build a uranium enrichment factory between Idaho Falls and the Idaho National Laboratory. NRC had originally planned to hold only one public meeting in Idaho Falls on its Draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). Concerned that a lone public meeting would restrict public involvement in the hugely controversial project, the Alliance mobilized its membership, leading to more than 200 comments asking the NRC to hold at least one additional public hearing in Boise. Mayor Dave Bieter also wrote the NRC to urge it to hold a hearing on the Areva project in Boise. That meeting was granted for August 2010.

3. Civil and Human Rights

Civil and human rights issues often involve securing and enforcing laws that protect a minority population, yet the benefit extends to the broader community. For

example, when immigrants are subject to racial profiling, Native Americans and other people of color are also at risk. Racial profiling discourages people of color from cooperating with law enforcement to solve crimes. Anti-bullying measures intended to protect LGBTQ youth also protect students of color, students with disabilities and others, creating a safer environment for all students to learn. Policies that use a restorative justice approach to dealing with the incarcerated are not only more effective at reducing recidivism rates, they also save taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars that can be better spent on education than on prisons. And states that signal their friendliness to newcomers and to LGBTQ residents benefit economically from being inclusive.

Immigrant Rights – In 2006, CAUSA and PCUN (Pinosos y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste) worked with allies across the country through the Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM) coalition and the Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform to defeat House Resolution 4437, also called the “Sensenbrenner Bill,” which would have put significant restrictions on immigrants’ ability to access social and community services. Call-in days, constituent visits with members of Congress, and press conferences culminated in the largest public actions in the history of the immigrant rights movement in Oregon. In just 10 days, CAUSA and PCUN were able to mobilize a crowd of more than 18,000. Mass mobilizations like this across the country helped advance principles for Comprehensive Immigration Reform in 2006.

In 2008, Oregon joined a number of states that restricted drivers’ licenses to legal residents and citizens only. By negotiating with the speaker of the House, in



DREAM Activist Leticia Romo stood among more than 5000 activists in support of comprehensive immigration reform during the April 10th rally in Seattle. Photo by Aaron Briggs, courtesy of One America.



Rural Organizing Project leaders in Columbia County hand address 11,000 postcards to voters to defeat anti-immigrant ballot measures in November 2008.

2009 CAUSA and its allies prevented full implementation of the Real ID Act in Oregon and a mandate that the Department of Human Services check the immigration status of people receiving services.

In a collaborative effort with dozens of community organizations, the Center for Intercultural Organizing won a Portland citywide resolution in 2006 to protect the rights and liberties of the immigrant and refugee community, to better include them in civic/public life, and to provide specific strategies for improving government processes and services. This led to \$1.8 million in city funding for diversity and civic leadership development programs over five years, and \$490,000 through 2012 for a Newcomer Portland program in the Office of Human Relations.

In 2008, CIO organized its members and worked in coalition with Rural Organizing Project, CAUSA and others to successfully defeat two harmful statewide anti-immigrant ballot initiatives by creating a space for diverse immigrant and refugee organizations and lead-

ers to strategically engage in electoral organizing. Through early organizing, one of the harmful initiatives did not make Oregon's 2008 ballot. Measure 58, which would have severely limited access to English as a Second Language in Oregon, did get on the ballot, but was defeated through the efforts of the immigrant rights coalition.

ROP, along with longtime allies CAUSA, Basic Rights Oregon and others, defeated two anti-immigrant ballot measures in rural Columbia County in 2008, one at the ballot and the other in the courts in 2009 after the voters passed it. Measure 5-190 proposed a \$10,000 fine on any business found to be employing undocumented workers. Measure 5-191 proposed that 4 x 8-foot signs be posted at every construction site stating "Legal Workers Only" and the contact number for the Department of Homeland Security. The "No on 5-190 & 191 Campaign" was an exemplary cooperative effort between an energetic local grassroots movement for human dignity and principled statewide progressive organizations that clearly saw the dangers inherent in these types of anti-immigrant measures. As the first two county level anti-immigrant ballot measures in the state, these wins set the tone for immigrant justice in Oregon.

In Washington State, from 2006 to 2009 the Hate to Hope Coalition, which includes Community to Community Development in Bellingham and the statewide Seattle-based organizations OneAmerica, the Church Council of Greater Seattle, and Washington Community Action Network defeated three anti-immigrant statewide initiatives filed by organizations led by members of the Minutemen Project, thus benefiting more than 100,000 immigrant workers and their families in the state. The Hate to Hope Coalition has transitioned into a progressive policy and advocacy group called the Win/Win Network that works to pre-empt these types of initiatives.

OneAmerica also works to advance pro-immigrant policies and programs in the state. Washington State has 160,000 legal permanent residents who are eligible to naturalize but do not because of barriers such as lack of information, cost and fear. Further, rural areas of the state lack immigration lawyers to serve the need. In this context, OneAmerica tied immigrant rights and citizenship to economic development, presenting research on the economic contributions immigrants make to the state and how immigrant integration services would assist both the state and working families economically. OneAmerica sent each legislator information that

showed how immigrant communities were important in their district – number of immigrants; immigrant voters OneAmerica had registered; number of members; and information about immigrants in the labor force. These stats helped ensure that every elected official knew immigrant integration affected their district. Further, OneAmerica members advocated for themselves, telling legislators their stories and putting a human face on services. Together, these efforts resulted in the creation of the Washington New Americans Program in 2008. Initially a pilot program, OneAmerica won continued funding in 2009 and 2010, totaling \$862,000 since inception. According to state senator Adam Kline, OneAmerica further leveraged these state funds by garnering support from private foundations, including The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, a federal grant and in-kind legal support from attorneys.

In February 2008, Governor Christine Gregoire signed an executive order creating the Washington New Americans Policy Council to improve immigrant integration across the state. OneAmerica had advocated for the Council because it recognized that its constituents struggled to navigate community and government processes, from accessing medical services to registering to vote. The Council aims to bridge the knowledge gap among both the immigrant community and service providers.

In 2009, OneAmerica created the Washington Immigration Reform Coalition, which now includes more than 90 organizations (including unions, churches and faith-based groups, immigrant service organizations and some businesses) to support immigration reform. The Coalition has been able to accomplish significant events and many “firsts” such as a rally for immigration reform on April 10, 2010, in Seattle that brought more than 3,000 people from all corners of the state, which had never been done before, as well more than 1,000 Asian Pacific Islanders to participate, making it one of the largest non-Latino crowds in the history of immigrant rallies. OneAmerica also has been able to use the momentum generated to bring about significant events that have helped push Congress members to take the need for immigration reform seriously. Specifically, Washington State’s senators became the first in the country to send letters to President Obama articulating the need for immigration reform in 2010; and the Washington State Sheriff’s Association became the first of its kind to send a similar letter. In addition, OneAmerica has been able to mobilize 1,000 Microsoft employees to sign a petition for immi-

gration reform, leading to additional engagement from these individuals who had never previously been engaged in immigration reform advocacy. With one out of every five children born to immigrant parents (of any status) and somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000 undocumented immigrants in the state, comprehensive reform would enable immigrants to participate more fully in their communities.

In the 2007 and 2009 biennial legislative sessions, the Montana Human Rights Network partnered with allies to defeat an onslaught of anti-immigrant proposals. In 2007, the group worked with the ACLU of Montana to defeat ten anti-immigrant pieces of legislation. In 2009, MHRN organized a coalition of groups to oppose eleven bills successfully. These included bills that would deny public assistance to undocumented immigrants, require English proficiency to obtain a driver’s license, and allow police to stop anyone for questioning if the officer suspects the person of violating federal immigration law. The coalition included immigration attorneys, labor organizations, faith organizations, civil rights groups and domestic-violence prevention groups. Travis McAdam at MHRN noted that in addition to benefiting the estimated 30,000 members of the immigrant community, defeating the bills also helped the Native American community. Many of the bills promoted racial profiling, which would have negatively affected Native Americans in Montana.

In 2007, the Idaho legislature considered two immigration related proposals – one to make English the official language of the state and a second bill, known as the “liar’s bill,” which would give the insurance industry the freedom to mislead consumers whose language was other than English. ICAN testified against both. The English only bill became law, but ICAN was successful in winning support to stop the “liar’s bill.” ICAN’s second victory on immigration issues in the state legislature came with the passage of a resolution opposing implementation of the federal REAL ID law. REAL ID set national standards for state-issued photo ID cards and driver’s licenses and required states to verify the validity of proof of identity documents and store them in databases. ICAN’s Karen McWilliams testified about the hardships the elderly would face in providing their citizenship status to obtain a driver’s license. ICAN partnered with the ACLU and other allies in passing the resolution. Stopping REAL ID saved one million residents up to \$100 each to acquire a new photo identification card, and it saved the state tens of millions to implement the requirements.



Casper College students protest legislation calling for a constitutional amendment prohibiting Wyoming from recognizing same-sex marriages and same-gender civil unions legally made in other states. The amendment was defeated on the House floor. Photo courtesy of ESPC.

LGBTQ Equality – Basic Rights Oregon and its 501(c)(3) affiliate Basic Rights Education Fund won two major victories in 2007. (Note that they will be referred to collectively as Basic Rights Oregon in this report, though only the 501(c)(3)'s monetary impacts have been included in the ROI.) The Oregon Equality Act banned discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression in employment, housing, public accommodations, education and public services. By passing this law, Oregon helped the national movement surpass the 50 percent mark of US population covered by LGBTQ nondiscrimination protection. While this law primarily benefits the roughly 4 percent (or 153,000 people) of the Oregon population that openly identifies as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender, many businesses indicate that creating a welcoming environment in the state for LGBTQ employees will strengthen the workforce and thus the economy. Moreover, straight/non-transgender people point to a higher quality of life knowing that their community values inclusion and that discrimination is against the law.

The Oregon Family Fairness Act created domestic partnerships that grant to same-sex couples many of the rights, benefits and responsibilities that are granted to opposite sex couples who marry under state law. By passing this law, Oregon became the first state in the nation to grant comprehensive state-based relationship recognition to same-sex couples under the confines of a constitutional amendment banning marriage equality. In the past, same-sex couples had to prepare legal documents costing thousands of dollars to try and create many of the legal protections that Oregon's Domestic Partnership law provides. In 2005, 10,899

couples publicly reported being in same-sex relationships in the American Community Survey; the actual number is likely substantially higher due to under-reporting. According to the Williams Institute,²¹ the state of Oregon will save more than \$3.6 million in costs from the rise of domestic partnership households, which affects Medicaid eligibility and other programs. Through March 2010 at least 3,508 couples had registered as domestic partners.

Basic Rights Oregon successfully defended the nondiscrimination and domestic partnership laws from going to the ballot for repeal, reducing the likelihood of a national wave of similar ballot measures over the next decade. These victories resulted from a comprehensive advocacy strategy that included lobbying, public testimony at hearings, telling real stories through earned media and winning editorial board statements, and building coalition with business, labor, religious and other organizations to publicly support the campaign. The defensive victory in 2008 was won by challenging the petition gathering process and by joining with the State of Oregon to defend the results of this process in federal court.

Also in 2007, Basic Rights Oregon and ROP worked together with local leadership to pass a nondiscrimination ordinance in Wasco County in 2007, the first rural eastern Oregon community to pass nondiscrimination legislation inclusive of sexual orientation and gender identity.

The Equality State Policy Center and its member organization Wyoming Equality have fended off Wyoming efforts to prohibit recognition of same-sex marriages from other states. According to ESPC Director Dan Neal, many business people quietly opposed the legislation because they didn't want their efforts to recruit workers from other states to be negatively affected. One Republican legislator stood up and stated that his daughter in Montana was gay, so he couldn't support the bill. Rep. Pat Childers (R-Cody) urged the House to vote against it. "Folks, to my dying breath, there's not anybody in this country who can say that she is a terrible person, or some person who has to have her rights restricted," Childers said. "She lives a quiet life with her significant other. Most people wouldn't even know she's gay." A newspaper account said Childers grew up in Texas when it was still a segregated state and that the marriage bill reminded him of the injustice he saw black people suffered when he was young.²² According to Neal, Childers said he knew it would cost him his reelection to speak out. He was reelected nonetheless.

Criminal Justice – The Partnership for Safety and Justice focused on two specific measures on Oregon’s November 2008 ballot. Measure 61 would have been the largest prison building initiative and incarceration of nonviolent offenders in the history of the state. If passed, it would have cost at least \$361 million over four years, not including another \$1.1 billion necessary for prison construction – further depriving health and human services, K–12 education, and other critical institutions from needed funding. PSJ backed a competing initiative, Measure 57, which was a more balanced approach to dealing with property crime, rejecting mandatory minimums and investing heavily in drug treatment and addiction intervention, all at a lower price to the state. Through its efforts and those of coalition partners, Measure 61 was defeated and Measure 57 passed. This dual victory suggests success for PSJ’s progressive public safety agenda and framing – that a primary focus on prison building and incarceration is costly and ineffective, while investing in treatment and other prevention focused programs reduces future crime and saves tax dollars in the process.

As a founding member of the political action committee Better Way to Fight Crime, PSJ volunteers logged 1,770 hours and conducted personal outreach to more than 15,000 Oregon voters between May and Election Day 2008. With its affiliated 501(c)(4) the Safety and Justice Action Fund, PSJ leveraged more than \$220,000 to support the passage of Measure 57 and the defeat of Measure 61. PSJ developed new and unlikely allies through this campaign, including the labor union representing state correction officers. It also strengthened existing relationships with allies like ROP and Basic Rights Oregon.

Building on momentum from the 2008 ballot measure campaign victory, PSJ entered 2009 hoping Oregon’s projected \$4 billion deficit would help shift the emphasis from prison spending toward different investments that grow safe, sound, healthy communities. In late June, in the last few days of the session, the Oregon legislature passed a historic omnibus sentencing reform bill – the Safety and Savings Act, creating \$49.7 million of savings from reduced need for prison beds. The legislation reinvested that money into parts of the public safety infrastructure better designed to reduce crime: Oregon State Police, Community Corrections, addiction treatment, community-based victim services like domestic violence shelters, and the Oregon Youth Authority, which helped prevent youth from being transferred to adult prisons. National

research indicates that juveniles who are treated as adults in the criminal justice system are not only more likely to commit future crime but are also much more likely to experience intense physical harm while incarcerated. Thus, PSJ’s efforts to keep youth in the juvenile justice system should not only reduce future crime but also help protect young people who are in the system. The act also included sentencing reforms like increased earned-time eligibility for nonviolent crimes and for felony probationers and reduced reincarceration for technical violations of probation, and allowed for reduced terms of active post-prison supervision and probation. These reforms actually reduced the case load for probation officers, thus allowing more focus on higher-risk offenders.

Support for Domestic and Sexual Violence Survivors – In 2007, PSJ’s Crime Survivors Program focused on increasing the Oregon Domestic and Sexual Violence Survivors Fund, the only source of general fund money that supports more than 50 community-based programs across the state. This collaborative effort succeeded in increasing it from \$2.5 million to \$4.5 million. PSJ entered the 2009 legislative session with the intent to increase ODSVS again. But the severe economic recession created an even greater challenge: protecting as much funding as possible while all governmental agencies were facing funding cuts of 15-30 percent. Working with the Oregon Alliance to End Violence Against Women, PSJ ensured that ODSVS was not only protected from funding cuts, it was budgeted at just under \$4.9 million to adjust for inflation. Altogether these advocacy efforts resulted in \$4,280,000 in additional funding.



Actors perform a scene in “What Would You Do?” a 15-minute play organized by Partnership for Safety and Justice about a family experiencing domestic violence and racial profiling. Photo by Naomi Stukey.

Racial Justice – In spring 2006, the Center for Intercultural Organizing joined with Oregon Action and others to host a series of Community Listening Sessions on racial profiling by police. About 45 Portland police officers and more than 267 community members participated. In October 2006, the Portland City Council accepted a recommendation derived from the listening sessions to establish a Racial Profiling Commission.

More than 100,000 off-reservation American Indians/Alaskan Natives live in Washington State, but their particular needs and interests often are overlooked in policy considerations. Seattle-based United Indians of All Tribes Foundation works to include urban Indian issues and the perspective of the nation's 2.4 million urban Indians into national and statewide policy initiatives and conversations. UIATF participated on the steering committees for the 2009 Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity, which was distributed to the state legislature in spring 2010, as well as a "high cost of being poor" report. UIATF serves as the fiscal agency for the National Urban Indian Family Coalition, which creates relevant research and advocacy for urban American Indian/Alaskan Native populations nationally, and initiated the Urban Indian Roundtable to provide a platform for policy analysis and recommendations for urban Indians in Washington State. Through NUIFC's efforts, a group representing 12 cities across the country will meet with representatives from President Obama's Domestic Policy Council, White

House Office on Urban Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, Department of Health and Human Services, Department of Labor and other federal agencies to discuss federal policy relating to off-reservation American Indian/Alaskan Native populations. Through this kind of persistent advocacy and presence, UIATF ensures that urban Indians are no longer invisible in important policy discussions, research, and decisions.

In 2008, ICAN launched an anti-racism campaign against a Lewiston Burger King after a worker reported unfair treatment by one manager to an ICAN leader. The leader took up his cause and helped develop a campaign to fight back. After repeated discrimination and mistreatment of employees of color, ICAN and others pressured Burger King to: 1) terminate the employment of the shift manager at fault; 2) provide cultural sensitivity training and post a diversity statement; 3) end favoritism and establish a fair process for promotions, and 4) issue a public apology. A committee composed of Burger King employees, both current and former, was formed to implement the campaign plan, which included picketing the Burger King on "Whopper Wednesday" and calling for a boycott. The committee gained support from the local Episcopal Church, an elder with the Nez Perce tribe, and concerned community members. Burger King accepted all of the demands, and paid employees for lost wages. This is a great example of how local campaigns can strengthen leaders' skills and relationships and develop new leadership in the process.

Focus on Grassroots Leaders: Native Leader Lita Pepion Finds Voice with Montana Women Vote

In 2008, Montana Women Vote began a concerted effort to reach out to Native women and strengthen its ties with Native American communities. In one year, MWV chapters in five areas of the state forged new relationships with local Native organizations and collaborated on voter registration or voter education events. Four Native women joined local steering committees. At the statewide level, MWV connected with the Montana Native American Women's Health Coalition (MAIWHC), a statewide group of reser-

vation and urban Indian women leaders who are focused on the health issues in their communities. MWV formed relationships with their members and did voter outreach at their Billings conference on Native women's fitness, and presented at their statewide conference in Missoula.

This thoughtful and intentional outreach brought MWV to the attention of Lita J. Pepion, a single mother of three sons and enrolled member of the Blackfeet Tribe. Pepion lives in Billings and promotes Native American fitness

and health through her own business and her work at the Billings Family YMCA. Pepion explained what drew her to the organization.

Coming from poverty as far back as I can remember, I always thought politics and the whole "game" of modern society were arranged to benefit the rich and keep the poor poor. No matter how educated I became, how hard I worked, I still struggled from pay check to pay check without any extras. I wondered how women with less education, mini-

Election Reforms – In 2005, Montana Women Vote worked on two measures to make it easier for residents to participate in elections. The first, Same-day Voter Registration, allowed voters to register and vote up to and including Election Day rather than closing registration 30 days before an election. The bill passed in the 2005 state legislature, and MWV also helped defend attacks to roll back same-day registration in the 2007 and 2009 legislative sessions. MWV collaborated with other voter-rights groups who represent different constituencies, including Montana Conservation Voters, Disability Rights Montana, League of Women Voters and AARP. They also worked with Native American allies to make sure the policy met the needs of reservation communities. Another key to the voting-rights groups' success was meeting with the clerk and recorders to work out a same-day voter registration system that could be implemented statewide, drawing on other states' models. They also secured a strong base of legislative allies early in the session. MWV reported that almost 7,500 Montana voters utilized late registration in 2006 and more than 10,000 did so in 2008. This is a significant number of votes in a state where many legislative races are won by fewer than 100 votes. Having same-day voter registration is particularly important for voters who move more frequently and often are underrepresented (i.e., low-income voters, young voters and Native American voters).

In 2005, MWV worked with the same allies to pass No-fault Absentee Voting, allowing all Montana voters

the opportunity to vote by mail. MWV constituents reported they wanted access to absentee ballots because it gives them time to look over the ballot and cast an informed vote and removes the logistics of getting to the polls on Election Day. In the 2006 general election, 29 percent of Montana voters cast ballots by mail, and this proportion was up to 43 percent in 2008. Increased use of absentee ballots has contributed to higher voter turnout rates in Montana in recent elections: 64 percent in 2006 and 74 percent in 2008.

The Equality State Policy Center fended off a 2009 legislative proposal that would have made it harder for residents to vote in Wyoming. The voter identification bill, modeled on a strict Indiana law, would have required voters to show a photo ID that also included an expiration date. ESPC was able to mobilize opposition to the proposal, so that it didn't even get out of committee. The group pointed out that voter fraud is not an issue in Wyoming, and the bill would have violated same day voter registration provisions already in place. Also, the bill would have harmed Native American voters, because official tribal ID cards have a photo but may not have an expiration date.

ESPC also has worked for many years to improve the information reporting systems for legislative processes, candidates and elections. In 1997–1998, ESPC launched a website to track campaign contributions to legislators and their votes on bills. This spurred the legislature to do its own website, which Dan Neal says “has gotten better and better. The state websites

mum wage jobs alone as parents felt. How do they get by if I'm as stressed out from what it takes me to survive and I have so much more than they do?

I felt that something had to give – that we couldn't go on in this pressure cooker but didn't know how I could help change the paradigm so that opportunities are equal and not just said to be.

Then, in the winter of 2009, Pepion and her sister received scholarships from MWV to attend the orga-

nization's Women's Policy Leadership Institute in Helena. Pepion's experience there motivated her to get more involved. “I learned so much about what it takes to effect change and about the many women who were already involved in the process, promoting efforts for women at the policy level. I finally knew what had to be done although I hadn't bought into the process fully and still haven't.” In the spring of 2010, Pepion helped support in hosting a policy institute in Billings, so that women who couldn't

make the long overnight trip to Helena could still learn about the political process and “how they can have a voice in their future and that of their children and grandchildren.” Pepion is proud to be part of MWV and hopes to get as many women excited about working for change as she was after her trip to Helena. As a primarily white organization, MWV is continuing to work to be an ally to Native women and support Native women's involvement in the democratic process.

load quickly, which is important because many people still have dial-up internet connections.” The group recently won a requirement that candidates must file electronic campaign contributions reports and expenditure reports, allowing the public to have timely and accessible information about candidates’ finances. It still is voluntary now but will become mandatory in 2012 for all candidates.

4. Health

Health Care Reform – Washington Community Action Network’s (WCAN!) efforts at the state level helped shape the national policy debate on health care reform. Following three years of effort, WCAN! won creation of the Washington Prescription Drug Card in 2005 despite significant opposition from pharmaceutical companies. The multi-state purchasing pool makes prescription drugs much more affordable, generating an estimated \$12.2 million in consumer savings for 100,000 enrollees since 2007. The program is open to everyone in the state, regardless of race, income, age and insurance status.

Recognizing that small business owners were not well-represented by business associations on issues related to health care, WCAN! organized and recruited small business owners to win passage of the Health Insurance Partnership in 2009. A model exchange that will be expanded to meet the requirements of national health care reform, HIP will use \$27.8 million in federal subsidies for low-income employees of small businesses and may achieve hundreds of millions in potential savings and efficiencies. As the program expands, it will serve 600,000 uninsured Washington residents.

A national leader in language access, Washington State still has tens of thousands of patients without access to a medical interpreter when they need one. In 2008, WCAN! secured language access services and financial assistance at two local hospitals in Snohomish County, benefiting 70,000 limited-English-speaking residents. Each hospital has improved translated materials and signs and set up toll-free language interpretation lines. The cost savings in terms of improved outcomes because of the presence of an interpreter is not easy to quantify but no doubt significant.

Also in 2008, WCAN! worked to expose the excessive profits of private insurance companies who were overcharging people in the individual market. Insurance companies were raising rates in the individ-

ual market up to 43 percent every year, and people were simply losing their insurance because they could no longer afford it. This Rate Hike Accountability measure gives the elected insurance commissioner greater authority to approve rate increases, which indirectly benefits all health insurance purchasers.

Washington’s Basic Health Plan is a fully state-funded, subsidized health insurance program for working families that do not qualify for Medicaid but can’t afford private insurance. It covers residents regardless of citizenship status. Every year, WCAN! trains its members who are also BHP enrollees to tell their stories and educate decision-makers about how important this program is to them. While this program was reduced 40 percent in 2009, WCAN! worked with allies to prevent elimination of the program and maintained it at this level in 2010. BHP currently enrolls 66,000 people and provides more than \$337 million per year in subsidies.

Access to Services – PSJ’s passage of the Safety and Savings Act of 2009 (described above) helped protect community-based addiction treatment and mental health services in Oregon from severe cuts.

Spokane serves as the medical hub for a region including parts of four states. The Spokane Alliance saw Project Access as a short-term, partial solution to prevent one of the two local hospital systems from declaring bankruptcy, providing services for those who desperately needed them, and preventing further scapegoating of those who had no alternative but to walk away from crushing medical debts. The Spokane Alliance also helped pass enabling state legislation in 2005 for the Prescription Drug Assistance Foundation, which coordinates free and discounted drugs to be offered through community organizations like Project Access. The campaign generated enough money for Project Access to offer free health care to approximately 13,000 working poor individuals. The work of Project Access benefits also hospitals and their workers as well as lessens costs for those who are able to pay their hospital bills.

Spokane Alliance partnered with other institutions to provide free medical screenings through WellnessWorks in 2008–2009, serving approximately 400 people with an estimated one-time dollar value of \$40,000. Member institutions provided the sites and publicity to their members and neighborhood, Washington State University College of Nursing provided student staff with supervision, and Empire



Lemonade stand at a Healthy Montana Kids Rally at the Capitol. Photo courtesy of Montana Women Vote.

Health Services provided equipment and supplies. Bringing screenings to the community provided an opportunity for faith institutions to connect with their neighbors in low income areas. Engaging member institutions in health care action leveraged continuing interest in the issue at the state and national level.

The WellnessWorks effort followed an effort by Spokane Alliance to protect the interests of employees, the community and low-income, uninsured people when Empire Health Services, a nonprofit hospital system, faced bankruptcy and was selling out to a for-profit hospital system 2007–2008. The Spokane Alliance’s campaign sought to have the sale completed as soon as possible because Empire Health Services was losing money and the longer the sale took to complete, the less would be given to the public health foundation from the proceeds of the sale. While Columbia Legal Services advocated through legal channels, the Spokane Alliance advocated to Secretary of Health Mary Selecky to require commitments from the new owners.

Since under state law the Department of Health must regulate the sale of nonprofit hospitals to for-profit corporations, the public hearing process offered the best opportunity to influence protections. The Spokane Alliance and its partners further moved the Department of Health to provide a valuation of the nonprofit’s assets, especially important since there was only one buyer and the market could not adequately provide a fair purchase price. As a result of these efforts, the State Health Department required the new owner, Community Health Systems, to increase funding for indigent care to 3.35 percent of budget, just under twice the amount paid by the previous owner, and to pay a minimum of \$80 million to the community foundation created from the sale to continue the nonprofit mission of Empire Health Services.

CHIP/Medicaid Expansion – In 2005, ICAN released *Bar to a Healthy Future: Stories of the Immigrant Children Left Behind*, which focused on lifting the five-year bar on legal immigrant children’s eligibility for the State Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP). The release was cosponsored by St. Alphonsus Regional Medical Center and Catholic Charities of Idaho in Boise, and was successful in highlighting the problems this bar created in the lives of immigrant families. ICAN then worked in partnership with NWFCO, its other affiliates and other health care advocates in 2009 to ensure that federal CHIP reauthorization would happen and would contain a provision allowing states to cover more immigrant children and pregnant women who were otherwise excluded from eligibility for five years after entering the U.S.

ICAN worked on the reauthorization in several ways: members contacted Idaho’s congressional delegation through letters, phone calls and faxes; held a press conference outside of Rep. Mike Simpson’s office and then went to his office to give him chocolate chip cookies; and wrote letters to the editor. ICAN and its allies were able to turn Rep. Simpson’s “no” vote on reauthorization into a “yes.” ICAN leader Jolene Poen was present at the White House when President Obama signed the bill into law early in 2009. The law provides federal funding to cover certain noncitizen children under age 21 and/or noncitizen pregnant women (eligible during pregnancy and up to 60 days post-partum). A state can elect to cover both or only one of these groups under this new law. While this is a big win nationally, Idaho residents have yet to benefit, since the state has not adopted the immigrant access portions of the law.

The Montana Human Rights Network and Montana Women Vote joined with labor unions, Montana Children’s Defense Fund and others to pass the “Healthy Montana Kids Plan” ballot initiative in 2008. The plan raised the state CHIP and Medicaid eligibility limit from 175 percent to 250 percent of poverty, enabling these public health insurance programs to cover up to 30,000 additional Montana children. When all eligible children are enrolled, the federal and state expenditures for the program are projected to increase by \$92 million per year. MHRN gathered 10,000 signatures and MWV gathered 3,000 to put the measure on the 2008 General Election ballot and advocated for its passage. MHRN also conducted train-the-trainer workshops on using the human rights framework to advocate for the policy and wrote letters to the editor. In November 2008, it passed with more than 70 percent of the vote.

“This was a measure that showed broad support for public health care programs,” said Travis McAdam at MHRN. “It also allowed us as an organization to promote our values-based message that healthcare is a human right, not a commodity to be purchased by only those who can afford it.” Alysha Jannotta at MWV added, “This strong support was critical in holding the legislature accountable to fully funding the initiative.” In fact, during the 2009 Montana legislature, legislative committees tried to cut or eliminate funding for the plan, but the groups successfully coordinated efforts for the measure to receive full funding. “And it was important for showing Montana congressmen – including Chair of the Finance Committee Senator Max Baucus–state support for addressing our health care crisis,” noted Jannotta.

In Alaska, Anchorage Faith in Action – Congregations Together (AFACT) also worked on CHIP expansion, and expanded eligibility in the CHIP program, Denali KidCare, from 151 percent to 175 percent of federal poverty level. They successfully moved the legislature to increase DKC to 200 percent, but the bill was vetoed by the Governor in June 2010. Their effort continues. In addition, AFACT got the state to ease Denali KidCare enrollment barriers by moving from six-month to 12-month continuous eligibility.

In 2009, the Center for Intercultural Organizing partnered with several other organizations led by people of color to advocate for the inclusion of specific racial justice language in Oregon’s successful health care reform bills. This generated government funding to cover significantly more immigrants and refugees,

provide Medicaid and CHIP coverage for legal immigrant and refugee children who have been in the country less than five years, and create an oversight body for medical interpreting. This important victory reshapes the way Oregon provides healthcare to people of color, immigrants and refugees.

Reproductive Health – Thanks to the hard work of pro-choice organizations in the state, no anti-choice legislation has passed during the last ten years in the Montana legislature, despite the introduction of dozens of anti-choice bills every biennial session. MWV added to the effort by helping present reproductive choice within a broader framework of issues affecting the health and well-being of women and families. The MWV Coalition also provides a vehicle for other women’s organizations (such as economic justice and domestic violence organizations) to support pro-choice legislation, which helps prevent alienation of pro-choice issues. In 2005, Montana passed the state’s first pro-choice bill, protecting patient access to clinics with a “buffer zone” from protestors. MWV also worked with member organizations NARAL and Planned Parenthood on a successful “decline to sign” campaign against a “life begins at conception” ballot initiative that failed to qualify for the ballot in 2008 and 2010. MWV and its member organizations have also worked hard to promote a proactive reproductive healthcare agenda which includes increasing access to comprehensive sex education and affordable birth control.

5. Education and Youth

Early Childhood – The Children’s Institute’s (CI) Ready for School campaign expanded Oregon Head Start Pre-kindergarten (OPK) by 3,200 children during the 2007 legislative session. CI enlisted business and civic leaders as key messengers on the economic impact of investing in early childhood and worked with the Governor’s office and key legislative leaders. The combination of business and civic support helped ensure bipartisan support for this effort within the legislature, resulting in \$74.5 million in new funding since 2007. This represented almost a doubling of the state’s commitment to this program, serving an additional 3,200 children in the program every year.

Ready for School campaigned to maintain OPK funding during the 2009 legislative session. The state was experiencing almost a 25 percent shortfall in gen-

eral fund revenue. OPK was one of two education programs – and one of the few programs across state agencies – to not receive any cuts, maintaining the \$39 million increase. Dell Ford, director of the Oregon office of Head Start Collaboration, said “The Children’s Institute and Ready for School have been so wonderful in helping to get funding for Head Start. They are business people and bankers who can really make things happen. Children’s Institute staff provides compelling research on the cost effectiveness of pre-k and the importance of quality early care.” She noted that even though recently the state instituted across the board cuts of 9 percent to all state programs, cuts to other programs were much more considerable than to Head Start.

In 2009, Ready for School also advocated for first-time funding for Early Head Start, Head Start’s companion program serving children living in poverty below the age of three. Business and civic leaders remained the primary messengers. The campaign’s message focused on the importance of investing even earlier as away of capitalizing on the investment that the state had already made in Oregon Head Start pre-kindergarten. In addition, it focused on how this relatively modest investment would lay the foundation for a seamless birth-to-five early education system for Oregon’s most at-risk children. While the governor put \$1 million in his 2009–2011 budget, the legislature was not able to fund the program at that time due to the extreme budget shortfall. However, the legislature appropriated the \$1 million during a supplemental session in February 2010, serving an additional 64 children in Early Head Start.

Given CI’s mission to ensure that all children in Oregon arrive at school ready for success, as well as its focus on accountability and return on investment, CI felt it was important not just to advocate for additional revenue for programs but also for the data collection and analysis needed to measure the effectiveness of these investments. In September 2009, CI released a report identifying weaknesses with Oregon’s kindergarten readiness survey and suggesting standards that school readiness assessments should satisfy. When a new school readiness assessment is up and running, it will be an invaluable resource for policymakers in determining how to effectively direct investments, as well as for schools and advocates in tracking progress in making sure all children arrive at school ready for success. Since the release of the report, CI has been working in close partnership with the Department of Education to develop a new measure of school readiness.

In 2008, CI collaborated with state agencies (e.g., Child Care Division, Department of Education) and private partners (e.g., Oregon Community Foundation) to develop the Education and Quality Investment Partnership (EQUIP), a public-private partnership to improve the quality of child care in Oregon. The launch of EQUIP with \$2.9 million in stimulus funding and \$200,000 from the Oregon Community Foundation followed the release of CI’s report on early childhood professional development, which included a recommendation for additional incentives for ongoing education. Raising the quality of child care programs and strengthening early childhood professional development benefits children throughout Oregon.

Safe Schools – Basic Rights Oregon won legislation to strengthen and enhance Oregon’s anti-bullying policy for K-12 public education in 2009. Approximately 31–39 percent of Oregon’s one million public school students report experiencing bullying or harassment in a 30-day period. Thus, 310,000 to 390,000 students stand to benefit directly from the Safe Schools for All Youth Act. Reducing the incidence of bullying not only improves the educational experience and attainment of the victims; it also improves the prospects of the bullies themselves. Numerous studies indicate that bullies who are not stopped at an early age go on to have higher rates of incarceration.²³

Several years ago, Anchorage Faith and Action – Congregations Together (AFACT) secured a partnership with the Municipality of Anchorage and Campfire USA to establish after-school and summer recreation programs in underserved neighborhoods. These well attended programs are free to families and keep chil-



Carl Topkok, with his father Andrew, shares his story of feeling lost and alone in the Anchorage School District at a public meeting with the Superintendent of Schools in 2005. Photo courtesy of AFACT.

dren safe when they are not in school. AFACT also promoted family safety when members mobilized a low-income neighborhood to secure \$225,000 in grant money to reduce crime in the community.

Indian and Alaska Native Education – In 2005, MHRN supported legislative efforts to pass funding for Montana’s “Indian Education for All” program. The primary supporters were the Montana Indian Education Association, Office of Public Instructions, MEA-MFT (teacher’s union), and Montana Quality Education Coalition. Montana has more Native American legislators than any other state save Alaska, and the Office of Public Instruction is headed by a Native American, pointing to the importance of having representation in government to achieve policy reform. Although the program had been part of the Montana Constitution since the 1970s, it had not received funding for implementation until the 2005 Montana Legislature. Since 2005, the state has appropriated \$6.4 million for the program. While opponents to Indian Education for All claimed it only benefits some students, the program gives all school children a more complete picture of Montana history. MHRN believes this program can help address racism directed at Native Americans and increase understanding of treaty rights and tribal sovereignty.

AFACT’s organizing in the Alaska Native community is particularly of note. Beginning in 2005, Alaska Native leaders trained in AFACT’s model began one-on-one visits in their communities, and were hearing again and again that Alaska Native children were falling behind in school. The leaders began a campaign asking the school district to address the high dropout and low graduation rates among Alaska’s Native youth. Their initial action, held in 2005 and attended by more than 300 people, reverberated around the state. As one Alaska Native elder said after the meeting, “I never thought I’d see this in my lifetime.” Initially, the School District responded with a pilot project in two schools, which involved AFACT leaders training teachers on conducting parent home visits.

Efforts to reduce the barriers between teachers and parents might have ended in 2007 if not for the perseverance of the Alaska Native organizing leaders. In 2009, the Alaska Native organizing ministry presented the Anchorage School Board and the Superintendent with a formal proposal to use \$178,000 in ARRA (American Recovery and Reinvestment Act) funds for a formal parent teacher home visitation project. The leaders persisted, returning to the school board repeat-

edly until there was a firm commitment to the project.

As one leader noted, “When we are present at [school board meetings], everyone seems to know who we are.” In August 2010, the school district began the pilot project in four schools. As proposed by AFACT leaders, trainers from the Parent Teacher Home Visitation Project in Sacramento, Calif. were brought to Alaska for a formal teacher training; they will return in January for continued training and follow-up. Both attitudinal and academic measurements will be used to evaluate the project.

C. ACHIEVING IMPACT THROUGH CONSTITUENT ENGAGEMENT

As the impact highlights showed, each organization featured in this report engages its constituencies in advocacy and organizing on the issues that matter most to them. This engagement of underrepresented communities is valuable in its own right, as it brings people who have been left out of civic life into the democratic process. It also helps expand social capital – the networks and connections that bind people together in a broader social fabric. Strong social capital has been correlated with positive child outcomes, low crime rates, economic prosperity, physical and mental health, policy innovations and responsive government. Civic engagement builds the “people power” that is needed to bring meaningful change to the institutions and systems on which these communities depend.

1. Training and Involving Leaders that Lead Themselves

Table 3 captures the breadth and depth of constituent involvement among the organizations studied. Collectively, the 20 groups reported training and engaging thousands of marginalized constituents during the five-year period 2005–2009.

Numbers tell only a small part of the story. These organizations have pioneered sophisticated and highly effective models of engagement that offer examples for other parts of the country.

“At the heart of all things, what we do is leadership development,” said Wim Mauldin at Spokane Alliance. This sentiment was echoed by a number of groups. For example, Rural Organizing Project’s mission is to “strengthen the skills, resources and vision of primary leadership in local autonomous human dignity groups

with a goal of keeping such groups a vibrant source for a just democracy.”

The bottom line for Alaska Youth for Environmental Action is youth empowerment and leadership development, since youth will keep those skills throughout their lives and use them to create change. “Civics & Conservation Summit,” one of AYEAs annual trainings, is focused on civic engagement. Its most popular and longest running training is held at the state Capitol for one week during the legislative session. Youth choose one to three policy issues to focus on and learn about them and the political process. At the end of the week, they have the opportunity to meet with their state senators and representatives to share their opinions on the issues.

The students also have the opportunity to choose and participate in organizing campaigns at local and state levels, usually with a strong focus on policy issues. At a 2006 training on climate change in which youth from around the state were in attendance, one youth wrote a “Letter to Our Leaders” that asked political leaders to take action on the climate change issue. Other students were inspired by the letter and started to collect signatures endorsing it. They travelled all across the state and collected 6,000 signatures from other students, about 15 percent of high school-aged youth in Alaska. A group of the youth campaign leaders then traveled to Washington, D.C., to present the letter and signatures to Senator Lisa Murkowski. Program Director Megan McBride recalled, “It was successful because at that time Alaska political leaders were not acknowledging that climate change was real. It also sparked inspiration and passion in the youth who participated, and they learned a lot about leader-

TABLE 3: NUMBER OF MARGINALIZED COMMUNITY MEMBERS ENGAGED, 2005–2009

Number of new individual members	98,619
Number of trainings	1,539
Number of individuals trained (non-duplicate)	11,073
Number of core leaders ²⁴ developed (non-duplicate)	3,772
Number who attended public actions	417,194
Number who communicated with policymakers	323,998
Number educated on issues	1,681,232

Focus on Grassroots Leaders: Young Marcelas Owens Became National Voice for Health Care Reform



Marcelas Owens during a March for Health Care Reform. Photos courtesy of Statewide Poverty Action Network.

One shining example of local residents leading for themselves is 10-year-old Marcelas Owens, who gained national notoriety when he attended President Obama’s signing of health care reform in 2010. Marcelas’s grandmother, Gina, first joined WCAN! when someone knocked on her door a decade ago. Gina eventually joined the board and became an active leader. She and her daughter Tifany, Marcelas’s mother, testified at the state Capitol for the Patients Bill of Rights and other issues the organization was moving. When Tifany got sick, she lost her job and, with it, her health care. As a result, she died from a treatable condition at only 27 years old. Marcelas, who was only a young boy at the time, told his grandmother he wanted to continue the fight. He started telling his story at school, then at WCAN! meetings to other members. He participated in WCAN!’s summer conference and organizer trainings, so he understood the power of that story. Eventually, he connected with U.S. Senator Patty Murray. The *New York Times* wrote about his story as the turning point in the health care debate – it became about humanity again and what was at stake for people, rather than policy technicalities. Senator Murray, and even President Obama, highlighted Marcelas’s story. The young man himself did 26 media interviews in five days.

WCAN! points out that “Marcelas was an influential part of the health care fight, but he didn’t just come out of nowhere. He came out of three generations of community organizing and leadership training with WCAN! That’s what put him in a position and gave him the skills to do what he did, stay on message with his compelling and straightforward story.” WCAN! takes nothing away from this incredible young man, but locates him in a larger context of intentional and effective leadership development and training.



This volunteer handmade all these Montana Women Vote signs and banners.

ship, climate change and peer-to-peer education.”

Once an organization creates an expectation of constituent engagement and leadership, it must continue to deliver or else lose its credibility and, ultimately, its relevance. Spokane Alliance looks not only for an endorsement from its members but also for a commitment from people to “walk and talk a campaign.” Over time, members who represent their institutions on Spokane Alliance’s strategy team may skip the crucial step of really engaging their peers in dialogue and decision-making. Ultimately, the institution knows it did not really have a voice in the campaign. That can create a distance between an organization like Spokane Alliance and its member institutions. “They

think we are doing great stuff – but not their stuff. That distance can be fatal.”

Partnership for Safety and Justice recognizes the importance of work on public policies, since “they impact how we live.” But equally important, “People develop a sense of their own voice and both their individual and collective power in the process of changing policy. So policy victories are great, but we are involving members in significant ways so their leadership is being developed in the process, while also learning what level of power we can wield when we are working together as a united front.” PSJ’s action teams meet monthly to talk about strategies and issues, get training and strengthen their skills and capacities as individual organizers and advocates. PSJ also hosts daylong events in Salem for skill- and issue-based workshops.

With 35,000 dues paying members and some in every legislative and congressional district in Washington State, Washington Community Action Network engages a broad constituency in its campaigns. The group estimates that more than 60,000 people take some action with WCAN! each year. A smaller subset of members gets on a leadership development ladder. At any given moment, about 800 people are at some stage of leadership development.

Multifaceted, Culturally Appropriate Training

While specific training and capacity building topics vary, the groups featured in this report tend to teach some combination of the nuts and bolts of organizing, an overview of legislative and electoral processes and how government works, analysis about specific issues and political education. For example, Montana Women Vote hosts “Learn and Do” days at the Capitol, focusing on issues its members care about and how to talk to legislators about them. The group also hosts an International Women’s Day at the Capitol.

The Center for Intercultural Organizing (CIO) blends the indigenous approaches of its immigrant and refugee constituents with U.S. organizing methods in a year-long training. Prospective participants must apply and respond to essay questions about past community organizing experience, issues facing the community, their definition of leadership and their motivations for seeking leadership training. CIO weeds out people who “just want to build their résumé, versus really wanting to help their community, who understand the landscape so they can take that knowledge back to their community.” CIO’s leadership development program, Pan-Immigrant Leadership and Organizing Training (PILOT), combines

skill building around community organizing, how to run campaigns and how bills become law with political education about U.S. immigration policies and state laws that have excluded or included certain populations, with particular emphasis on how Oregon and Pacific Northwest communities of color were affected. In this way, different immigrant populations develop a collective lens and shared analysis that helps to unify their communities. Participants apply their newly learned skills and knowledge through special projects. The 2008 class organized a candidates' forum for Portland's mayoral election. From drafting questions to interviewing people running for mayor, participants gained a sense of power. In 2009, CIO took 55 leaders to the state legislature, most for the first time.

CIO described the sense of empowerment that comes from meeting elected officials: "I am in your district; these are the core issues I care about; what are you going to do about them?" In turn, "The buzz at the Capitol was 'I've never seen so many immigrants and refugees.'" Next, CIO wants to support its leadership development participants to utilize a newly established member-run media center to create messages for elected officials and the general public and distribute them on DVDs.

CIO added, "People getting involved in their own government and institutions ... that is the foundation on which this country is built. You can serve someone through social service, but you can have the greatest impact on disparities and injustices we are dealing with only if you think about the long term and look at root causes. Instead of just dealing with the surface, issues can be resolved with the long term sustainability of policy change."

Washington Low Income Housing Alliance is beginning to do more leadership development with people who are low-income. The group envisions eventually having low-income people in key legislative districts, connecting with the Housing Alliance as a hub, ready to push legislative priorities and tell their own story to lawmakers. The Housing Alliance's trainings emphasize how to talk to lawmakers, as well as community organizing so people can do work in their own communities. Trainees better understand key issues and become more comfortable talking about them, while also gaining confidence in the value they bring to the mix.

Northern Plains Resource Council and CAUSA both teach negotiation skills in their leadership development workshops. These skills come in handy when, for

example, they face a large and well resourced adversary. NPRC described a situation in which 40 families are crossed by 30 percent of TransCanada's pipeline route. "They have to negotiate with this huge multinational corporation, so we trained them on how to negotiate." CAUSA sees its role as helping Latinos, documented and undocumented, achieve the American Dream, a middle class life. The organization sees an indicator of progress toward that dream in the number of Latinos from its Leadership Academy becoming more involved in church and school councils and applying for business or home loans.

Community to Community Development (C2C) noted that it is not enough to train leaders without also preparing the environment "to give those leaders a fighting chance." C2C founder and executive director Rosalinda Guillen models her efforts after the "Chavez model of organizing," exemplified by the United Farm Workers' efforts to "soften the environment for a collective bargaining campaign." Guillen has found it challenging to find community organizers that fit C2C's model and approach. She says most community organizers are trained "in the corporate model – lots of campaign training but not about transforming relationships." As a result, C2C has started growing its own organizers, training local students about community building, relationships and transformation. Guillen acknowledges that her organization's limited resources undermine her efforts. "We train people who move on to other places to improve the world," she said.

Urban Indians of All Tribes Foundation also struggles to find community organizing training that fits its cultural norms and constituent needs. The organization sees its role as "creating platforms for grassroots community members who aren't in the usual 'leadership' capacity roles in the community," said Janeen Comenote. "We do it organically. What we find effective in Indian country is really good culturally appropriate leadership training, which inherently brings out community organizing [skills] and empowers people. That works better for us than mainstream 'community organizing' training."

OneAmerica compared leadership development to "plowing the ground." Founder and executive director Pramila Jayapal believes that leaders develop through both failure and success. OneAmerica's trainings emphasize practical things about conducting actions, and also include an opportunity to reflect on experiences. "If we have a failure, then we have a discussion about the failure to understand it and move us to another level. This helps us not to make same mistake again."

Spokane Alliance’s process follows a cycle from listening to discernment to action to evaluation. “When people are leaders, we take a lot of time to reflect with them on that. That helps them grow as leaders. It also keeps them relationally connected. They are not alone in whatever leadership role they are taking on.”

Practicing Leadership

With these skills and analysis, constituents often direct and apply their leadership back into the organizations that developed them. As an organization run by its members, Community Alliance of Tenants builds the capacity of low-income people to self advocate. Almost everybody involved with CAT, board and staff, has a similar story of contacting CAT’s hotline, being invited to volunteer and getting increasingly involved over time. Most of the people who participate in CAT’s advocacy efforts say they have never been a part of any kind of social change movement before.

Many of the groups prioritize the leadership development of the most marginalized among their constituents – women, young people and indigenous people, for example. Creating strong women leaders is an explicit goal of Snake River Alliance and C2C. “Our biggest focus is to get voices into decision-making processes that normally aren’t there. Mainly leadership development, organizing, addressing issues from that perspective – from folks who have not been at the table or haven’t been heard,” said C2C’s Guillen.

SRA builds leadership through interns or Boise State University service learners: “We are committed to developing young leaders; one former intern is now on our board. She is Native American, lives in Nampa, and just went through the WILD program. We have strong male leaders as well, but we see the importance of cultivating female leadership.” Western Institute for Organizing and Leadership Development (WILD) is a two-year intensive organizing and leadership development training program run by the Western States Center.

Basic Rights Oregon told the story of Laura, who got engaged in 2003 during hearings on the nondiscrimination law in the legislature. A transgender woman who had been a decorated police officer, Laura had been outed in the workplace and lost her job. She started phone banking and became a “super volunteer” with Basic Rights Oregon. She also got engaged politically in the community in ways she never had before. She now is state treasurer for the Democratic Party of Oregon and was the second transwoman to be a delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

She continues to be a member of Basic Rights Oregon’s Trans Policy Working Group and part of the leadership of its Trans Justice work.

2. Building Movements, Not Just Organizations

The organizations profiled in this study clearly must run effective organizations and campaigns in order to achieve their impacts. And yet, notably, groups in the Northwest stood out from other regions of the country in terms of their movement orientation – looking beyond their individual organizations, issues, constituencies and short-term campaigns in favor of longer-term and more holistic processes that build power, change mindsets as well as policy, address root causes and build their organizations strategically. As CIO noted, “We have to think about the long term in our work. Our issues are historical; they cannot be solved in a short period of time. So we must have a movement building strategy.”

Connecting Across Issues, Constituencies and Tactics to Effect Systems Change

According to C2C’s Rosalinda Guillen: “The movement’ is actually lots of autonomous movements that intersect at specific points to maximize human potential. Each movement moves in a spiral. Eventually, real movement building is more than one spiral moving and intersecting with each other, always moving and changing because, ultimately, it is about the human condition and human relationships, which are always changing. So it never ends; there is no finite end to movement building and community organizing, only continual improvement and readjustment with benchmarks and milestones that move you to the next level.”

According to this understanding, problems facing a community cannot have single, simple solutions. Guillen continued, “There are multiple facets to every issue. Every problem and solution is connected to something else, and if you change it, you will change something else. So you have to understand your community. And organizations must be able to collaborate; no single group can accomplish real social transformation alone.”

A complex framework such as this begs a complex organizational mission. For C2C, “This is the way we think here. We are a multi-issue, multicultural, multifaceted organization. We understand the connection between all these issues – human rights, civil rights,

sustainability – not just from an economic point of view but from a human point of view.”

Many organizations see their role as helping constituents connect specific issues to a larger frame. Working across issues is fundamental to Montana Women Vote. MWV has been a cross-issue organization since its inception, as the founders saw clearly how the issues they worked on (violence against women, access to reproductive health care, environmental health and housing) were interrelated and all were exacerbated by poverty. Said executive director Alysha Jannotta, “Being able to work across issues is key to having the ability to effect real change for women in Montana.”

Statewide Poverty Action Network focuses its advocacy efforts on the root causes of poverty. Executive director Beverly Spears said, “We will advocate for existing social programs on a larger level – TANF, for instance – to help keep people’s heads above water. But we also want to drain the pool so those programs are not even necessary. That’s why we advocate on things like predatory lending.”

CAT’s success highlighting the intersection of health and housing led to a multiyear grant from Northwest Health Foundation to research the impact of mold and moisture on tenant health. This grant not only furthers CAT’s policy agenda, but also builds a new organizational capacity in research, which in turn opens up an opportunity to build coalition with people in the health field who share an interest in the intersection between housing and health.

CAUSA located this model of “intersectional” organizing to Latin America, where various sectors — like education, affordable housing, women’s issues — each have their own organizing identity but unite across issues to address a community’s needs. But CAT added, “There are lots of different ways that systems change happens ... so it is important for funders to recognize that each group will come up with a solution that works best for their constituencies.”

In 2004, Partnership for Safety and Justice merged with an organization focused on crime survivor advocacy, resulting in a multifaceted organization working on criminal justice and public safety issues with a

holistic analysis and a variety of constituencies. With a structure that is unique to Oregon and the country, PSJ works with system stakeholders and all the people affected by crime – victims, people convicted of crime and the families of both. PSJ helps these groups, which normally end up on opposite sides of criminal justice issues, recognize that systemic changes affect everyone and benefit the larger community.

PSJ leaders stated, “We connect meta level problems in the criminal justice system to people’s lives, even if they’ve never had any connection with the criminal justice system. Oregon is one of a handful of states that spends more on prisons than higher education. The Oregon Department of Corrections is the fastest growing part of state budget – it went from \$380 million to \$1.4 billion in 15 years. That means something. People make the connection to schools closing down and the difficulty they have paying for college because tuition continues to increase.”

These groups also match their systems orientation with robust strategies and tactics. The Children’s Institute looks for leverage points where it can generate “action and ripple effects.” The organization uses its research reports as a launching pad for going deeper on an issue, forging relationships, convening stakeholders and moving them to action in the policy arena. This includes some “unusual suspects,” such as the business leaders CI engages in its “grasstops” approach. For example, Richard C. Alexander headed one of the state’s largest business groups, the Associated Oregon Industries. Alexander sees wise invest-

“We will advocate for existing social programs on a larger level — TANF for instance — to help keep people’s heads above water. But we also want to drain the pool so those programs are not even necessary.”

— Beverly Spears, Executive Director
Statewide Poverty Action Network

ments in early childhood as a cost-effective approach to building a stronger economy, reducing crime and breaking the cycle of poverty. He has become a powerful champion for CI’s cause, with an ability to “run circles around others on the facts,” recognized CI staff.

It can be frustrating when an intersectional, holistic approach does not match funder silos. An Alaska advo-

cate observed that the environmental movement in the state is “run by white people who moved to Alaska from the lower 48 and do not understand Alaska.” In contrast, Alaska Youth for Environmental Action is trying to build a long-term movement by and for a diversity of Alaskans. AYEAs first goal is youth empowerment, and then to create long term environmental change through movement building. AYEAs does leadership training with high school youth, and its one thousand members are organized into nine chapters. AYEAs strives to have a mix in terms of geography, gender, race and ethnicity. One-third to one-half of participants in trainings is Native American. One-third of participants come from rural communities, one-third from urban areas and one-third from small towns.

This holistic approach may come with a price. “Some environmental foundations have been reluctant to fund us because they see AYEAs as more youth oriented; our focus is not on short-term policy change,” explained Megan McBride. Ironically, youth and edu-

mission, movement-oriented organizations strategically work in coalitions.

Working in Coalition

SPAN noted, “Everything we do in Washington is in coalition. Otherwise we would have no power against the banking lobby, the insurance lobby or payday lenders. We come up against huge lobbies. We have to work in coalition.”

In Oregon, Western State Center’s Vote Project helps connect organizations strategically to draw on each other’s strengths. As ROP’s Amy Dudley described, “Basic Rights Oregon has more focus and skill on traditional legislative campaigns and familiarity with using the voter file. CAUSA, as the immigrant rights coalition, has deep relationships with Latino communities and access to national strategic thinking on comprehensive immigration reform. Our niche is being statewide and having people and local organizing infrastructure in every legislative district and coun-

ty. Single issue groups are more ‘inside Salem.’ Rural organizing often requires taking on multiple issues that matter to small, tightly knit communities and finding the ways that these issues are linked and relevant locally. Just as people’s lives are not single issue, neither is rural organizing. But we can take information from

issue campaigns out to local leaders in the areas of the state where this can pack the biggest punch.”

OneAmerica in Washington noted, “We know that movements are about our ability to mobilize significant power through relationships in other communities like labor and faith. We spend a lot of time bringing those communities along as well.” For OneAmerica, one of the important ways to bring about difficult and seemingly controversial policy changes is to ensure that it also is engaging “nontraditional” allies such as law enforcement and business. “This issue [immigration policy] doesn’t just affect immigrants; it affects everyone. We need to show policymakers that this is the case – and, in some cases, give them ‘cover’ for what may be perceived as a tough vote.”

Recognizing that Canyon County is one of the largest and most powerful counties in Idaho, with one

“I celebrate when my counterparts who work in education, health, etc. get advocacy grants because a victory for any nonprofit in that area will help change grantmaking strategies for all nonprofits — regardless of their issue focus.”

— David Rogers, Executive Director
Partnership for Safety and Justice

cation funders also have been reluctant to support them because they see AYEAs as focused on the environmental movement.

Having a systems lens also can lead to frustration when an organization does not have the capacity to meet all of the needs it sees. SPAN’s Spears noted, “We need to take on workforce training legislation and legislation to close the achievement gap because we know that education enables you to move into the middle class. We want to move low-income people into the middle class, so we have to work on asset building, savings, affordable housing ... but you can’t get that without living wage job. Implementation of health care is another thing that needs our help.” To be sure, the list could go on, overwhelming even the most sophisticated organization. Thus, to address multifaceted root causes, while still staying focused on a core

of the largest Latino populations in the state, Idaho Community Action Network has built relationships with Catholic Charities, Community Council of Idaho, Center for Community and Justice, and the unstaffed Mujeres Unidas de Idaho and Hispanic Caucus to do voter registration and education.

The Washington Low Income Housing Alliance's efforts at coalition building have paid off. "We can now say that we're not just the organizations who are counting on funding to develop housing," said executive director Rachael Myers. "We have faith community reps, low-income people, housing developers and 'regular people' across the state who care about affordable housing. That gives us a different kind of power when talking to lawmakers."

CAUSA's Francisco Lopez added that many Oregon organizations not only work on joint campaigns, but serve on each other's boards of directors and even support each other in fundraising. He said, "Rather than everyone going after the same money, we'll do it in collaboration. We don't have a culture of competition. [Our allies'] work is as valid as our work. We have been in meetings with donors nationally and said 'you need to give money to ROP,' and they did the same for us. Our organizations need to be there for each other." PSJ's David Rogers observed, "I celebrate when my counterparts who work in education, health, etc. get advocacy grants because a victory for any nonprofit in that area will help change grantmaking strategies for all nonprofits – regardless of their issue focus."

Focusing on Relationships and Shared Values, Not Issues

How do these groups, with such distinct missions and concerns, stick together? CAUSA's Lopez said, "Through the years, we have built relationships. We do not organize around issues but values – value of family, hope, justice, dignity. When you organize around values, relationships tend to last longer than a single issue or campaign." He points out that this orientation runs counter to the dominant U.S. culture, as it requires "a political culture, not an individual culture."

Some organizations with a big membership of diverse institutions or congregations talked about how they've built up trust over time and a process to deal with potential wedge issues. Dan Neal at Equality State Policy Center in Wyoming noted, "We are a dues paying organization, with 30 member groups. People have worked together for a long time. There is a lot of trust. We operate on consensus. We are trying to build a

movement. So when we are deciding whether to take a position or work on an issue, folks will look the other way rather than just oppose something [that the majority supports]." ESPC recently assembled a blue-green coalition to find common causes among labor and environmental groups.

For some, focusing on relationships is a practical necessity. "It's difficult to organize in Idaho," said Rich Carlson at the Idaho Rural Council. "It takes longer, it takes time to build relationships. But people here aren't stupid; they see what is in their self-interest. You need to have a long-term relationship with people before they will trust you, but that's what it takes to make significant change. It will take pressure from the inside, not the outside, to change Idaho."

C2C, which was founded to reflect the U.S. Social Forum concept of autonomous social justice movements moving in the same direction, favors what Guillen called "open dialogue that closes in on common solutions that addresses issues." She added, "It's not about shifting power from one group to another, but about transforming what power is and changing systems."

Spokane Alliance's Wim Mauldin explained the difference between basing community change on relationships as opposed to issues: "Being able to gather people around an issue is, generally speaking, short term and easier to do. As soon as the issue is done and resolved, however, the group that worked on it tends to disintegrate. If we base our organization on relationships with each other and a larger understanding of our community needing an ongoing influence of ordinary folks to shape it according to their values, it becomes more clear that once you get one issue done, the job is not done. It's important to maintain a presence in the community over a series of issues. Other players in the community realize you are not going to go away, which means you gain power and the ability to hold people accountable. If we're not around, then [our constituents] feel like no one cares; so why should they care? It takes relationships to hold that together. Organizing for the long term provides those kinds of relationships."

Connecting Local Communities to State and National Movements

Movements depend on a critical mass of people uniting to effect change. Thus, movement-oriented organizations play a critical role in helping people connect to something larger than themselves. For example, Basic Rights Oregon's mission links local communities

throughout Oregon with the national movement for LGBTQ equality.

OneAmerica noted that immigration reform is a national issue, so the organization serves an important role as the hub of a statewide network. OneAmerica works with “base groups” in different communities across Washington State. Each develops at its own pace, launching with a handful of interested individuals who come together as a collective and, ultimately, form a leadership team of six to seven people with a formal identity and regular communication with OneAmerica. “They let us know what they want to do,” said OneAmerica staff. “So there’s a local flavor. But they also want to connect to the national plan. There are points we want to get across and discuss as a group.”

Rural Organizing Project has perhaps the most systematic and intentional statewide approach: “We work with an organized grassroots base, not a passive dues paying membership. Our analysis is multi-issue, our activities are multi-tactic and we strategically coordinate our statewide organizing with key partners that counter the Right on every front in rural Oregon.”

With a goal of some kind of progressive infrastructure in every county, ROP works with autonomous “human dignity groups,” which are not chapters. ROP’s small, centralized staff provides background support for local leadership, builds their capacity and brings them together for statewide strategizing and networking. “We get the benefit of being able to communicate with all these communities ... and we become the way they can connect statewide,” said ROP’s Dudley. “It’s a movement of people who can step up when they need to step up, and have a voice in every part of the state for rural justice.”

Strengthening Organizational Capacity through Movement Building

Ironically, having a movement orientation actually contributes to a strong focus on building organizational capacity. As an Industrial Areas Foundation group, Spokane Alliance won’t take on an action unless it will help build the organization. CIO’s Kayse Jama said, “We don’t plan a campaign without thinking about institution building. We have an internal strategy and an external strategy. Our internal focus is how many leaders we want to move along, how many members we want to recruit, how many people we can involve. We have organizational goals and measurable outcomes, regardless of outcomes in policy achievement.” He gave the example of CIO’s involvement in the 2008 anti-immigrant ballot initiative that would have cut ESL funding for

public schools. “We were a very small organization but we invested a lot in that campaign because we knew the stakes were high. It wasn’t only us, others played a role, but as an immigrant-led organization, we developed leaders and organizers. We gained a lot from it.”

The Washington Low Income Housing Alliance noted, “We have grown our numbers by doing our advocacy work. Going out and talking about the issues has grown the number of supporters. We increased our email list this past legislative session by a quarter or third in just a few months time. In the past, we relied on member dues and fee-for-service contract work, but we’re finally starting to build an individual donor base. Our fundraising dinner last month was very successful. As advocacy and organizing grows our list, we are able to raise resources to do even more. One thing builds off another. As we grow the number of people who are engaged in advocacy, then we grow our advocacy resources, which allow us to engage more people.”

This expanded resource base enabled the organization to more than triple its staff to six staff members in three years. “We’ve been a one- to two-person organization for years,” Rachael Myers observed. “We’re still small, but now we have six people including a policy director, a communications specialist, a lobbyist and a staff person dedicated to mobilizing our advocates. We also finally have the capacity to engage volunteers and interns effectively, which expands our reach even further.”

3. Connecting Issues and Elections through Year-Round Organizing

Organizations in the Northwest have developed sophisticated ways to combine ongoing, year-round leadership development and organizing with the more cyclical work of nonpartisan voter engagement. When done well, combining these two kinds of activities can be mutually reinforcing and beneficial for the organization’s mission.

Sixteen of the 20 organizations in the sample reported engaging in some nonpartisan voter activity during the five-year study period. In addition to voter registration, education and turnout, several groups held candidate forums or ballot measure forums and some trained their member institutions to conduct voter registration drives. There also were targeted efforts to increase voter participation among Native Americans, Latinos and communities of color. Collectively, their numbers are impressive (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: RESULTS FROM VOTER ENGAGEMENT

Total voters registered	71,982
Direct get out the vote (GOTV) contacts	873,080
Indirect GOTV contacts	666,093
Volunteers recruited	3,326
Voters further engaged in organization	1,795

Montana Women Vote was created in 2000 in response to the lack of support and attention by elected officials for women’s, particularly low-income women’s, concerns. The founding coalition realized that the low-income women they served had a very low voter turnout rate (30–40 percent – about half of Montana’s average turnout). This meant low-income women had little say in electing their representatives and, in turn, elected officials felt little accountability to support issues important to them. Over the past two election cycles, MWV has registered over 10,000 unlikely voters, a large majority being low-income women, and achieved a 77 percent turnout rate.

MWV follows up its voter engagement with legislative agenda meetings around the state. The group organizes call-ins to legislators on issues of concern and, at the end of the session, convenes a legislative wrap up. MWV also conducts a women’s policy leadership institute and leadership development sessions around topics like why elections matter, how policy affects women’s lives and a legislative 101.

Statewide Poverty Action Network works to move low-income people into full engagement in the political and civic process so they become advocates for themselves. The process begins with voter education, outreach and registration. SPAN serves exclusively low-income people “because these are the people who have been completely and totally written off in the elections process and in advocacy.” After they are registered to vote, SPAN makes sure they are voting, and voting frequently. Following this intensive follow-up, SPAN then brings these constituents into the advocacy process.

Running its volunteer recruitment program through a centralized database means Basic Rights Oregon now has a relationship with 10,000 volunteers, and the organization continues to raise money from the same donors who joined only because of an election campaign. “Organizing money and organizing people

equals power,” Basic Rights Oregon noted. The election brought people together in ways they wouldn’t have otherwise and became a vehicle for moving forward. Basic Rights Oregon credits that vehicle with its recent victories. It provided a means for leaders to get trained and then lobby the legislature and pass local ordinances in small rural areas. “We never would have had that level of capacity without that election campaign,” Basic Rights Oregon asserted.

In other cases, issue campaigns get the ball rolling and feed into elections. CAUSA has mobilized May 1st actions every year since 2006. The first action drew 15,000 people, primarily Latinos. Additionally, 100–150 people each year learn how to get involved with policymakers, such as the school board, through CAUSA’s Leadership Academy. CAUSA credits this kind of continuous organizing and leadership development for defeating anti-immigrant measures three times, most recently the 2008 effort to eliminate bilingual education in Oregon.

With Rural Organizing Project and Basic Rights Oregon, CAUSA also fought back efforts in Columbia County to impose penalties on employers who hire undocumented immigrants, which would have moved the role of the federal government to the county level. CAUSA also suffered one big defeat in 2008. It was unable to stop passage of driver’s license restrictions. In the process, CAUSA mobilized close to 10,000 people to participate in hearings at the legislature. Organizers said the defeat showed them that to transform their community, Latinos must participate in elections and be more active in the community. They turned that disappointing experience into an opportunity to register voters and get more involved in elections. The organization now has 5,300 registered vot-



Young volunteers participate in voter registration drive. Photo courtesy of Statewide Poverty Action Network.

ers who identify as CAUSA members, and estimates its base of registered and non-registered voters as close to 8,000 people – “very loyal people.”

ROP’s county-level organizing model emphasizes



Rural Oregon raises a “Barnyard Ruckus for Justice” for their first ever lobby day at the Capitol in Salem in 2003. Courtesy of Rural Organizing Project.

transformation and relationships and allows the group “to move seamlessly from issue organizing to electoral work.” Prior to election season, ROP organizers ask voters about hot button issues like the economy, immigration, marriage equality, war and civil liberties. ROP continues to communicate with any identified “hots” and “warms” and connects them to existing groups and the statewide network. During the election, ROP distributes its voter guide and conducts other get-out-the-vote organizing. Post-elections, ROP launches “welcome wagons,” where local organizers invite local prospects from the voter lists to holiday parties and other opportunities to connect to their local human dignity group in an ongoing way.

During off-election years, ROP focuses on building its local leadership teams, communications systems and action planning. When the next election comes around, community members can count on getting a high-quality, accessible voter guide from ROP, which they can take door to door in their community, and participate in ballot measure forums. The group has contacts in every county and formal relationships with 90 groups around the state (and in 32 out of 36 counties). Organizers work to build solidarity between issues, as well as support for cross-cutting issues like tax fairness and immigration. “Building the ability to see multiple issues is part of the role we play,” ROP noted. “We want to catalyze year-round civic engagement.”

Each year, ROP hosts a Rural Caucus and Strategy Session where all members, leadership and allies gather to discuss current pressing issues and a vision for their movement. These gatherings also allow ROP to grow its list, strengthen its network, and build skills of the people engaged. With this strong and active network, ROP can demand accountability from elected officials. For example, in 2006, ROP did a round of town halls in each congressional district on the cost of war. Legislators sent staff people to hear testimony from students, veterans, social service providers and others in their districts about the cost of war in terms of human life and value

locally. Consequently, Oregon’s congressional delegation “voted the way we would want them to.” That level of accountability generated a sense of empowerment for ROP’s constituents and made ROP more visible to its congressional delegations in new ways. In 2009, ROP followed up to its first lobby day at the state Capitol in 2003, known as the “Barnyard Ruckus for Justice,” with its Democracy Bailout Day of Action in partnership with PCUN (Pinosos y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste), CIO and others.

Making Full Use of the Tax Code

Several organizations in the sample for this study maximize their options in both issue advocacy and elections by having affiliated 501(c)(4)s and political action committees (PACs). For example, Basic Rights Oregon actually started as a PAC, then became an affiliated 501(c)(4). Now the organization maintains Basic Rights Education Fund, a 501(c)(3), as well as the (c)(4) and its affiliated state candidate PAC and ballot measure PAC.

Some politically active members of the Northern Plains Research Council created a similarly situated sister organization that is a 501(c)(4), Montana League of Rural Voters. This electoral organization can take advantage of leadership developed by NPRC and help them use their leadership skills by running for office. For example, when a strip mine and coal gasification operation threatened to locate next to the board mem-

ber Helen's farm, she organized her neighbors, who ultimately won a 10-year fight. She became chair of the NPRC board and a statewide spokesperson on mining issues. Then the farm crisis hit in 1985. Helen said, "I didn't save my farm from the strip miners just to give it to the bankers." She once again organized to save family farms and founded a national family farm group. She connected with black farmers in the south, organized against the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and eventually ran for public office.

Spokane Alliance and IAF Northwest spun out SustainableWorks as a separate but closely held nonprofit economic development enterprise in 2009. The new nonprofit performs the business functions related to the delivery of residential and small commercial retrofits in local communities. SustainableWorks contracts with the local Alliances to organize neighborhoods, recruit retrofit customers and deliver candidates into the jobs pipeline. The local Alliances, in turn, reengage community members after they've received a retrofit to participate in other organizing campaigns.

4. Telling and Changing the Story

Several Northwest groups in the sample for this study use "stories" as an organizing principle and tool. CAUSA uses the story approach, and says its home-grown organizers "get a doctorate in organizing and mobilizing" from their hands-on experience of drawing out and connecting constituents' stories. Washington Community Action Network is building its capacity to collect people's stories in a central place so when issues come up, the group can quickly highlight a story or respond to a media request. Washington Low Income Housing Alliance recognizes that the public is not inspired by the number of units of affordable housing that are developed but by the stories of people who live in affordable housing, or the story of construction jobs created by affordable housing. The organization is building its capacity to tell the story of housing, identify messengers and create shared value-based messaging.

Like many groups, Center for Intercultural Organizing believes "fundamentally, that people most affected by issues should take a lead role in addressing those issues. Instead of speaking for them, we believe that they have to speak for themselves." Community to Community Development added, "People in the 'loss'

that have the capacity to rise above it, given the resources to take advantage of that opportunity, could be and many times are the future leaders that create systems change because they are very tied to understanding the failure of that system."

In 1993, when the Montana Human Rights Network first took up LGBT issues at the legislative level, the Montana Democratic Party said it was political suicide and wanted no part of it. MHRN found only one Democratic legislator willing to sponsor equality bills. During that first legislative session, members of the LGBT community were afraid to publicly support the bills, due to their legitimate fear that they might lose their jobs, their housing and other benefits. However, MHRN kept bringing the bills and organizing across the state for equal protection and fairness under the law. While legal protection still isn't in state statute, MHRN feels it has achieved numerous victories. The Montana Democratic Party now has LGBT-friendly language in its platform and most of its legislators support inclusive nondiscrimination laws. The LGBT community also is no longer invisible at the state Capitol and in other policy arenas. Hearings on equality proposals now find LGBT Montanans telling policymakers how the proposals will impact them. MHRN affirmed, "The most effective advocacy is people telling their own story. We've helped create the space for that to happen."

Statewide Poverty Action Network noted, "They all have stories. The best way to influence legislators is with actual stories of people affected most by legislation that lawmakers are passing and killing."

Just the act of inviting people – especially those who have been marginalized from public discourse



Anchorage residents testify in June 2009 at action with elected representatives on neighborhood blight: graffiti, decaying roads and overflowing dumpsters. Photo by James Murphy, courtesy of AFACT.

and decision-making – to share their story can be empowering. A few years ago, SPAN invited community members to come to a listening session. One of the group’s invitations fell into the hands of David, who had been in recovery for drug and alcohol addiction for seven years. David was struck by the fact that someone felt he had something important to contribute and wanted his feedback. He came to the listening session and decided to get more involved with SPAN, first through phone banking. SPAN says, “David is one of the most soft-spoken, unassuming people, but he has an amazing ability to connect to people who have similar experiences.” In turn, based on what it learned from the listening session, SPAN took on a greater role in protecting mental health and addiction programs. David eventually became a board member for SPAN and continues to be a strong advocate for Native people and people suffering from addiction.

Spokane Alliance shared the story of Pam, a woman who used to identify herself as “Brent’s wife” before she participated in the organization’s leadership institute. In the training, table groups of five to six people tell each other their stories. For Pam, this was the first time she’d ever had anyone listen to her story. She had a lot of respect for the other people in the group, and felt that if people of that caliber thought her story was interesting, maybe she was someone worth listening to after all. She later told her story at a Spokane Alliance assembly in front of 750 people and joined the executive council of her church (and she stayed married to Brent, who appreciated her newfound confidence).

Urban Indians of All Tribes Foundation formed a poverty reduction coalition in 2004 comprised of eld-



OneAmerica members carry a basket of fruit and vegetables as symbols of the immigrant contribution to Washington State’s economy and present it to Representative Larsen in Everett. Photo credit: Aaron Briggs

ers and youth who could speak first hand about the experience of living in poverty. The coalition conducted community-based research, with participants – many of whom hadn’t finished high school – coming up with questions and finding out the answers. Together, this intergenerational group coded research. “An amazing example of community organizing,” UIATF administrative and development officer Janeen Comenote said. “Out of that grew community movement thinking about poverty and what we could do about it. A lot of nonprofits that work for ethnic groups believe ‘I can speak for all people.’ We say, ‘No, let them speak for themselves.’”

Many of these groups focus not only on changing public policies, but equally important on changing hearts and minds. “We’re a social change organization,” said Partnership for Safety and Justice executive director David Rogers. “Big change comes slowly. In

Focus on Grassroots Leaders: Tammy Overcame Obstacles to Flourish Through Activism with Partnership for Safety and Justice

Tammy was in the seventh grade when it became unsafe for her as a young woman to remain living at home. She left home, quit school and began a life of drugs and crime. Her life spiraled downward for several years. She finally became old enough to enter prison at age 18. Nothing changed for Tammy over the years. She racked up felony convictions, had a son, lost her son through

the court system, and continued to either live in jail, prison or on the streets of Portland.

The last time Tammy was arrested and sent to prison, a space was found for her in the Alternative to Incarceration Program, an intensive six-month prison-based addiction treatment program. If people successfully graduate from the program, they receive a sentence reduction and some support

services upon release. Since Tammy completed the drug and alcohol treatment program that PSJ has been fighting to protect and expand, her life has transformed. She was released into a residential treatment program with clean and sober housing. She completed a workforce development program and enrolled in community college, and has consistently made the President’s List with a 4.0 grade point average.

order for us to win at the ballot box or move things at the legislature, we have to make the economic argument. Dollars and cents move policymakers. But we also want to move the public. We want to create a paradigm shift so people are thinking about crime and safety in fundamentally different ways. We figure out how to infuse more thoughtful arguments into our public education, how to question assumptions, so we can create a system that is about rebuilding people's lives rather than the punishment paradigm."

PSJ's Rogers acknowledged the "delicate balance between organizing for short-term wins but also long-term moving-the-dial in how people think about issues and long-term solutions. We don't want to sell the long-term vision down the river using messages that are strictly short term."

SPAN noted that strategic wins have helped people recognize the group's role in taking on predatory lenders, which increases community involvement. Equally important, it helps reduce the stigma and shame associated with the issue. This further encourages people who have been victimized by predatory lending to come forward and speak out, furthering the SPAN's base of support and influence.

OneAmerica wants immigrants to have a voice, be fully engaged, effect public policy change that shapes their lives, and be in control of those processes, not just passive victims but active leaders effecting change. OneAmerica added, "Changing policy is both tactic and goal." By illuminating personal stories through strategic communications, OneAmerica aims to help people "who don't think immigration affects them realize that the work is not just about immigrant communities but all

our communities and how they connect." Likewise, CAUSA wants to use stories to show that immigration is not just a Latino issue but an American issue.

5. Delivering Services and Social Change

While often pitted against each other as mutually exclusive strategies, social services and social change often coincide in the groups included in this sample. In many cases, social services provide the entry point for constituents to engage in advocacy efforts. In 1999, Idaho Citizens Network and Idaho Hunger Action Council merged and formed Idaho Community Action Network, combining direct service and community organizing. The model was to bring in people through direct service and then nurture them and move them to do organizing. Not everyone gets involved in political work, but those who have gotten involved have been very committed to it.

Most people get involved with Community Alliance of Tenants through the renters hotline, which provides help with immediate situations. Helpers give information and practical suggestions about the law, and they invite callers to become members. CAT's Safe Housing Project organizes low-income renters in specific buildings to win immediate improvements in housing conditions and stability, while also building a grassroots movement and initiating campaigns to win improvements in housing policy and practice for all tenants.

CAT leaders explained: "The social service component of what we do addresses the immediate need. But we also talk about how it's not fair that the landlord is

She is preparing to continue her education and receive her Bachelor's degree. She has reunited with her mother and her son and pays child support to her mother for raising her son. The child support is voluntary since she had already lost her legal parental rights.

Tammy also has flourished through activism. Shortly after Tammy got out of prison for the last time, she became part of PSJ's speaker's bureau and facil-

itates trainings for a community of formerly incarcerated women. She registered people to vote during PSJ's ballot measure campaign, and she voted herself for the first time in her life.

In 2009, Tammy began working with PSJ under the College Work Study Program. She continues to be an active member of the speaker's bureau, regularly giving presentations about how her experiences of childhood abuse,

domestic violence, criminal activity and drug addiction could be used in positive ways to help others in similar situations to change their own lives. She works also with students studying criminal justice, women studies and future medical professionals to help provide them a better understanding of how it feels from the perspective of the clientele with whom they will be working when they graduate.

getting away with not making really urgent repairs because there are not enough laws to protect tenants. That's why we urge tenants to get involved and change laws. When we get together, we have more power. Lots



These children were the first group in Community to Community Development's youth program, created to relieve the stress for the moms that were impacted by the raid in 2006.

of people, especially low-income people, haven't been invited to make that change in the past. You don't get to influence candidates for public office when you are poor. We are able to connect their experience to larger public issues. They are really excited to get involved; they haven't had opportunities to get involved before."

John called CAT's hotline when he had problems with mold in his home. CAT pointed him to some resources and invited him to get more involved with the organization. He said he'd consider it after he took care of his own issue. He eventually got volunteer education training and worked the renters' hotline, got mad and applied to law school. John joined CAT's board, and currently is on leave while he is finishing law school this year. Over the summer, he developed a new program for CAT, preserving expiring building-based section 8 housing in order to save subsidies of low-income tenants.

A group's on-the-ground experience with the marginalized constituents they serve helps inform and improve their advocacy efforts. As a program of Solid Ground, a direct service agency, Statewide Poverty Action Network gets information straight from the low-income population it serves. SPAN also conducts listening sessions with those most affected by legislative issues. "That drives our agenda," said executive director Spears. "No one is deciding what low-income people need. Our agenda is driven by the grassroots." Staff

quantifies what it hears at the listening sessions, then works with the board – which is mandated to be 50 percent people of color and 50 percent low-income people – to create the agenda.

The Washington Low Income Housing Alliance told the story of Janice. "We can't take full credit, she is who she is," executive director Rachael Myers asserted. Janice got involved with several of the group's advocacy efforts and brought the affordable housing message to her Muslim organizing group. One of the issues on that group's agenda at its day at the capitol last year was affordable housing because of Janice. She recently joined the Housing Alliance's state

legislative committee, a small group of 25–30 people responsible for developing the organization's state legislative agenda every year. Housing Alliance staff noted, "She brings a consumer voice, a sense of urgency that reminds the group that [affordable housing] is not just a philosophical problem we want to solve but impacts people's lives every day. For a long time, housing policy insiders have set our agenda, so it's a big step to have an active vocal consumer on our legislative committee."

UIATF works on a wide range of services, including economic development, education and child welfare. Staff prioritizes sitting at the tables where decisions related to these issues are made in order to include the voice and needs of urban Indians. "If you're not sitting there, you're not included in making policies," Comenote said.

Sometimes, a group's advocacy ends up revealing a gap in services to constituents and a role the organization can play in meeting the need. For example, noticing that a very small number of legal aid offices work with Latinos on immigration issues or provide services to the undocumented population, CAUSA plans to open a legal department to help people with immigration cases. "Hopefully we will find an attorney that wants to leave a very well paying job and come work with us," said executive director Lopez. He envisions an expanded role for the advocacy organization that includes helping people apply for citizenship, green

cards, political asylum and petitions by family members to become legal residents.

When several women were detained by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and lost their jobs, Community to Community Development helped them form a cooperative so they could sell tamales at the farmers market. From that experience, C2C has begun forming a cooperative development center, providing training and technical assistance to groups of farmworkers that want to form worker-owned cooperatives. Further, the organization created a youth program to serve the children of these farmworkers – the kids get a safe place to play while the moms get some relief.

Of course, blending a service role with advocacy also brings some challenges. When Snake River Alliance got an Environmental Protection Agency Technical Assistance grant in 2007 to talk about how to clean up one of the biggest pits in Idaho National Lab, the bureaucracy of a federal grant overwhelmed the organization. And SRA felt the tension of trying to watchdog an agency giving it money. For that reason, the group does not seek federal money for now.

Groups that take on both roles don't fit neatly into funders' grantmaking portfolios. CAT's model of having a service component works well for engaging members, but the group's advocacy makes it too radical for most social service funders. Meanwhile, social change funders won't support the group's education work. While CAT has found the sweet spot between meeting immediate needs and changing the system, they've fallen between the cracks in the funding landscape.

6. Applying a Racial Equity and Intersectional Lens

To be included in the sample, all of the groups featured in this report engaged and/or benefited marginalized communities. And yet, several of the groups stood out for their nuanced understanding of the intersection of oppressions facing their communities. For example, SPAN noted the tendency to “throw a wide, big blanket over poverty. But we know you don't get a white family out of poverty the same way you get a family of color out of poverty.” The latter have to deal with structural racism, as well as potential added challenges like immigration issues or language constraints.

OneAmerica observed, “People don't want to think about race, they don't want to fund building power in communities where race has been the barrier.” So these groups bring much needed attention to communities of color and structural racism, often as the lone advocate with a racial equity lens at various research and policy tables.

UIATF sits at a number of tables to make sure the needs of Native people are taken into consideration and that American Indians have a presence in various campaigns. Comenote stated, “Urban Indians are embedded into the fiber of this country, but we are invisible.” She said that her constituency sits with African Americans at the bottom of social indicators such as the number of kids in foster care and the number of people who are homeless. “In order to exist we need to advocate,” she asserted.

Comenote also provided an important history lesson about local cross-racial organizing: “Communities of color in Seattle are really powerful because, building on relationships that started back in the 70s, in 1981, Asian, Latino, Indian and African American leaders started the Minority Executive Director's Coalition. The leadership from these four ethnic groups recognized the struggle that one another was going through and realized that their voices were more powerful together. We are steeped in that impulse to always reach out to other minority communities. If I say it alone they won't listen to me, but if you say it with me there will be a 40-year history of integrating with other communities of color.” Comenote added, “When you look at institutional racism and its effects, we are invisible, even among people of color, but we've always been here.”

Estimates suggest that people of color will grow from 20 percent to more than 30 percent of the population of Washington State within just a few decades. People of color disproportionately earn lower incomes, pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes, and have less access to education, health care, housing and justice. WCAN! has a stated commitment to promoting racial equity and justice for everyone in all its campaigns. Its website declares, “How we as a state address racial disparities will determine our future. We believe in creating a society that is known for equality and fairness, not for increasing division between the haves and have-nots.”

WCAN! led an effort to produce the “2009 Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity,” which examines 24 policies introduced in the 2009 state legislative session that relate to civil rights, econom-

ic justice, housing and community development, education and youth, health equity, criminal justice and tribal sovereignty. The report card examined

only way to overcome that and win for our communities is by building relationships.”

Today, Basic Rights Oregon works to build a broad and inclusive movement by prioritizing the needs of LGBTQ people of color, transgender communities and LGBTQ youth. “It means being sure people of color have voice in the organization and being an ally and taking a stand where their priorities are situated,” said Frazzini. Basic Rights Oregon recently published *Standing Together:*

“Urban Indians are embedded into the fiber
of this country, but we are invisible.
... In order to exist, we need to advocate.”

- Janeen Comenote, Administrative and Development Officer
Urban Indians of All Tribes Foundation

each bill’s effect on communities of color and racial equity, and also graded individual lawmakers on their response to the selected bills. Twenty groups worked with WCAN! on the report, including other sample groups C2C, OneAmerica and UIATF. ICAN and its partners released their racial equity progress report on the steps of the Idaho capitol on Martin Luther King Jr./Idaho Human Rights Day. These publications not only provide astute analysis that other nonprofits working in a range of issues can apply to their efforts, but also send a message to elected officials that they are accountable to all communities in their state. Further, they position the groups that produced them as courageous advocates for marginalized communities.

Basic Rights Oregon also prioritizes racial justice in its movement building efforts. After a bitter defeat in the 2004 Marriage Amendment campaign, Basic Rights Oregon engaged Western States Center to conduct a series of one-on-one interviews with people of color who had participated in its campaign. It heard time and again that LGBTQ people of color didn’t feel a place for themselves in the movement or the organization, that their voices were marginalized. Hearing this honest feedback led to a turning point for the organization. As a primarily white-led organization, it went from a diversity model looking at how to get people of color involved to an anti-racist ally organization. It conducted a number of internal trainings for staff and board so they could articulate why anti-racism work is central to Basic Rights Oregon’s movement building mission. “Opponents have always lumped us together as ‘special rights’ anyway,” executive director Jeanna Frazzini says. “The

Coming Out for Racial Justice, An Anti-Racist Organizational Development Toolkit for LGBTQ Equality Groups and Activists, and frequently serves as a trainer and capacity builder for other LGBTQ-focused groups trying to build their racial justice analysis.

This broadened, nuanced analysis also has strengthened Basic Rights Oregon’s relationship with groups focused primarily on racial justice – who have evolved their own analysis to include LGBTQ equality as a priority. Key collaborator CAUSA noted that “LGBTQ Latinos are the invisible among the invisible.” These groups along with ROP, CIO, and others have worked together to advocate for immigrant, LGBTQ and racial justice in Oregon.

Partnership for Safety and Justice noted that Oregon is demographically a very white state that will shift significantly over the next 10 years. Executive director David Rogers explained, “Leading with a racial justice analysis is not going to win campaigns. But at the same time, if we’re not doing it, who else is? And how do we actually move the dial about how people are thinking about this?” PSJ infuses a racial justice analysis in its efforts to educate legislators as part of an overall and long-term vision of changing the discourse in the state. “It’s not necessarily a winning strategy at the moment, but a necessary strategy,” Rogers said.

D. INFRASTRUCTURE THAT SUPPORTS THE WORK

In many ways, groups in the Northwest struggle from a dearth of resources, further stretched thin by the vastness of the geographic landscape. But these groups achieved the policy victories and constituent engagement impacts described above, in part, with the sup-

port of key infrastructure organizations that have earned credibility through deep knowledge of and relationships in the communities being served.

1. Organizing Networks and Technical Assistance Providers

The movement orientation of the groups in this sample mirror the function of a number of infrastructure organizations that play critical roles – such as convening organizations across issues and constituencies, conducting research and policy analysis that can be used by various groups, coordinating campaigns, developing individual and collective leadership, building organizational capacity, and in some cases, re-granting financial support. Five of these infrastructure groups are profiled here. It is hard to know which came first, the movement-mindedness of community groups or the infrastructure to nurture it. But they clearly feed off of each other to create a virtuous cycle that benefits marginalized communities in the region.

Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) Northwest – With affiliates in 54 cities, IAF is the oldest and largest community organizing network in the U.S. IAF Northwest is composed of five affiliates:

- > Spokane (WA) Alliance
- > Sound Alliance (greater Seattle–Tacoma, WA)
- > Metropolitan Alliance for Common Good (greater Portland, OR)
- > Greater Edmonton Alliance (Alberta, Canada)
- > Sydney Alliance (Australia)

The IAF Northwest network has focused its efforts on combining environmental initiatives with job creation strategies. Building on the work of the Spokane Alliance, IAF Northwest expanded SustainableWorks statewide and spun it out as an independent but closely held nonprofit that works in partnership with the local Alliances to advance both energy efficiency and green jobs.

As an affiliate of IAF Northwest, Spokane Alliance receives training in and adheres to IAF's specific organizing model. IAF works with its affiliates to build power and a political base among voluntary institutions including nonprofits, religious congregations and orders, labor locals, homeowner groups, schools and

parents associations, and immigrant societies. Strategy teams comprised of representatives from member institutions determine what issues to tackle based on a systematic process of listening, discernment, planning, action and evaluation. Members of Spokane Alliance and other affiliates participate in centralized leadership development opportunities, and a Lead Organizer in the region provides regular guidance and mentoring to local affiliate staff.

Northwest Federation of Community Organizations (NWFCO) – The Northwest Federation of Community Organizations leads a vibrant national network of grassroots organizations that are fighting for economic and racial justice. Combining organizing, policy and communications, NWFCO centralizes the tools and alliances needed to transform grassroots leaders' efforts into the power to effect policy change. The organization's program consists of the following:

- > *Coalition coordination.* NWFCO develops strategic collaborations with groups around the country to promote innovative policy ideas and execute campaigns. The organization's 13-state small business coalition, the Main Street Alliance, played a major role in the national campaign for health reform, mobilizing small business leaders from hometown press events to the White House. The Health Rights Organizing Project, a network of 35-plus grassroots groups nationwide, has spearheaded efforts to address racial disparities in health, helping score key victories for Native and immigrant health.
- > *Justice Leadership Academy.* NWFCO's advanced training program is developing and embedding a core of staff and leaders in partner organizations. This training team is: writing political education curricula that dissect complex political and economic issues; training other staff and leaders; and, from this foundation, advancing economic and racial justice campaigns.
- > *Campaign strategy and implementation support.* NWFCO creates campaign plans that include tactics, mobilization, messaging and coordination with coalition partners. The organization then works one-on-one with partners to ensure full implementation.
- > *Base-building support.* NWFCO sends organizers into the field to help community organizers build their base of grassroots leaders, including low-income white people and people of color, small businesspeople and other key constituencies.

- > *Building organizational capacity and skills of community-based organizations.* NWFCO runs a leadership development program to increase the organizing, analytical and management skills of staff and community leaders. NWFCO supplements this program with technical assistance.
- > *Institute for Pragmatic Practice.* This NWFCO project gathers key thinkers and leaders to develop innovative ideas for advancing economic and racial equity. IPP also conducts research and creates tools to spark positive public dialogue on pressing public policy issues.
- > *Policy research and communications.* NWFCO researchers analyze policy issues and compile reports, white papers and other materials that present the case for solutions to economic and racial inequities. The organization's communications staff writes articles, press releases, op-eds and other materials that elevate these ideas in the public debate.

NWFCO organizations include:

Affiliates

- > Colorado Progressive Coalition
- > Idaho Community Action Network
- > Maine People's Alliance
- > Montana Organizing Project
- > Oregon Action
- > Washington Community Action Network

Partners & Sponsored Projects

- > Center for Intercultural Organizing
- > Indian People's Action
- > Latinos for Community Transformation
- > South Dakota Native American Organizing Project

Main Street Alliance – Fourteen small business alliances across the following states: Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, Nevada, New York, Oregon, Virginia, and Washington.

Health Rights Organizing Project – Thirty-nine organizations across the country working to address racial disparities in health.

CIO turns to NWFCO for organizing training and board building, while WCAN! partners with NWFCO on training, curriculum and policy research. NWFCO part-

nered on the 2009 state-specific Legislative Report Cards on Racial Equity with WCAN!, ICAN and other affiliates.

Community groups rely on organizations like NWFCO to provide the research that grounds their policy campaigns. For example, ICAN commended NWFCO for its "multistate research on key issues like hunger, health and income that each member group can use locally." NWFCO's annual job gap report fed into ICAN's work on the economy, the Congressional jobs bill and health care. ICAN uses NWFCO's Immigration Board Game to educate others about immigration issues as part of the Welcoming Idaho effort, which also involves a media campaign through billboards and bus signs.

Western Organization of Resource Councils (WORC)

– A regional network comprising 10,000 members organized across 45 local chapters, WORC advances a triple bottom line of economic growth, human and community health, and environmental stewardship. Based in Billings, Mont. with field offices in Colorado, South Dakota, and Washington, D.C., WORC is governed by seven member organizations:

- > Dakota Rural Action
- > Dakota Resource Council
- > Idaho Rural Council
- > Northern Plains Resource Council
- > Oregon Rural Action
- > Powder River Basin Resource Council
- > Western Colorado Congress

The member organizations determine the direction and priorities of WORC, which has achieved myriad victories in its nearly 40-year history. Beginning in the 1970s, WORC focused on coalmine reclamation and natural resource tax policy. The group won model reclamation and coal leasing laws and progressive tax structures. In the early 1980s, WORC challenged national energy policies and helped table the synthetic fuels corporation. Later, the group confronted the farm lending practices of banks and the federal government and won credit reforms at the state and national levels. In the 1990s, WORC tackled the concentration of economic power in a few agribusiness corporations, especially in meatpacking and grain trading, and also addressed hard rock mining reform, sprawl, electric industry deregulation and factory farms. More recently, WORC has addressed issues like safe food, responsible coal bed methane development and a sound energy policy.

NPRC and IRC described WORC as “an invaluable network.” They appreciate having an organization that keeps its eye on training and capacity building, which would be easy to put off amidst the pressing issues facing grassroots groups. WORC’s trainers bring a participatory approach with expertise in organizing. “And WORC helps us overcome rural isolation,” these groups emphasized. “There are unique issues that rural groups share. WORC acts as a professional association where we can bounce ideas off each other.” WORC’s governance structure and programs allow member organizations to interact and cross-pollinate regularly.

WORC devotes 25 percent of its \$1.2 million budget to capacity building and leadership development. Each year, the organization negotiates a new agreement with each member group to determine their capacity building needs. The network ensures consistency in the application of community organizing and leadership development principles, and taps outside expertise in an affordable way that would be hard for any one group to access on its own. WORC does collective fundraising, offers trainings for both new and seasoned organizers, and helps broker relationships with strategic partners, like labor unions, as well as other organizing networks.

WORC increases the collective influence of its member groups – the whole is greater than the sum of individual parts. Networks like WORC also help groups through the inevitable ups and downs of their lifecycles so that they can survive over the long term.

Western States Center – Prior to the center’s formation, progressive groups scattered across the West had no mechanism for sharing intelligence, planning strategically together or leveraging each other’s successes. National funders and organizations couldn’t understand what was happening in the region, and often overlooked it for support. Meanwhile, conservatives gained strength and political ground while many progressives seemed disengaged from electoral efforts and disconnected from each other. Against this backdrop, progressive leaders founded the center in 1987 to help strengthen and further develop the progressive movement in the West. Today, the center plays a critical role as convener, capacity builder and campaign coordinator for Western activists and organizations, connecting them with the broader movement for social, economic, racial and environmental justice.

At least seven of the 20 groups in the sample explicitly mentioned the center as their go-to resource for

capacity building and training. Thanks to a large donation from the Oregon-based Ralph Smith Foundation when it closed down, the center provides financial support to key community based groups, as well training and technical assistance, through the program known as VOTE (Voter Organizing Training and Empowerment).

Montana Women Vote said, “Some years national groups care about Montana, and some years they don’t. [The Center’s] ongoing support has allowed us to trend upward in our budget growth and smooth out dips in off-election years. It also allows us to do more organizing in off years, like, for example, helping support MHRN’s work on the Missoula LGBT anti-discrimination initiative that just passed.”

SPAN and CIO commended the center on the strategic support it provides groups. Basic Rights Oregon concurred, calling the center its “primary resource on our analysis and developing collaborative campaigns.” CAUSA added, “The center helps us keep track of voters.” ROP elaborated, “We have access to the VAN (Voter Activation Network) through the center’s VOTE Project, so we are getting access just now to some of the kinds of technology that helps us be smarter and get to measurability.”

Both board and staff members of CAT have taken advantage of the center’s training and development offerings. CAT referred to the center’s Community Strategic Training Initiative as “summer camp for activists.” The CSTI provides an introduction to organizing, training on various organizing strategies and an opportunity to build connections with other groups. The center’s Western Institute for Organizing and Leadership Development (WILD), which Andrea Shipley from Snake River Alliance went through, takes place over four long weekends and provides intensive



Photo courtesy of Center for Intercultural Organizing.

training sessions, organizing basics, training on fundraising and organizational development, issues work and tools to strengthen collaboration.

State Voices – Across the country, states are organizing progressive “tables” for collaborative strategizing and resource sharing on issue and electoral campaigns. This network includes Oregon Voice and Washington State’s Win Win Network. Idaho is in the process of developing its state table and Montana has a 501c4 table that includes Forward Montana, Montana Conservation Voters, WORC and the teachers’ union, MEA–MFT. Advocates there would like to have a nonpartisan 501c3 table as well. “We have the potential to build a lot of c3 voter capacity, but we need the resources to make it happen,” said Forward Montana’s Matt Singer.

In Washington, the Win Win Network offers trainings on communications, conducts list enhancements for voter engagement efforts and provides technical support for voter and legislative campaigns. Washington Low Income Housing Alliance described

Several of the sample groups mentioned the importance of these groups in providing sound training and technical assistance on running a nonprofit. Core topics include board roles and responsibilities, resource development, staff management, and other organizational development. Groups also noted the limits of these resources as they tend to be politically neutral and less focused on movement building, and also oriented more toward building capacity of start-ups rather than more established organizations. The Idaho and Montana associations do look for opportunities to train their members on advocacy and would like to see more nonprofits engage in advocacy.

The national Center on Budget and Policy Priorities has state fiscal analysis affiliates in Oregon and Washington that provide policy analysis, particularly on budget and tax policies, with a focus on the needs of low- and moderate-income families. SPAN partnered with the Washington State Budget and Policy Center on its Earned Income Tax Credit campaign. The Montana Budget and Policy Center was started in 2008 and has already produced valuable reports on the economy,

health care reform and other issues in the state. In addition to working on policy issues together, Montana Women Vote and MBPC are collaborating with other ally groups on a recently formed Revenue Network. The Network will be working to promote a “balanced approach” that considers revenue options, instead of only cutting vital

service programs as a method of addressing the state budget shortfall next session. Through a process facilitated by the Idaho Nonprofit Center, stakeholders there recently decided to develop an affiliate as well, with support from the Northwest Area Foundation, which also funds the Montana center.

In Wyoming, the Equality State Policy Center is a bit different from the traditional budget and policy center model. ESPC is an institution-based organization, with 30 members, including unions, conservation groups and social and civil justice groups. In addition to tax and fiscal policy and working family issues, ESPC focuses extensively on government accountability issues, such as open government, campaign finance reform, and lobbyist reporting. In its hybrid role it conducts research and advo-

“It’s hard for [national funders] to fund a group with rural self-determination because it’s more work to build partnerships with local groups. ... But a trickle-down strategy does not alter relationships of power. Those on the ground are the last to get anything and the first to be held accountable for failure.”

—Nonprofit leader

Win Win as “fantastic,” and said, “Their role is to make sure that all the advocacy groups working on progressive issues have their training and technical assistance needs met. They provide us all with the Voter Activation Network (VAN) so we have access to voter files, which we could never afford and invest in on our own.”

2. State Associations and National Support

Idaho, Montana and Oregon have state associations of nonprofits, membership organizations that network and support community-based organizations in their state. In Wyoming, this function is served by Wyoming SERVE and the Wyoming Community Foundation.

cates on policy issues, but it also encourages ordinary people to get involved in politics. In election years ESPC holds a grassroots campaign school to teach people how to run a campaign. Explained Dan Neal, “In the early 90s, we got election reform to run candidates by district instead of by county, so it became a more equitable population distribution. So now you only need about 2,800 votes to win a house seat. You can go door to door.” The training focuses on how to do direct mail, write campaign materials and other tactics. Their goal is to get candidates talking to ordinary people rather than to special interests. After the 2000 Census required redistricting, ESPC demanded that the redistricting include a majority Native district, which resulted in a Northern Arapaho candidate getting elected for the first time. The group later did major voter mobilization on the reservation in 2004, almost doubling voter turnout in a couple of reservation precincts. Now Native American state representative Patrick Goggles is state legislative minority leader.

National organizations like the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and National Council of La Raza support groups working on specific issues areas (LGBTQ equality and immigrant justice, respectively). Their nationwide reach makes them good conduits for connecting to other groups across the country and building power on federal and shared state issues, though it also limits their ability to provide deep, on-the-ground help to community organizations.

3. Becoming the Capacity Builder

While leaning on the resources described above and others, several of the groups interviewed for this project noted that they had assumed the role of capacity builder to other groups working in their issue area with even more limited resources. In many cases, funders invested in these organizations to build capacity among others in recognition of their success and growing leadership role. For example, the Four Freedoms Fund funded CAUSA to build capacity of its sister organizations working on immigrant rights in Oregon. So, as CAUSA noted, “We have become the organization that looks for resources – let’s get this money to build something that will benefit all organizations.”

Community to Community Development is learning as it goes through the process of building its capacity as a trainer and technical assistance provider to farmworker groups that want to start worker-owned cooperatives. Like CAUSA, playing this role elevates

C2C’s leadership while also achieving the organization’s overall goal of building capacity, and ultimately power, among its constituents.

In some cases, these organizations have stepped into the capacity builder role simply because no one else is willing or able to do so. For example, Basic Rights Oregon’s cutting edge work bridging LGBTQ equality and racial justice makes it the go-to resource for anti-racism training to LGBTQ groups in Oregon. Similarly, Urban Indians of All Tribes Foundation pointed out, “Most dominant models [for capacity building] are not a fit, they are not culturally appropriate. We are actually the go-to place for that. Within this urban setting, we are that organization.”

Anchorage Faith and Action–Congregations Together (AFACT) is a congregation-based community organization that was formed in 2003. The organization’s training model is one of leadership development and empowerment. In 2008, AFACT began offering statewide leadership trainings in Anchorage. In 2010, AFACT held the first rural training in the Yupik village of St. Mary’s, Alaska. The training was attended by Alaska Natives from nine villages in the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta. Training in the congregation-based organizing model is scheduled for Alaska Natives from throughout Alaska in October 2010.

AFACT employs two full-time organizers trained in the congregation-based community organizing model. Statewide expansion will require many more trained organizers. To that end, AFACT recently secured a five-year grant from the Rasmuson Foundation for an “Organizer Training Project.” AFACT receives consultation from Dr. Jose Carrasco, who brings nearly 50 years of organizing experience to the organization. Dr. Carrasco was the primary consultant to PICO National Network for more than 20 years, guiding its transition to congregation-based organizing.

CIO noted the irony of stepping into this role, “The population we are working with is very unique, so there is a gap. If you look at the immigrant/refugee population, lots of groups focus on social services. But no institution understands the dynamics of immigrant/refugee populations, synthesizes issues and creates spaces to transform. That is our role. We provide technical assistance, but we are not funded to do that. We are looked upon as a capacity builder for other organizations even though we don’t have the resources for our own capacity building.”

Whatever the reason they took on the role, these homegrown capacity builders operate in stark contrast

to what one group described as “top-down parachuters” deployed by national organizations and funders. With no local base, these transplanted “hired guns” do not invest in building local infrastructure and leadership, but focus on quick wins. “Funders are driving this and it’s because they are frustrated with the slow process of organizing,” said one nonprofit leader. “These parachuters just land and then they are automatically attracted to groups with a base who can turn out people. ... They want a cowboy from central casting to be a spokesperson.”

Tensions arise when these contract workers, who often have little experience in grassroots organizing, and certainly do not know the local communities in which they are sent to organize, earn higher salaries than more experienced local organizers. Meanwhile, local organizations struggle to raise the resources to do the deep and long-lasting organizing that wins not only campaigns but also builds power that changes a political landscape. One nonprofit leader observed, “It’s harder for [national funders] to fund a group with rural self-determination because it’s more work to build partnerships with local groups. ... But a trickle-down strategy does not alter relationships of power. Those on the ground are the

last to get anything and the first to be held accountable for failure.”

Several groups in the sample cited examples of well-intentioned initiatives by large national funders to disseminate centralized training or technical assistance to groups on the ground. While the aim is for economies of scale, the nonprofits pointed out, “Big generalizable trainings are not useful.”

One group shared, “Frequently, we’ll get money attached to a national grant that goes to multiple organizations with the “gift” of [technical assistance]. We are told we can use it to help build our website or communications capacity. That is never helpful. The relationship is wrong. Those TA providers are not accountable to grantees but to the grantor – when the grantee is the one that needs help. When the materials are so generic, it just doesn’t work for us.”

These groups challenge the notion that any capacity building is worthwhile. Rather, it must be tailored to a group’s needs and authentically build from the expertise and relationships already held by the group. As one nonprofit leader advised, “Funders have to spend time on the front end to get people involved in the process and give meaningful feedback [about these initiatives]. Funders can’t just create things and expect them to work.”

VI. Considerations and Recommendations for Funders

As this report shows, institutional funders play a vital role in supporting nonprofits in the Northwest to solve the region’s pressing problems. Among the 20 groups in NCRP’s sample, foundation support for their advocacy, organizing and civic engagement work totaled more than \$23.2 million, representing 69 percent of their total advocacy and organizing budgets between 2005 and 2009.

A. SUMMARY OF FOUNDATION SUPPORT FOR ADVOCACY AND ORGANIZING IN THE NORTHWEST

Table 5 highlights the types of foundation support provided to organizations in the sample for their advocacy, organizing and civic engagement work between 2005 and 2009.

Foundation support to the 20 sample groups for these strategies totaled \$23.2 million during 2005 to 2009. The median amount received per group was \$137,097 per year. The organizations in the sample received an unusually high 74 percent of their funding from institutional grantmakers as unrestricted support. In the aggregate nationwide, less than 20 percent of grant dollars is provided as general operating support

and less than 16 percent of grantmakers provided 50 percent of their grant dollars this way.²⁵

NCRP asked organizations in the sample to list all funders who supported their advocacy, organizing, and civic engagement work during the five years. NCRP also conducted a reverse lookup of the sample groups in the Foundation Center Foundation Directory Online. Table 6 shows local, state or regional funders who were identified as supporting the groups for their policy engagement efforts.

Philanthropic wealth is distributed unevenly throughout the region, as evidenced by the fact that

GRAPH 7: SOCIAL JUSTICE GRANTS AWARDED AND GRANTS RECEIVED, BY STATE²⁶



TABLE 5: TYPE OF FOUNDATION FUNDING RECEIVED OVER FIVE YEARS BY 20 SAMPLE GROUPS FOR ADVOCACY, ORGANIZING AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

TYPE OF FUNDING	AGGREGATE AMOUNT RECEIVED	AS PERCENT OF TOTAL FOUNDATION FUNDING	MEDIAN AMOUNT RECEIVED
General operating support	\$ 17,166,681	74	\$ 476,074
Capacity building	\$ 3,061,064	13	\$ 100,000
Multiyear funding ²⁷	\$ 6,350,789	27	\$ 262,500

Montana and Idaho are in the bottom ten states in philanthropic assets nationally, and Washington is in the top ten, according to *The Philanthropic Divide*. Foundation Center data on social justice grantmaking, the best proxy available for funding for advocacy, organizing and civic engagement, (see Graph 7) shows a stark divide for this subset of grantmaking as well. It confirmed that few Idaho, Montana or Wyoming funders support policy engagement.

Notable from the list is the diversity and number of national grantmakers funding in the region. Graph 6 shows the extent to which some states rely on funding from national and out-of-state funders for social jus-

tice grants. (The Gates Foundation “Grants Awarded” figure has been removed from Washington total to avoid skewing of data.) Despite this, advocates and organizers in the mountain states expressed concern that national funders have written off their states in recent years.

The foundations in the region recognized most frequently for being *effective partners with nonprofits in their advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement efforts* were: Champion Foundation, McKenzie River Gathering, Marguerite Casey Foundation (Washington program), Northwest Health Foundation and Social Justice Fund Northwest.

TABLE 6: LOCAL, STATE OR REGIONAL FUNDERS WHO SUPPORTED ADVOCACY, ORGANIZING, AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT WORK OVER FIVE YEARS

NATIONAL FUNDERS

Annie E. Casey Foundation	Evelyn & Walter Haas Jr. Foundation	Mertz Gilmore Foundation
Arcus Foundation	Fannie Mae Foundation	Ms. Foundation for Women
ASC Foundation	Fanwood Foundation	Nathan Cummings Foundation
Astraea Foundation	Farm Aid	New World Foundation
Bank of America Foundation	Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund	New-Land Foundation
Bardon-Cole Foundation	Fidelity Charitable Trust	Norman Foundation
Belvedere Foundation	Ford Foundation	Open Society Institute
Ben & Jerry’s Foundation	Four Freedoms Fund (Public Interest Projects)	Oscar G. & Elsa S. Mayer Family Foundation
Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation	Freedom to Marry	Panta Rhea Foundation
Buffett Early Childhood Fund/Birth to Five Policy Alliance	Fund for Nonviolence	Patagonia
Butler Family Fund	Racial Justice Collaborative (Public Interest Projects)	Peace Development Fund
Carnegie Endowment	Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing	Ploughshares Fund
Catholic Campaign for Human Development	Funding Exchange	Presbyterian Hunger Program
Charles Engelhard Foundation	Gill Foundation	Proteus Fund
Chichester duPont Foundation	Gill Foundation – State Equality Fund	Proteus Fund/Civil Marriage Collaborative
Colin Higgins Foundation	Hewlett Foundation (through Western Resource Advocates)	Proteus Fund/State Strategies Fund
Comcast Foundation	JEHT Foundation (no longer exists)	Public Welfare Foundation
Common Counsel Foundation	Jewish Funds for Justice	Quail Roost Foundation
Cornell Douglas Foundation	John Merck Fund	Resist
C.S. Mott Foundation	JP Morgan Chase	Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
David L. Klein Jr. Foundation	Liberty Hill Foundation/Queer Youth Fund	Rokit Fund (no longer exists)
Deer Creek Foundation	Maki Foundation	Schwab Charitable Fund
Discount Foundation	Marguerite Casey Foundation	Sociological Initiatives Foundation
Educational Foundation of America	Max and Anna Levinson Foundation	Threshold Foundation
Equality Federation	MAZON	Tides Foundation
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America		Tides Foundation/Belvue Fund
		United Church of Christ
		U.S. Bancorp Foundation

Although it is not a foundation, Western States Center does regrant funds and also was mentioned frequently by groups in the sample. National funders most frequently mentioned were: Four Freedoms Fund, Public Welfare Foundation and Universalist Unitarian Veatch Program at Shelter Rock.

B. PRACTICES OF EXEMPLARY FUNDING PARTNERS

Following are examples of ways in which funders have served as partners to nonprofits in support of their advocacy, organizing and community engagement work in the Northwest region.

1. Exemplary funding partners provide flexible, multiyear funding, reflecting the time horizon for impact

Advocacy and organizing campaigns can take years to achieve their intended goals. Along the way, organizations must respond to changes in the political landscape, adapt to unforeseen economic or natural events, forge partnerships with other nonprofits and relationships with public leaders, and organize constituents. These efforts take time and resources. By investing in the mission and work of their nonprofit partners, funders are showing that they have confi-

U.S. Human Rights Fund
 Universalist Unitarian Veatch Program at Shelter Rock
 Universalist Unitarian Funding Program/Fund for a Just Society
 V.W. Cabot Foundation
 W.K. Kellogg Foundation
 Washington Mutual (no longer exists)

REGIONAL FUNDERS

(those that primarily fund in the Northwest)

Abelard Foundation West
 Paul G. Allen Family Foundation
 B.W. Bastian Foundation
 Brainerd Foundation
 Bullitt Foundation
 Champion Foundation
 Harder Foundation
 Lora L. and Martin N. Kelley Family Foundation
 Lazar Foundation
 Liz Claiborne Art Ortenberg Foundation
 New Belgium Brewery
 New Priorities Foundation
 (no longer funds in the region)
 Northwest Area Foundation
 Northwest Area Foundation/Raices Project
 Northwest Health Foundation
 Otto Bremer Foundation

(no longer funds in the region)
 Pacificorp Foundation
 Pride Foundation
 Richard & Rhoda Goldman Fund
 Safeco Foundation
 Social Justice Fund Northwest
 Western Conservation Foundation
 Walter S. Johnson Foundation
 Western States Center
 Wyss Foundation

Idaho Funders

Fund for Idaho
 Idaho Community Foundation
 Lightfoot Foundation

Montana Funders

Broadbent Family Foundation
 Cinnabar Foundation
 Gillhousen Family Foundation
 High Stakes Foundation
 Ila B. Dousman Fund
 Jerry Metcalf Foundation
 Lore Kann Foundation
 Margaret V. Ping Foundation
 Stranie Ventures

Oregon Funders

Charles M. Holmes Foundation
 Collins Foundation
 Equity Foundation of Oregon
 Ford Family Foundation

Greenbriar Companies
 Harold & Arlene Schnitzer CARE Foundation
 Jubitz Family Foundation
 Kinsman Foundation
 McKenzie River Gathering
 Maybelle Clark Macdonald Fund
 Meyer Memorial Trust
 Oregon Community Foundation
 Oregon Progressive Alliance
 Oregon Progressive Food Fund
 Penney Family Fund
 PGE Foundation
 Ralph L. Smith Foundation
 (no longer exists)
 Spirit Mountain Community Fund

Washington Funders

Boeing Company
 Church Council of Greater Seattle
 Edwards Mother Earth Foundation
 Equality Network Foundation
 Kirkpatrick Family Foundation
 Kongsgaard-Goldman Foundation
 Medina Fund
 Muckleshoot Indian Tribe
 New Tudor Foundation
 Seattle Foundation
 Seattle People's Fund
 Tulalip Tribes Charitable Fund
 United Way King County
 Women's Funding Alliance

dence in an organization's capacity and long-term direction. In addition to providing stability, both core support and multiyear funding also increase agility and allow organizations "wiggle room" to respond to an unexpected opportunity or prevent harmful policies from passing. Washington organizations greatly appreciated Marguerite Casey Foundation for its general support grants. Oregon groups pointed to McKenzie

Four Freedoms and W.K. Kellogg Foundation each provided multiyear funding for some of the groups in the Northwest sample as part of specific national initiatives. Open Society Institute provided consistent multiyear support for PSJ, which David Rogers noted was important for the organization's early development. "A number of foundations invested early on with multiyear grants. I can't say enough how important that is. It fundamentally

"[A funder] can't give money for one year and [say] 'Show us this impact.' The campaign boom-bust cycle does not sustain a long-term movement."

—Rural Organizing Project

changes the way we are able to plan our work and commit certain resources. If you don't know where the money is going to come from next year, you're reluctant to hire someone, for example, to invest in someone over the long term. When money isn't secure, also psychologically people don't commit as much to it. That's psychic

River Gathering as an important source of general support funds.

For several groups, the Universalist Unitarian Veatch Program at Shelter Rock (Veatch) exemplified a consistent, flexible funding approach. Basic Rights Oregon staff recalled, "Veatch was among the first funders for our c3. We started as a PAC, then added c4, then c3 in 1999. Veatch values collaboration and encouraged us to look at what our role is in building a strong progressive movement in this state. They communicate openly and effectively about expectations they set and are really consistent. [They provide] general operating support, slow and steady. Not multiyear commitments but long term engagement."

ROP leaders also valued Veatch as a consistent, long-term partner, in contrast to funders that only provide temporary or intermittent support: "[A funder] can't give money for one year and [say] 'Show us this impact.' The campaign boom-bust culture does not sustain a long-term movement. So you can infuse resources, skills and experiences, but also you need to be there in the off year to build back up. We work with the front line, but who is on bench behind there, how do we work with those folks? What can we commit to, what depth of relationships? Veatch is going to commit and will be there for years. When we're working with foundations that understand and want to know what we are doing and why, we feel like we're in partnership with somebody."

and real time and energy that is not spent thinking about how to win this campaign. The early investment from funders in a multiyear way has been profound."

2. Exemplary funding partners value intermediate outcomes

The process of advocacy and organizing builds organizational capacity. When a group doesn't achieve its goal, that doesn't mean the grant money wasn't well spent. Often, there are intermediate outcomes that bring the organization closer to its target. By recognizing the importance of these interim gains, funders can better understand what their nonprofit partners need to get to the next level in their work. Many resources are available to help funders and their nonprofit partners identify appropriate interim benchmarks.²⁸ Even if a group hasn't attained its ultimate goal, it has built capacity in important ways that will benefit future efforts. Some examples of interim gains are:

- > CAT's Safe Housing Project brought together many stakeholders to improve the city's inspection program for public housing repairs. After a "grueling process" lasting a year and a half, they reached consensus on changes, but then the housing market crashed and the city slashed its inspection budget by 70 percent. Yet, CAT said "We still got good things out of it. Even though it won't happen right

now, we still have a set of agreements with buy in from all sides, which is pretty powerful; with landlord trade associations we have better relationships than in the past; we have better relationships with public health officials; and people really recognize CAT as a leader in the community.”

- > In 2004, Basic Rights Oregon worked hard to defeat a ballot measure excluding LGBTQ residents from marriage rights. While the exclusionary measure did pass, and the loss was very difficult, the organization built a significant infrastructure in the process that enabled major victories in the next several years.
- > After the federal government increased federal incentives last year for wind and solar power, Idaho Rural Council began informing county commissions about clean energy. IRC initiated a campaign in ten south-central Idaho counties to remove zoning law barriers that frustrate rural residents who want to install small scale wind turbines or solar panels for electric power production. IRC has brought in experts to educate commissioners and is urging them to adopt model ordinances.

Snake River Alliance executive director Shipley noted that Edwards Mother Earth Foundation asks for benchmarks in funding requests. She appreciates her relationship with the program officer, who discusses the benchmarks with her. This back and forth process ensures SRA is clear about the interim outcomes it seeks to achieve. It also ensures that funder and grantee are on the same page about progress indicators.

3. Exemplary funding partners support capacity building needs identified by nonprofits

Throughout this report, there are many examples of the ways in which groups built their capacity in order to achieve impressive impacts. Even for ongoing campaigns that have not yet met their goals, the capacity organizations build today will serve them well in future advocacy efforts. Supporting capacity building is a way for funders to go beyond the grant and deepen their commitment to their nonprofit partners. Yet, *how* grant-makers go about it is as important as their decision to build capacity. One advocate commented, “Often, funders come in and decide what’s needed. It’s a very top-down approach. They throw a lot of consultants at it. What’s missing is the ask—“What are the [capacity] needs? What are the special needs in your community?”

NWFCO and WORC provide tailored capacity building support to their member groups in the region. Although the Western States Center is not a traditional grantmaker, its technical assistance with direct grants has put it at the top of many groups’ list, along with Social Justice Fund Northwest, as an organization that provides useful, relevant training and technical assistance. Alysha Jannotta at MWV said, “Two funders critical to our success are Social Justice Fund Northwest and Western States Center—both are critical partners especially in our capacity building. The Social Justice Fund has been a funding partner since 2001. They believe in our work and realize that real change takes time. We’ve gotten three multiyear grants from them. The capacity building and civic action grants we received from them have been critical in helping us take our voter and civic engagement work to the next level.”

The Four Freedoms Fund was commended for helping a nascent volunteer organization grow into a thriving nonprofit. CAUSA explained, “They gave us T.A. [technical assistance] and money to help us apply for our c3, and T.A. for our communications plan, not just money. They subcontract with Nonprofit Finance Fund to do financial scenario planning, taught board members how to read a budget, financial statements. ... They put together convenings, training on civic engagement, civic participation. ... They’re not just a funding source. We can talk to them about issues we are struggling with or accomplishing.”

Because nonprofits are under immense pressure to meet the needs of more of their community members using fewer resources, some may opt to cut back on capacity building activities such as professional development. Funders can provide a cushion and encourage their nonprofit partners to continue their capacity building efforts by investing in ways that support them doing so.

The Northwest Area Foundation became a more responsive funder after efforts to build the capacity of urban Indian organizations to reduce poverty across the region came to an impasse. As documented in the spring 2006 edition of NCRP’s quarterly newsletter *Responsive Philanthropy*, urban Indian communities, including Urban Indians of All Tribes Foundation, were frustrated by the experience. The urban Indian community was aware of the risks of publicly criticizing a major regional foundation, but they felt strongly that their story needed to be told. Janeen Comenote, administrative and development officer at UIATF, recounted, “It was a big bomb when the NCRP article

came out. You just don't do that in the philanthropic community."

The happy ending is that NWAFL leaders heard the message. "The Northwest Area Foundation did change their focus. ... After the urban Indian incident, they granted generously in the participant urban Indian communities. Out of that grew a community movement thinking about poverty and what we could do about it. Urban Indians moved in a strategic direction that was born in the community, by the community." She added, "We work with a lot of their other grantees and [the foundation] really [does] listen, they are trying harder. They went from being the dominant culture but pretending not to be, to really listening to their grantee constituency. I believe it was because of that article. It shows the mighty power of the pen."

4. Exemplary funders support the coalition and movement building work of their nonprofit partners

Community leaders in the region praised the rare funder that looks beyond the impact of individual grantees to see how support for a set of organizations can achieve long-term change. Comenote at UIATF praised the

Marguerite Casey Foundation for its support of movement building. "This is a critically essential component of social justice. We won't see anything change unless there is a movement behind it to change it. Marguerite Casey gets that and is willing to fund it. Their grantee list has some of the most cutting edge movers and shakers in movement building and social justice."

Another leader appreciated the fact that Marguerite Casey funds both statewide advocacy organizations and also more grassroots, local groups. Often, the strategies and tactics of both kinds of organizations are needed to change policies. "Movement building is about relationship and network building," said Luz Vega-Marquis, president & CEO of Marguerite Casey Foundation. "As a funder, we want to be more than just the people with the money – we want to be a partner. We provide long-term general support to cornerstone organizations that have as their goal alliance building. For us, movement building is a grantmaking strategy that can lead to sustained change for low-income families. As a result, we have seen organizations build capacity, increase their reach and form networks across issue areas and regions. We believe these are the fundamental elements of movement building."

For organizations in more isolated states such as Montana, having a funder that uses capacity building to

Grantmaker in Focus: Champion Foundation Leaders Willing to Take Risks to End Homelessness

Don André at the Champion Foundation observed that the Champions have a higher threshold for risk than most philanthropists. He noted Champion Foundation's perspective that increased public resources for housing and services is the key to ending homelessness. There are not enough private resources to address the problem, and the ultimate return on investment in policy change is extremely high. With those things in mind, advocacy for public policy became the Champions' primary strategy to solve homelessness. "Tom and Sonya are very motivated by leveraging and getting as much as possible for their investment."

Rachael Myers, executive director of the Washington Low Income Housing Alliance, praised the Champions for their commitment to advocacy as a means to achieve social change. "They know there will never be enough philanthropic money to solve the housing problem, and government has to be a big part of the solution."

She also valued their approach to collaboration. Champion convened a number of working groups of their homelessness grantees. Myers was impressed that the foundation even opened up the process beyond grantees to figure out how all the stakeholders could work together. She

explained, "Champion convenes us in a way that is not 'we are the funder and think you all should do this thing so listen to us,' but rather to provide space and impetus for us to come together and think about how we can do our work together." Don André, who comes from a nonprofit background, succinctly described the process he used for convening: "My approach is to let them self-determine."

The groups collectively identified 12 issues and then boiled them down to four areas: mobilization and organizing; messaging and communications; state policy advocacy; and federal advocacy. In each area,

connect them to a larger movement has been essential. Travis McAdam at Montana Human Rights Network commented, “Social Justice Fund Northwest and Pride Foundation in Seattle are fantastic and at the top of our list of effective funding partners. The program officers and everyone on staff really understand the dynamics of how advocacy work plays out at the local level. When your campaign hits a snag, you can call them and be very honest about midcourse corrections and know they will be supportive. Lately, Social Justice Fund Northwest has been emphasizing shared learning among grantees, such as webinars on successful campaigns. The Pride Foundation publications keep us abreast of what is going on in other states, which is helpful.”

Social Justice Fund Northwest executive director Zeke Spier explained his foundation’s approach. “Although we love supporting organizations that win short-term policy fights, we recognize that building grassroots political power is an ongoing process. This means consistently investing in infrastructure—the impact of which may not be fully realized for ten or more years.”

Alysha Jannota at MWV said, “We’ve been working with the Western States Center VOTE project since 2004. The technical assistance they have offered has been critical to the development of our civic engagement work. As part of the VOTE project we go two to three times a

year to Portland where our staff gets to take part in training on key skills like how to run a phone bank, strategic planning, policy education, understanding bigger issues and trends in the region. It is a great opportunity to learn from other groups in the region.” Andrea Shipley at SRA went through WSC’s WILD program, which was critical to helping her stay in social justice work. Women she met through the program have been important mentors to her since taking the helm of Snake River Alliance.

Given the distance between Helena, Mont. and Boise, Idaho, perhaps it should not be a surprise that it took the Kellogg Foundation to bring Travis McAdam at MHRN and Rowena Pineda at ICAN together, as part of a multiyear rural policy initiative. They each credit Kellogg with fostering a sense of regional connection through the project, which funded clusters of groups by region and also convened them periodically to explore rural policy issues together.

5. Exemplary funding partners take calculated risks.

Funders are often wary of supporting advocacy, organizing and community engagement groups out of fear that the investments are too risky. It is true that many

Campion has worked with grantees to determine how it can help enhance their capacity. Myers gave an example of one working group that talked about how to share mobilization resources when there is an issue that affects all of their organizations, so that they have the ability to send out one co-branded email to many thousands of people rather than just a few thousand. “The Campions’ belief is in letting us take the lead but providing some resources and space so we can figure out how to work together. If we decided there was some tool that would help us all we could ask them to consider funding it.”

The Housing Alliance, with its deep roots throughout the state, is an anchor group in the foundation’s strategy to end homelessness. The Campion and Gates Foundations partnered (50/50) to give the organization a three-year grant to build its capacity. According to Myers, “We realized we wanted to do more advocacy at the federal level, and there was some possibility of getting HUD back as a better partner. Campion funded us to bring on a staff person to work on the federal project.” This capacity enables the Housing Alliance to staff the federal advocacy working group.

To further support the effectiveness of the state-level advocacy working

group, Campion is partnering with the Marguerite Casey Foundation to provide resources for a nascent statewide anti-poverty coalition. Beverly Spears, executive director of SPAN, appreciated how Campion positions its funding interest within a larger frame. “Part of how we’ve gotten funding is that they don’t fund just housing but are looking at a broader poverty agenda.” Don André believes that when funding advocacy you have to look at the big picture and be in it for the long haul. Campion gives general operating grants “with direction” and makes a long-term commitment to grantees.

factors contribute to a policy outcome, and some of them are beyond any nonprofit's control. However, as this report demonstrates, thoughtful and strategic risk-taking is an essential element of success and a strategy that can have enormous payoff for funders and their nonprofit partners. Both grantmakers and nonprofit leaders recognize the Campion Foundation for being willing to embrace the risks associated with funding policy engagement.

Another way that funders can take risks is to look outside their funding silos to see how they can better support groups engaged in cross cutting work. Organizations that don't fit into one clear program area often fall between the cracks, such as groups that do both services and organizing. Or groups that have multiple issue and constituency foci, like AYE, which does youth leadership development *and* works on

environmental campaigns. By getting outside of their comfort zone, grantmakers can invest in cutting edge strategies on the ground.

6. Exemplary funding partners treat their nonprofit grantees as true partners

Writing a grant check is a great way to start a relationship with an organization. For some foundations, the grant and the final report are the main forms of communication with grantees. For others, the grant is just the first step that leads to a deeper, long-term partnership based on mutual respect and common goals. CAUSA values the partnership it has with the Four Freedoms Fund. "They are more than just a funder but a partner in our movement. We have known Four Freedoms Fund for four

Grantmakers in Focus: McKenzie River Gathering and Northwest Health Foundation Are True Partners with Nonprofits

McKenzie River Gathering CEO Marjory Hamann recently explained how the grantmaker views its connection with nonprofits. "The relationships we have with the groups we fund are critical to our effectiveness as a foundation. Their analysis shapes our grant-making and helps us create programs that are relevant to communities that are often excluded from decision-making in the foundation world. We never forget that we exist because of them."

Kaysa Jama at CIO was one of the leaders that appreciated not only the seed money MRG provided, but its interest in cultivating a long-term relationship. "We consider them our founding funder; the first grant we ever got was a peace building grant to produce public forums on the impact of 9/11 on immigrants and refugees. The past eight years we have existed they have funded us every single year. They've been a constant supporter for us. Without them we would have closed our doors; at times they were the only grant we got. For them it's about understanding the

vision and mission of our organization, investing in the long haul, helping us with communications pieces, really being there. They are putting our story out there in front of funders. Money is one thing – a grantmaker can give you a check – but to be a partner means not only to see you as a grantee but as a partner for issues you engage in collectively. They are talking to us as a strategic partner, not just as a grantee."

CAT's leaders emphasized how MRG strives to become immersed in the worldview of its grantees. In fact, a former leader at CAT became a program officer at MRG, demonstrating how much the foundation values on-the-ground experience. "McKenzie River Gathering is really solid, they do a lot of work to be really based in the community and respond to the needs of the community in Oregon. I know they understand what we do because they are really grounded in the community. Their program staff and grantmaker funding committees are all [rooted] in areas they fund." CAUSA appreciated

the fact that MRG staff "make you feel valued" and let grantees know that what they're doing is important.

The Northwest Health Foundation also received high marks from several groups for supporting all the key elements for successful advocacy. The Center for Effective Philanthropy recently profiled five program officers who exemplified effective nonprofit partners, and one of them was Chris Kabel of Northwest Health Foundation. When interviewed, he said his institution values the time it takes to build strong community partnerships.²⁹ The Foundation believes that its role as a convener, capacity-builder and direct participant in the community is as equally important as the funding it provides. President Thomas Aschenbrener reflected, "Our ability to fulfill our mission is shaped by who we are and how we operate. Our values drive our approach. In order to support and effect social change, we must build relationships and share common goals beyond the current grant, issue or campaign."

years, and there are personal relationships. It's the ideal partnership you can have with funders, they are partners in the struggle, not just here's the check send us a report in six months and another one in a year. They review proposals we have submitted to others, looking for other funding sources. We are honoring them tomorrow night at our gala, to thank them for supporting us in reaching the American dream. They are a partner in the struggle for social justice, especially immigration reform."

Among funders in the Northwest region, McKenzie River Gathering (MRG) and the Northwest Health Foundation were commended for taking the time to "go deep" with a grantee to truly understand its community and issues.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUNDERS

As this report demonstrates, when nonprofits advocate on behalf of and organize their constituents, communities in the Northwest reap concrete lasting benefits. Yet, as many advocates and foundation leaders emphasized, the region faces a host of challenges, including racial disparities, threats to rural economic vitality, anti-immigrant sentiment, environmental threats and anti-LGBTQ initiatives. These problems are exacerbated by the current financial crisis that is squeezing local and state governments' ability to meet residents' basic needs. Nevertheless, foundations in the region also have an opportunity to respond to these problems in a powerful way by supporting advocacy, organizing and civic engagement strategies that elevate those with the least power in the region to work toward a more just society.

Based on the input of nonprofits and funders, NCRP recommends the following next steps for foundation leaders:

1. Engage the board and donors in dialogue about how advocacy and organizing can help achieve long-term goals

Trustees may not know much about advocacy and organizing, and they may mistakenly believe that foundations cannot legally fund such strategies. Sharing concrete examples from this report with trustees and/or major donors can help demystify policy engagement and encourage discussion of how these strategies can be among a variety of approaches needed to achieve change on the issues funders care about.

In addition to funding advocacy and organizing, foundations can advance public policy priorities by

leveraging their political capital, educating their peers and informing public leaders and the media about critical issues and potential solutions. Diane Kaplan, CEO of the Rasmuson Foundation, observed, "Our money can't always accomplish our goals. Our grantees tell us 'Your influence is more important than your funding.'" After the foundation became fully endowed in 2001, the board members discussed advocacy engagement and, according to Kaplan, at first their reaction was "We don't do public policy." But Kaplan noted that "Public policy is so ingrained in our trustees that they do it in their sleep." Once they realized it, they embraced advocacy, and it now is codified in the foundation's goals.

When trustees and foundation staff are able to conduct site visits with community organizations, the learning can be quite powerful. Wim Mauldin, lead organizer of Spokane Alliance, recounted, "Particularly those funders who have had site visits, we were able to tell our stories right here. They can talk directly to leaders. We talk about what we do, the impact on them, what their leadership development has been, and take a tour with those leaders to places where you can see what's happened – for example, sit down with a pastor in her own church and talk about the Wellness Works that happened right there." The leaders at OneAmerica would like to see funders doing more site visits, "not just coming in and talking about a specific grant but understanding the whole organization and how what they are funding would support that."

Exploring the role of risk in advocacy with board members is also important. PSJ staff observed, "For those not used to funding advocacy, any advocacy might seem like a risk. But even if a grantee acknowledges that a particular strategy might not work, it shouldn't necessarily be dismissed. Social change innovations happen when people come up with a rational plan, and experimentation can be really valuable. There may be serious questions about whether a strategy can be successful, but if the work is strategic and there is also a solid plan for evaluation and to identify lessons learned – then funders need to be there for us. We will never be able to break new fertile ground if funders are not willing to invest when there is no guarantee that strategies will deliver. Personally I have learned a lot from doing, and I don't always get it right, but I am always much better at it the second time around."

Not all impacts can be quantified, so taking time to know a group's work will help trustees and donors appreciate those less tangible outcomes.

Building a relationship with grantees will also make it easier to negotiate the right outcome measures for their work. This is perhaps one of the biggest challenges that funders face when they explore making advocacy grants – how to measure their impact, especially the interim progress on the way to a policy goal. Exploring this topic with trustees and donors can help demystify advocacy outcome measurement, which has gotten increasingly sophisticated in the last five years.³⁰

2. Add advocacy, organizing and civic engagement strategies to the grantmaking portfolio, or increase the percentage of grant dollars devoted to these strategies.

Some funders recognize the significant return offered by investing in policy advocacy and community organizing and devote a substantial percentage of their grant dollars to this kind of work. McKenzie River Gathering CEO Marjory Hamann explained, “So many grants are made to social service organizations that

“Don’t put your eggs in one basket. If you are funding social services, think of advocacy and organizing as a way to get faster to your goal, through organizations that are focusing on systematic change.”

— Organizer

alleviate human suffering. MRG grantees are changing the systems that create suffering in the first place. In our experience, funding community organizing and advocacy efforts by the people who are most affected by injustice is the most effective way to create long term, positive change – now, and for generations to come.”

Others may want to reevaluate and raise their levels of investment in these strategies, given their potential for tremendous impact. The right level will vary depending on what each foundation seeks to accomplish. In general, most grantmakers are underinvesting

in this and are missing an opportunity to achieve greater impact for the issues and constituencies they care about. In *Criteria for Philanthropy at its Best*, NCRP recommends 25 percent of grants should support these strategies.

For *Criteria*, NCRP analyzed data from the Foundation Center on 809 large national foundations over a three-year time period (2005-2007) and found that only 7 percent of those foundations give 25 percent or more of their grant dollars to support social justice, which is the closest proxy available for advocacy, organizing and civic engagement.³¹ Foundations in the region meeting this benchmark were: Marguerite Casey Foundation (Wash.), Northwest Area Foundation (Minn.), and Otto Bremer Foundation (Minn.).

These funders recognize the significant benefits to communities that advocacy and organizing bring. If other funders increase the proportion of their grant dollars devoted to these strategies, they will increase the capacity of underserved communities to engage in participatory democracy and contribute to solving the region’s pressing problems.

For foundations that want to support policy engagement in the Northwest but either don’t know the nonprofit landscape well enough to identify nonprofit partners or don’t have the capacity to process smaller grants, grantmaking public charities can be a helpful resource. Social Justice Fund Northwest and McKenzie River Gathering in Oregon are some of the major public grantmakers that can play this role in the region. The Montana

Community Foundation is also leveraging private foundation dollars to support advocacy.

There is no question that more advocacy and organizing resources are needed in the Northwest. The following are just a few examples of missed opportunities that organizations in the sample could not pursue or opportunities they would like to initiate if they had more resources for policy and civic engagement:

- > United Indians of All Tribes Foundation commended the tribes for effectively lobbying to get \$3 bil-

lion in federal stimulus funds for tribal infrastructure, but noted that American Indian nonprofits lack the capacity and infrastructure to mirror this type of effort for the often “invisible” urban Indian communities throughout the country.

- > Partnership for Safety and Justice would like to work on the “archaic system dealing with court created debt,” in which the incarcerated rack up fines, fees, and restitution obligations they have no ability to pay. “It’s a lose, lose, lose situation. It is unrealistic for offenders, the victims don’t get paid, and the state is not even collecting, with over one billion dollars in unpaid debt. This broken system is ripe for change. If we had a staff person working on this, we would knock it out of the park.”
- > Snake River Alliance took a funding hit just as two nuclear power plants were proposed in Idaho. “We didn’t have the capacity we needed to fight Areva at the point when they were seeking tax incentives from the legislature. So now we have to fight them at a later stage. We are waiting for the Environmental Impact Statement about Areva now, due this summer. We are trying to engage grassroots folks as much as possible, through public hearings. We will explore legal opportunities. But we can’t undertake certain costly strategies without risking losing the organization. These are hard choices.”

Many leaders are tired of hearing funders say, “We don’t do advocacy, only services.” Organizations using both strategies know that services without advocacy will never solve the problem. Unfortunately, some groups that combine services and organizing have found they get caught in a catch-22 because many social service funders are scared of their activism, but funders that typically support organizing don’t want to fund services, even if it becomes a recruiting ground for members and leaders. ICAN, which operates food programs, lost its relationship with the local food bank because Feeding America doesn’t condone charging dues to those who receive assistance. Yet, as Rowena Pineda noted, those residents who get involved through the food program prove to be very committed leaders.

One organizer urged, “Don’t put all your eggs in one basket. If you are funding social services, think of advocacy and organizing as a way to get faster to your goals, through organizations that are focusing on systematic change.” It’s not an either/or choice. Both are needed, and foundations that already give

grants for services can further leverage that support by giving their service grantees general support grants, so that they have the flexibility to share their knowledge with decision makers and work on the root causes of homelessness, food insecurity and other social issues.

3. Work together to foster philanthropic cooperation and shared learning

The issues the 20 organizations tackle on a daily basis are daunting. Just as these organizations can make progress on these issues by uniting, funders too can work together to learn, cooperate and plan. There are a variety of ways that grantmakers already engage in shared learning. Alaska funders meet quarterly to discuss topics of mutual concern. Philanthropy Northwest facilitates a regular conference call of Montana and Wyoming funders. The Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities is coordinating a new Intermountain Funders Conference to look at civic engagement and land use issues in states such as Idaho, Colorado and New Mexico.

In Montana, which does not have a statewide grantmaker association but is part of the Philanthropy Northwest region, several funders have come together to plan learning events for regional and national funders. According to Kelly Bruggeman at First Interstate Foundation, “We did this based on a model used in Alaska that is very effective in big rural states where foundations have very small staffs. It’s a volunteer effort, and we work closely with our nonprofit partners to design it.” The first learning tour, in August 2009, was eye opening for regional and national funders that attended, allowing them to see how funders and nonprofits in Montana accomplish a lot with their limited resources. “Some of them had never been on a reservation before,” noted Bruggeman. The offices of Senators Baucus and Tester also participated. The 2010 activity included a roundtable on funding in Indian country.

Shared learning can help funders see how advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement are important tools in the toolbox of strategies needed to solve complex problems. In particular, Oregon grantmakers have embraced collaboration. The Chalkboard Project is the brainchild and sole focus of Foundations for a Better Oregon, formed in 2003 by The Collins Foundation, The Ford Family Foundation, JELD-WEN

Foundation, Meyer Memorial Trust and The Oregon Community Foundation. In 2008, The James F. and Marion L. Miller Foundation joined the collaborative, which promotes civic and policy engagement on key issues in Oregon. In 2004, the nonprofit Chalkboard Project developed an action plan to improve Oregon public school success by focusing on teacher effectiveness. The project has implemented a multipronged approach that includes research, implementation of best practices and a state legislative agenda. Partnering with Stand for Children and the Oregon Education Association, they fought the dismantling of and protected \$5 million in state funding for teacher professional development and mentoring in 2009.

Another more informal early childhood group has helped grantmakers understand the role of advocacy in making systems more responsive and improving outcomes for children. Children's Institute staff described this effort: "The Early Childhood Funders Learning Circle is 25 funders committed to learn together about early childhood issues. They currently have one joint funding initiative. They brought together statewide advocacy organizations working on education and children's issues to develop a policy framework and agenda for children birth to 8." Although the joint funding was modest, it brought groups together for the first time.

In Washington, the Neighbor to Neighbor Fund is a collaboration of grantmakers and advisors who are exploring urban development and neighborhood gentrification issues. The Fund includes such diverse grantmakers as the Seattle Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Kirkpatrick Family Foundation, the Boeing Company and individual donors. Kathleen Pierce, a trustee at Kirkpatrick, explained that the goal of the Fund's Equitable Development Initiative, crafted with input from PolicyLink, is to build the capacity of community-based organizations in the Seattle area to engage in advocacy and organizing around equitable development issues. The Fund is working with Puget Sound Sage to help grassroots community organizations develop policy skills. The Fund also helped launch the Nonprofit Assistance Center to provide technical assistance to local organizations rooted in communities of color. Pierce explained that "our systems and policy change work builds on the shared learning about neighborhood assets and needs that we gain from our small grants program. The two funding approaches go hand in hand."

4. Invest in organizational capacity and a non-profit advocacy infrastructure

Effective technical assistance is culturally appropriate and tailored to respond to the specific needs identified by a nonprofit. This report contains many examples of effective capacity building for advocacy, organizing and civic engagement.

For example, the Rasmuson Foundation has been an important partner for its grantees and amplifies the value of its relationships by being a public voice on policy issues. CEO Diane Kaplan makes sure that legislators know about the work the foundation supports in their districts by sending them periodic updates. In addition to leveraging its legislative relationships, Rasmuson helps grantees by letting other funders know about their work. Leveraging its peer networks to spread the word about AFACT made sense for Rasmuson after the foundation made a long-term investment in the organization. The foundation made an atypical decision to give a five-year capacity-building grant to AFACT so the organization can expand its scope and hire more organizers. Said Kaplan, "We don't typically make multiyear grants. We took a leap of faith and are investing in the director's leadership. AFACT is a first in terms of grassroots organizing in the state. We want to see them come up with a sustainable model."

Despite these types of support, the groups interviewed talked about how they are still hampered by unmet capacity needs:

- > **Communications** – Several organizations said they are hindered by their weak communications infrastructure, which limits their ability to engage constituents, the media and the broader public. They need to enhance their staffing, their messaging and their technology to be more effective. Groups working statewide and in rural areas especially highlighted these challenges. Amy Dudley at ROP said, "The capacity we need is communications systems. What are the many ways that we can be accessing and communicating through our database, email, multiple web and social networking opportunities in addition to traditional media? Rural Oregon and rural America tend to be behind in actual physical infrastructure ... The strength of our movement is our list, ROP is the primary holder of that list, so how do we make it more accessible, use our communication systems to engage [people] more regularly and personally, integrate our list and the voter

files more seamlessly? There is untapped power in that technology. And getting there requires technical expertise and dedicated resources.”

- > **Fundraising** – Nonprofits know that they should not be reliant on too few funding sources, yet several said they lack the fundraising staff to expand their grantwriting, research more foundations or cultivate individual donors. Kayse Jama at CIO said, “I don’t have a grant writer; we use volunteers. We have no dedicated staff for individual fundraising, that’s why we are so dependent on foundation grants. My vision is that someday we are supported by the community, not foundations, but we have no development person.”
- > **Organizing** – A number of organizations simply need more organizers. They aren’t able to reach all the constituencies in their community or to reach them as deeply as they would like. This prevents them from being able to take on issues directly affecting their constituency. OneAmerica sees huge disparities in the Washington education system and few groups are engaging immigrant parents to address them, yet they have not had the capacity to take this on. “As soon as immigration reform gets done that should be the next issue.” WCAN! also talked about wanting to do more to engage communities of color in the state to address racial disparities in public policies highlighted in their Racial Justice Report Card.

The flip side of investing in culturally appropriate and relevant capacity building is for grantmakers also to be mindful about how their application and reporting requirements add further strain to groups’ existing capacity. Already well documented by Project Streamline, nonprofit leaders spend too much time on paperwork that could be better spent trying to achieve their mission. One advocate pleaded for “some kind of streamlined reporting process, especially for grants under \$10,000. I spend hours on the letter of intent, the proposal, six months later on the report. Every funder has a different set of criteria they want to see. I spend so much time jumping through hoops that I’m not able to focus on that work that I’m asking for the grant to be able to do.” Echoed another, “A lot of processes for applying for funding are super bureaucratic and don’t seem helpful to anyone involved. The ones that are the worst are for the smallest amounts of money.”

Going beyond grants to help nonprofits in other ways is also important, according to groups in the sam-

ple. The Public Welfare Foundation went beyond giving a one-year grant to PSJ to also introduce them to other organizations and potentially support new collaborations. “Even funders who like your work, the relationship ends when the grant is made, and they don’t always think about ways to help you.”

Several statewide nonprofit associations in the region see it as part of their mission to encourage their members to advocate, and they want to build the advocacy capacity of all nonprofits. Grantmakers can partner with these associations to support training and technical assistance for advocacy and civic engagement. By utilizing available knowledge and resources, funders can make positive contributions to the ability of their grantees to effectively organize and advocate on behalf of constituents.

5. Provide general operating support and multi-year grants

This report features a cross-section of sophisticated advocacy and grassroots groups in the region. None of the groups in the sample achieved their current size and scope overnight; it took time, experience and investments in organizational capacity. During the current recession, it is all the more important that funders provide stability, yet as one advocate noted, “Instead of sticking with it and building relationships, funders always want to fund something new when what you need to do is more of the old.” Sticking with it, building relationships – this is what nonprofits need from philanthropy in order to continue to be successful.

Effective funders maximize their grantees’ flexibility and stability by providing multiyear and general operating support. NCRP’s *Criteria for Philanthropy at its Best* encourages grantmakers to provide at least 50 percent of grant dollars for general support and 50 percent as multiyear grants. It found two foundations in the region that provided more than 50 percent of their grant dollars for general operating support: Browning-Kimball Foundation (Mont.) and U.S. Bancorp Foundation (Minn.)

Also from *Criteria*, eight funders in the region provided at least 50 percent of grant dollars as multiyear funding: The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (Wash.), Meyer Memorial Trust (Ore.), Oregon Community Foundation, M.J. Murdoch Charitable Trust (Wash.), Ben B. Cheney Foundation (Wash.), Ford Family Foundation (Ore.), The Seattle Foundation

(Wash.), and the Otto Bremer Foundation (Minn.)

For community organizations that are truly responsive to the constituencies they engage, flexible funding allows them to make midcourse changes in their plans. Wim Mauldin at Spokane Alliance observed, “Often times we don’t know what campaign we will be in next year if we are going to be sensitive to our own constituents. That could put us in a bind with our foundations: Do we apply for grant that won’t be available for six months provided we go into a campaign that will qualify for their criteria? Or do we go with what our people tell us is more important? ... If funders are interested in people making the decision, which I think they are, then the broader it is the better.”

One-year grant cycles also are not compatible with biennial state budget cycles and legislatures. Children’s Institute noted, “It is very inefficient to have grants on a one-year cycle. You don’t have time to do it well if the check-in point on a grant isn’t aligned with the policy timeline. It should be at least three years. If you want to see legislative and policy change, it’s impossible to see change in one year.” Another advocate added, “Funders seem so fickle. They change their minds every three years, or after every election cycle – depending on who gets in office. They are always redoing themselves. They are sort of faddish in some ways. It is hard to find foundations with the long-term commitment needed for community-based organizing.”

Even in good economic times, nonprofit organizations often get caught in a “cycle of starvation” where they underestimate their true operating costs to funders and fail to integrate capacity needs into their budgets. During times of economic hardship, the risk and potential harm of doing this are even greater. Janeen Comenote at UIATF urged grantmakers to provide more core support and specific dollars for advocacy to overcome this cycle, “Once we can build that, we can build our capacity as an agency to cultivate champions. When you are so strung out and stretched so thin, you don’t have that luxury. If you don’t have time to go out and champion your cause, you will not be heard.”

Multiyear funding allows groups to engage in long range planning, something foundations often encourage in theory but don’t support in practice with how their grants are structured. Basic Rights Oregon leaders said, “Multiyear funding is critical. There’s not a lot [of multiyear funding] happening, but when it does it can be transformative for the program because of the planning you are able to do, program planning looking out over longer term of dedicated support, as opposed to

seeing how far you can get in the first year so you can come back for additional support.”

6. Explore the value of grants for advocacy in rural states and states that may seem politically challenging.

Long-time organizers in the Northwest have noted a disturbing trend over the last decade. Many national social justice funders appear to have abandoned the region or bypassed certain states altogether, including Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. According to Gail Heylman, executive director at the Fund for Idaho, progressive foundations have pulled out of Idaho as it solidified as a red state over the last decade and as the recession took a bite out of their funding capacity. Even an Oregon advocate bemoaned the tendency of national funders to hopscotch from California to Washington, seemingly forgetting the state in between them. For groups on the ground that are plugging away and achieving the kinds of significant impacts featured in this report, the lack of investment is demoralizing and threatens their very survival.

An added frustration for organizers and advocates is the practice by some funders of dumping money into a state only during a key election or issue campaign, but otherwise ignoring it. The money finances outside operatives who open up shop in the state and then pull up stakes when the campaign is over without having built any local capacity. One advocate noted, “It’s actually a waste of foundation money, and one could see it as a poor investment that has only one opportunity to pay out, and if that fails, no opportunity. If instead, money was invested in community organizing, even if the ultimate campaign was lost there would still be a return on investment because there would be an organization with power left – win, lose or draw.”

An organizer coined the phrase “Climate Change Industrial Complex” to describe what has been happening in Montana. “‘Grasstops’ campaigns are really Astroturf campaigns. They parachute in or hire well-known state politicians, contract workers who don’t really get grassroots organizing. Funders and big green groups pour money into it and it’s causing pandemonium.” This organizer noted that in the urgency to get congressional action on an issue such as climate change, funders may be frustrated with the pace of grassroots organizing, in which it takes time to devel-

op relationships, identify leaders, train them, and then move into action on issues.

“Support for advocacy in the state is inconsistent,” reported Alysha Jannotta at Montana Women Vote. “A lot of money came into the state when there was a hot election or a hot issue like national health care reform last year, but now most of those resources have left and it is often not clear how local capacity is built from those efforts. ... We know we need to diversify our

funding base and we’ll go after any grant, even for \$500 or \$1,000, but there just aren’t many funders out there who want to invest in Montana.”

Idaho advocates also are in a difficult situation. They know what they can accomplish with enough resources. For example, thanks to organizing, Idaho has a farmworker minimum wage. And the state has rapidly become one of the most committed nationally in moving toward clean energy. But,

Grantmaker in Focus: Montana Community Foundation Creatively Leverages Resources to Combat Predatory Lending

“Community foundations can be the bridge between private foundations and real community change,” proclaimed Linda Reed, president and CEO of the Montana Community Foundation. The Foundation has recently expanded its advocacy activities and helped finance them with dollars made available from a private foundation. Reed noted that the foundation has been engaged in advocacy work since 1995, when it worked to pass state legislation to enact a tax credit for planned gifts made to endowments. Recently the community foundation has gone beyond policy that serves its self-interest to policy that benefits the communities it serves. This was welcome news for Montana Women Vote, who is partnering with the foundation and other key stakeholders to battle payday lending.

Reed explained, “The battle to overturn Montana’s predatory lending laws began in 2003 and was fought by the best low income and human rights advocates in the state to no avail; bills never made it out of committee. The foundation, under the auspices of its Women’s Foundation, joined the cause in 2009. But after that session we agreed that a legislative solution was not possible and the only solution was to take the issue to the people through a ballot initiative.” The challenge was finding both seed capital to launch the

initiative and staff to coordinate the activities of the advocates. The foundation could do both, and with the help of the broad coalition of organizations committed to limiting interest rates charged by predatory lenders, there was a high probability of success.

Years before, Reed convinced the Northwest Area Foundation to recommend a grant of \$1 million from its \$3 million nonpermanent donor advised fund to the foundation to create an endowment to address poverty. Reed set aside the three years of the estimated distributable earning from the endowment as immediately distributable. This was the seed capital that paid for a “topnotch” pollster, who found that 75 percent of voters were supportive or highly supportive of limiting interest charged by payday lenders. The seed funds also paid for a professional political consultant to develop the campaign plan. Alysha Jannotta was pleased that the political consultant subcontracted some of the work to existing grassroots groups rather than only hiring their own organizers, as is typically done in campaigns. Montana Women Vote collected more than 6,000 signatures to help get the measure on the ballot and Montana Human Rights Network also gathered signatures. Other groups participated, including AARP, Rural Dynamics and SEIU. The initiative was successful in

qualifying for the ballot, so now the focus shifts to getting out the vote in November. The important likely result will be critical changes in Montana law that will help Montanans keep more of the money they earn.

The epiphany for Reed was the power of a private foundation/community foundation partnership to move the needle on needed public policy. Private foundations are prohibited from engaging in direct lobbying, but may realize that enduring positive changes often come from policy advocacy, which may include lobbying as one strategy. Community foundations, as public charities, have more flexibility to fund lobbying and engage in lobbying. Yet, they often lack the money to support that work. “Good luck doesn’t happen,” according to Reed, “it’s a result of trust and performance. The Northwest Area Foundation has been an important partner of ours for a long time and while this particular circumstance was unpremeditated, its probable outcome supports the missions of both foundations and will result in long-term positive results for Montanans that far exceed the investment. More private foundations should partner with community foundations because they have the money and we have the power of political persuasion. Together we could make remarkable changes.”

as Rowena Pineda at ICAN succinctly noted, “Funders write off Idaho as too conservative and therefore not worth funding.”

Andrea Shipley at SRA asked, “Can foundations fund infrastructure and leadership development trainings? We need greater leadership in Idaho to be successful. There are great people doing great things but there are not enough of us. Many are reaching retirement age. There’s a generational shift. Younger people are picking up these organizations but with no passing of the torch. Can funders support leadership development like the WILD program and Wellstone Action? Can you imagine if every organization in Idaho and Montana used the same database so that training and list enhancement was easy? Then we could really support movement building. Funders need to meet western communities where they’re at. Funders see where we’re at and get scared and run away. But if a progressive bill or resolution can get passed in Idaho it can get passed anywhere.”

Rural Advocacy Assets

1. In rural communities, relationships are all important. There is a strong sense of self-sufficiency, yet neighbors depend on each other when in need and the community pulls together in times of crisis. This resilience and interconnectedness is a strength on which advocacy capacity can be built.
2. Citizen legislators often are more accessible in rural areas. Elected officials live and work in the communities they represent, and they often know their constituency personally. Senators have fewer constituents than in urban states, making it easier for constituents to connect with them.
3. Because of these strong relationships and access to legislators, funding support goes a long way in rural settings. Rural states often have a disproportionate influence in national policy debates. And while the per client/per unit cost of providing services tends to be higher because of the great distances in rural areas, funding for advocacy offers a bigger bang for the buck because successful policy work creates systemic change that benefits many more people than can benefit from individual services.

Organizers noted that they can get a lot done with few resources, yet even coming up with a few hundred thousand dollars a year is challenging when so many foundations that typically support social change work have abandoned or ignored the mountain states. “We are a small and efficient organization,” said one Mountain state organizer. “Funders get a bang for the buck by funding smaller groups like ours, but funding is really difficult to find for community organizing in rural areas, especially in Wyoming.”

Rich Carlson at IRC is not blind to the challenges, but he also sees the opportunities. “It’s difficult to organize in Idaho. It takes longer; it takes time to build relationships. We need organizations on the ground that can weather the storm, and handle the ups and downs of the economy. In 2000, our budget was around \$225,000 but for the last 4 years we’ve been operating on a shoe string.”

Dan Neal at the Equality State Policy Center agreed that the opportunities are ripe to do a lot with a little more money. “People feel like they are wasting money here; we have this red state issue in the Rockies. People don’t realize that we are a small population state so we can have an effect in the legislature. We only have to influence 300,000 people, not millions. If I had \$50,000 more right now we could be a serious player in health care reform implementation. I’ve gone to several funders but none is biting. I even tried to partner with Idaho, Montana and Utah as a red state caucus to get money from a national funder to do work in our states on health care reform implementation. I just got word last week that they weren’t going to fund that effort. People need to wake up. We have just as many senators as California and New York. We are able to tackle this range of work because we have great access to legislators. But if they don’t hear from us, then they are only hearing from energy and other special-interest lobbyists.”

The High Stakes Foundation in Montana and Fund for Idaho are small but important resources for organizing in their respective states. The Social Justice Fund Northwest has been a consistent mountain states funder, and now Western States Center is a welcome new addition with its ability to give grants in the mountain states. When foundations take up advocacy, it is notable, as did the Montana Community Foundation/Women’s Foundation of Montana to tackle payday lending reform.

VII. Conclusion

As this report demonstrates, analyzing a small sample of diverse and effective organizations in the Northwest region revealed substantial benefits for vulnerable communities, including more than \$5 billion in monetary gains, as well as many nonmonetized impacts. The organizations included in this report utilized a range of advocacy, organizing and civic engagement strategies to accomplish their impressive wins. Sophisticated and savvy in their methods, the organizations have managed to achieve success in the face of what is often a highly challenging policy environment. Yet, as this report also demonstrates, the challenges the region continues to face are significant. While not insurmountable, they nonetheless demand long-term commitment in order to address

limited public investments and deeply entrenched inequalities in the region.

Northwest funders have many positive grantmaking and capacity building models that support advocacy and organizing, and by increasing investments in these strategies, foundations will add to the ability of their nonprofit partners to effect change. In the current economic crisis, many funders are seeking ways to stretch their dollars. Grants made in support of policy engagement that promotes justice and equity goes a long way toward improving society for the communities and issues funders care about most. Investments in efforts that address disparities today will pay off in long-term benefits for all Northwest residents now and in the future.

Notes

1. Impact, Outcome and Output definitions are from *Glossary: Useful Evaluation Terms, Tools & Resources*, prepared by Susie Quern Pratt, Marianne Philbin and Jenny Ellis Richards for the Association of Small Foundations, October 2007. The examples of each were provided by the author.
2. NCRP used “snowball sampling,” a purposive sampling technique used in research. Simply described, the researchers kept asking groups and funders for names of groups until we generated a list and no new names emerged.
3. Data from U.S. Census Bureau, *State and County QuickFacts*, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/index.html>. And U.S. Department of Agriculture, *A State Quickfacts*, <http://www.ers.usda.gov/StateFacts/>.
4. Table 4. Estimates of the Resident Population by Race and Hispanic Origin for the United States and States: July 1, 2009 (SC-EST2009-04) Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, Release Date: June 2010
5. Migration Policy Institute, *2008 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State*, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/acscensus.cfm#>.
6. Katherine Long, “Census Bureau: 31 percent of Bellevue residents are foreign-born,” *Seattle Times*, October 28, 2009, http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/localnews/2010148785_census28m.html.
7. Bureau of Indian Affairs, “Indian Entities Recognized and Eligible to Receive Services from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs,” *Federal Register*, Vol. 72, No. 55, March 22, 2007.
8. U.S. Census Bureau, op cit.
9. Go Northwest! website page “About the Northwest Economy,” <http://www.gonorthwest.com/Visitor/about/economy.htm>.
10. Poverty rate data: U.S. Census Bureau, *State and County Quick Facts*, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/index.html>. Unemployment rate data: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Unemployment Rates for States*, <http://www.bls.gov/web/laus/laumstrk.htm>. Uninsured rate: this is a three-year average published in fall 2009. U.S. Census Bureau, *American Community Survey: 2008 Data, Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage: 2008 – Tables & Figures*, <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/hlthins/data/incpovhlth/2008/tables.html>.
11. Social capital benchmarks for selected places in Washington, Oregon and Montana can be found at: http://www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro/communitysurvey/results_matrix.html. The methodology explains: “Along every dimension of social capital (such as social trust, inter-racial trust, etc.) a community quotient (CQ) shows a community’s performance on this dimension relative to what was predicted given its urbanicity, ethnicity, levels of education and age distribution. A CQ above 100 indicates that a community shows more of this community connectedness than its demographics would predict; conversely, a CQ below 100 indicates that a community shows less of this type of social capital than its demographics would suggest.”
12. National Conference of State Legislatures, *Annual and Biennial Budgeting: The Experience of State Governments* (2010), <http://www.ncsl.org/default.aspx?tabid=12658>.
13. Urban Institute, National Center for Charitable Statistics, Number of Registered Nonprofit Organizations Filing Forms 990 in the Past 2 Years by State, 2008, <http://nccsdataweb.urban.org/PubApps/reports.php?rid=34>.
14. Ibid.
15. FC Stats: The Foundation Center’s Statistical Information Service, Fiscal Data of Grantmaking by Region and State, 2007: http://foundationcenter.org/findfunders/statistics/pdf/01_found_fin_data/2007/01_07.pdf.
16. New York Assembly Standing Committees on Social Services, Correction and Housing, Notice of Public Hearing, July 19, 2007, <http://assembly.state.ny.us/comm/SocServ/20070625/>.
17. Bruce Western, *From Prison to Work: A Proposal for a National Prisoner Reentry Program*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, December 2008).
18. Mary E. Larimer, PhD, et al, “Health Care and Public Service Use and Costs Before and After Provision of Housing for Chronically Homeless Persons with Severe Alcohol Problems,” *JAMA*, 2009, 301(13): 1349-1357.
19. See National Association of Home Builders, “The Local Economic Impact of Home Building,” at www.nahb.com.

20. This story is adapted with the permission of the Idaho Rural Council from “The Battle of the Big Sky CAFO,” *The cIRCular*; The Newsletter of Grassroots Organizing in Idaho, February 2008.
21. M.V. Lee Badgett, R. Bradley Sears, Elizabeth Kukura, and Holning Lau, *The Impact on Oregon’s Budget of Introducing Same-Sex Domestic Partnerships* (Los Angeles: Williams Institute, University of California at Los Angeles, February 2008).
22. Ben Neary, “Gay marriage bill dead,” *Associated Press*, reported by *Wyoming Tribune Eagle*, February 7, 2009, http://www.wyomingnews.com/articles/2009/02/07/news/19local_02-07-09.txt.
23. Dan Olweus, *Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993).
24. In the questionnaire completed by sample groups, core leaders were defined as individuals or members who regularly participate in the organization’s planning meetings, task forces, public events, or on the board.
25. Niki Jagpal, *Criteria for Philanthropy at its Best* (Washington, D.C.: National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, March 2009) p. 48.
26. The Foundation Center, 2010. Based on all grants of \$10,000 or more awarded by a sample of over 1,000 of the largest U.S. foundations. The Gates Foundation data for “Grants Awarded” has been omitted because it was \$709 million and would have heavily skewed the data.
27. Amount of multiyear funding may overlap with amount of general operating support funding.
28. For a list of resources related to advocacy funding, evaluation and interim benchmarks, go to: <http://www.ncrp.org/campaigns-research-policy/communities/gcip/gcip-resources>.
29. Ian Wilhelm, “Report Cites Grant-Making Officers Who Forge Strong Relationships With Grantees,” *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, May 2, 2010, <http://philanthropy.com/article/Report-Cites-Grant-Making/65302/>.
30. The Alliance for Justice, Center for Evaluation Innovation and others have developed tools for advocacy outcome measurement. For a list of resources related to advocacy funding and evaluation, go to: <http://www.ncrp.org/campaigns-research-policy/communities/gcip/gcip-resources>.
31. Jagpal, op cit., p. 115–116. NCRP uses social justice as a proxy for measuring foundation contributions to advocacy, organizing and civic engagement.

APPENDIX A

Organizational Profiles

Organization/Contact Information

Mission Statement/Description

ALASKA

Alaska Youth for Environmental Action (AYEA)

Megan McBride, Program Manager
mcbriDEM@nwf.org

750 West 2nd Avenue, Suite 200
Anchorage, AK 99501
www.ayea.org

AYEA inspires and trains diverse youth leaders to impact environmental issues. Our mission is to educate, inspire and take action on issues facing our diverse communities. AYEA is a program of the National Wildlife Federation with nine community chapters around the state and individual youth members from over fifty communities.

Anchorage Faith and Action – Congregations Together (AFACT)

Angela Liston, Executive Director
aliston@anchoragefact.org

225 Cordova
Anchorage, AK 99501
www.anchoragefact.org

AFACT was created in 2003 by eight congregations to organize, empower and mobilize local faith communities to address quality of life issues affecting the community. Since its inception, congregation members have stepped into leadership roles on issues such as education, youth recreation, public safety and health care.

IDAHO

Idaho Community Action Network (ICAN)

Rowena Pineda, Executive Director
rowena@idahocan.org

3450 Hill Rd
Boise, ID 83703
www.idahocan.org

The fundamental mission of ICAN is to provide a voice for Idahoans committed to progressive social change and to develop the power necessary to create those changes.

Idaho Rural Council (IRC)

Richard Carlson, General Counsel
carlsonr@filertel.com

P.O. Box 118
Bliss, Idaho 83314
www.idahoruralcouncil.org

IRC is committed to preserving the economic well-being of Idaho's family farms and rural communities; to building a more sustainable society, which will guarantee positive economic and social choices for present and future generations; to achieving good stewardship of humanity, land, air and water.

Organization/Contact Information

Mission Statement/Description

IDAHO (Continued)

Snake River Alliance (SRA)

Andrea Shipley, Executive Director
ashipley@snakeriveralliance.org

P.O. Box 1731
Boise, ID 83701
www.snakeriveralliance.org

SRA serves as Idaho's nuclear watchdog and Idaho's advocate for renewable and nuclear-free energy. We raise community awareness about the dangers of nuclear waste, weapons and power while working to identify and promote sustainable alternatives. We do our work through advocacy, collaboration, education and grassroots organizing.

MONTANA

Montana Human Rights Network (MHRN)

Travis McAdam, Executive Director
travismc@mhrn.org

P.O. Box 1222
Helena, MT 59624
www.mhrn.org

MHRN's mission is to promote democratic values such as pluralism, equality and justice; challenge bigotry and intolerance; and organize communities to speak out in support of democratic principles and institutions.

Montana Women Vote! (MWV)

Alysha Jannotta, Director
info@montanawomenvote.org

2525 Palmer Street, Suite 1
Missoula, MT 59808
www.montanawomenvote.org

MWV is a coalition of nonprofit organizations working statewide to educate and mobilize low-income women and their allies to participate in the democratic process. Member organizations address issues of economic justice, violence against women, environmental health, reproductive rights and human rights.

Northern Plains Resource Council (NPRC)

Teresa Erickson, Staff Director
teresa@northernplains.org

220 S. 27th Street, Suite A
Billings, MT 59101
www.northernplains.org

NPRC organizes Montana citizens to protect our water quality, family farms and ranches, and unique quality of life.

Organization/Contact Information

Mission Statement/Description

OREGON

Basic Rights Oregon

Jeana Frazzini, Executive Director
jeana@basicrights.org

310 SW 4th Ave, Suite 610
Portland, OR 97204
www.basicrights.org

Founded in 1996, Basic Rights Oregon is the state's chief advocacy, education and political organization dedicated to ending discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

CAUSA: Oregon's Immigrant Rights Coalition

Francisco Lopez, Executive Director
francisco@causaoregon.org

700 Marion St NE
Salem, OR 97301
www.causaoregon.org

CAUSA is Oregon's statewide grassroots immigrant rights coalition and the largest Hispanic civil and human rights, and advocacy organization in the Pacific Northwest. We work to defend and advance immigrant rights through coordination with local, state and national coalitions and allies.

Center for Intercultural Organizing (CIO)

Kayse Jama, Executive Director
kayse@interculturalorganizing.org

700 N. Killingsworth Street
Portland, OR 97217
www.interculturalorganizing.org

CIO is a diverse, grassroots organization working to build a multiracial, multicultural movement for immigrant and refugee rights.

Children's Institute (CI)

Swati Adarkar, Executive Director
swati@childinst.org

1221 SW Yamill Street, #206
Portland, OR 97205
www.childinst.org

CI is dedicated to improving the odds for Oregon's at-risk children. We are moving research to action by promoting cost-effective public and private investments in early childhood programs.

OREGON (Continued)**Community Alliance of Tenants (CAT)**

Ari Rapkin, Co-Director
ari@oregoncat.org

Elisa Aguilera, Co-Director
elisa@oregoncat.org

2710 NE 14th Ave.
Portland, OR 97212
www.oregoncat.org

Formed in 1996, CAT is Oregon's only statewide grassroots, tenant-controlled, tenant-rights organization. CAT educates, organizes and develops the leadership of low-income tenants to directly challenge unjust housing policies and practices. Our mission is to educate and empower tenants to demand affordable, stable and safe rental homes.

Partnership for Safety and Justice (PSJ)

David Rogers, Executive Director
david@safetyandjustice.org

825 NE 20th Ave., #250
Portland, OR 97232
www.safetyandjustice.org

PSJ works with people convicted of crime, survivors of crime, and the families of both to advocate for policies that make Oregon's approach to public safety more effective and more just.

Rural Organizing Project (ROP)

Amy Dudley, Co-Director
amy@rop.org

Cara Shufelt, Co-Director
cara@rop.org

P.O. Box 1350
Scappoose, OR 97056
www.rop.org

ROP's mission is to strengthen the skills, resources, and vision of primary leadership in local autonomous human dignity groups with a goal of keeping such groups a vibrant source for a just democracy.

WASHINGTON**Community to Community Development (C2C)**

Rosalinda Guillen, Executive Director
decomunidad@questoffice.net

203 W. Holly, Suite 317
Bellingham, WA 98225
www.foodjustice.org

C2C is a women-led, place-based grassroots organization working for a just society and healthy communities. We are committed to systemic change and to creating strategic alliances that strengthen local and global movements toward social, economic and environmental justice.

Organization/Contact Information

Mission Statement/Description

WASHINGTON (Continued)

OneAmerica with Justice for All

Pramila Jayapal, Executive Director
pramila@weareoneamerica.org

1225 S. Weller Street, Suite 200
Seattle, WA 98144
www.weareoneamerica.org

OneAmerica's mission is to advance the fundamental principles of democracy and justice through building power in immigrant communities, in collaboration with key allies.

Spokane Alliance

Wim Mauldin, Lead Organizer
wim@spokanealliance.org

1526 E. 11th Avenue
Spokane, WA 99202
www.spokanealliance.org

The Spokane Alliance is a countywide organization of diverse religions institutions, education associations, unions and other interested groups representing more than 25,000 local residents. It is driven by the belief that these mediating institutions must be strong because they are the cornerstones of a vibrant democratic society and hold the key to mending and reweaving the social fabric essential for strong families, healthy communities and a just world.

Statewide Poverty Action Network (SPAN)

Beverly Spears, Director
bev@povertyaction.org

1501 North 45th Street
Seattle, WA 98103
www.povertyaction.org

SPAN builds grassroots power to end causes of poverty and create opportunities for everyone to prosper. We envision a state where people of all income levels fully promote and participate in building the fabric of socially, politically and economically just communities.

United Indians of All Tribes Foundation (UIATF)

Janeen Comenote, Administrative and Development Officer
jcomenote@unitedindians.org

Discovery Park
P.O. Box 99100
Seattle, WA 98199
www.unitedindians.org

The mission of UIATF is to foster and sustain a strong sense of identity, tradition and well-being among the Indian people in the Puget Sound area by promoting their cultural, economic and social welfare.

WASHINGTON (Continued)**Washington Community Action Network (WCAN!)**

Will Pittz, Executive Director
will@washingtoncan.org

Rachel Berkson, Associate Director
rachel@washingtoncan.org

220 South River St. #11
Seattle, WA 98108
www.washingtoncan.org

With more than 35,000 members, WCAN! is the state's largest grassroots community organization. Together, we work to achieve racial, social and economic justice in our state and nation. Our strength as an organization depends on our members' involvement. We believe that we can only achieve our goals when people take action for justice.

Washington Low Income Housing Alliance

Rachael Myers, Executive Director
rachael@wliha.org

1402 Third Ave Ste 709
Seattle, WA 98101
www.wliha.org

The Washington Low Income Housing Alliance leads the movement to ensure that all our residents thrive in safe, lasting, affordable housing.

WYOMING**Equality State Policy Center (ESPC)**

Dan Neal, Executive Director
dneal@equalitystate.org

340 West B St., Suite 203
Casper, WY 82601
www.equalitystate.org

ESPC, a broad-based coalition of Wyoming interests, works through research, public education and advocacy to hold state and local governments accountable to the people they represent, and to help Wyomingites participate effectively in public policymaking.

Powder River Basin Resource Council

Kevin Lind, Director
info@powderriverbasin.org

934 North Main Street
Sheridan, WY 82801
www.powderriverbasin.org

Powder River Basin Resource Council works for the preservation and enrichment of Wyoming's agricultural heritage and rural lifestyle; the conservation of Wyoming's unique land, mineral, water and clean air resources consistent with responsible use of those resources to sustain the livelihood of present and future generations; and the education and empowerment of Wyoming's citizens to raise a coherent voice in the decisions that will impact their environment and lifestyle.

APPENDIX B

Monetized Impacts and Return on Investment*

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IDAHO		
<p>IMPACT: Stopped state of Idaho from implementing the federal Real ID Act, which would have cost the state millions of dollars to implement and would have required residents over the age of 18 to pay as much as \$100 to secure a new photo identity card. Cost savings were conservatively estimated at \$50 per person over 18 in Idaho.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Community Action Network, Idaho ACLU</p>		
\$ 56,344,450	1,126,889 residents over 18	2007
<p>IMPACT: Secured increase in Idaho state minimum wage that paralleled the federal increases. This ensured that workers covered only by the state wage law, including farmworkers and restaurant workers, would have parity with all other minimum wage workers. Wage increase projected through 2012.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Community Action Network</p>		
\$ 48,856,500	15,510 minimum wage workers in Idaho	2006
MONTANA		
<p>IMPACT: Through ballot measure, won expansion of CHIP and Medicaid eligibility from 175 to 250 percent of federal poverty level. Then ensured legislature fully funded the state portion of expansion against threats to cut or eliminate the plan's funding. When all eligible children are enrolled, \$22 million in state funds and \$70 million in federal funds will be accessed.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Montana Human Rights Network, Montana Women Vote, Montana Children's Defense Fund, Forward Montana, SEIU medical and hospital associations and other members of the Healthy Montana Kids Coalition</p>		
\$ 92,000,000	30,000 children	2008–2009
<p>IMPACT: Through ballot measure, raised the minimum wage in Montana by \$1.00 per hour and secured an annual cost of living adjustment based on the Consumer Price Index. Wage increase projected through 2012.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Montana Human Rights Network, Montana Women Vote, Forward Montana, AFL-CIO, Progressive Labor Caucus, Working for Equality and Economic Liberation, MEA-MFT, faith organizations and other members of the Raise Montana Coalition.</p>		
\$ 237,114,900	24,508 workers	2006

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
MONTANA (continued)		
<p>IMPACT: Secured \$6.4 million state funding for "Indian Education for All" program, allowing the state to begin to meet the Montana Constitution requirement that all public school students learn about Native American culture and history.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Montana Indian Education Association, Office of Public Instruction, MEA-MFT, Montana Human Rights Network, and Montana Quality Education Coalition.</p>		
\$ 6,400,000	all public school students	2005
<p>IMPACT: Secured \$15 million in federal stimulus funds to make energy efficiency improvements in Montana public schools. This resulted in the leveraging of additional funds and will save school districts energy costs in the long term.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Northern Plains Resource Council</p>		
\$ 15,000,000	all public schools	2008–2009
OREGON		
<p>IMPACT: Secured passage of the Housing Opportunity Bill, which created a source of funding for affordable housing through a real estate document recording fee. An estimated \$15 million will be generated during the 2009–2011 biennium and an additional \$7.5 million is projected for 2012.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Community Alliance of Tenants, Oregon Housing Alliance</p>		
\$ 22,500,000	Up to 1,150,000 low-income tenants	2005–2009
<p>IMPACT: Won a dedicated set-aside of 30 percent of Portland urban renewal funding for affordable housing, which has contributed at least \$125.5 million to affordable housing programs since 2005.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Community Alliance of Tenants, Affordable Housing NOW! Campaign</p>		
\$ 125,500,000	up to 670,000 tenants	2003–2006
<p>IMPACT: Aided the passage of Measure 57 and the defeat of Measure 61, saving the state \$1.1 billion in prison construction costs, not counting interest payments, and \$361 million in operating costs through 2012. Directed state resources to drug treatment and other services.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Partnership for Safety and Justice, Safety and Justice Action Fund, Rural Organizing Project, Basic Rights Oregon, SEIU, AFSCME and other members of the Better Way to Fight Crime Committee</p>		
\$ 1,461,000,000	All residents of Oregon	2008

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
OREGON (continued)		
<p>IMPACT: Won passage of the Safety and Savings Omnibus bill, which resulted in \$49.7 million in savings due to reduced need for prison beds.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Partnership for Safety and Justice</p>		
\$ 49,700,000	All residents of Oregon	2009
<p>IMPACT: Protected the Oregon Domestic and Sexual Violence Services Fund from spending cuts and increased funding by \$4.28 million in two legislative sessions.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Partnership for Safety and Justice, Oregon Law Center, Oregon Alliance to End Violence Against Women</p>		
\$ 4,280,000	All Oregon victims of domestic and sexual violence	2007, 2009
<p>IMPACT: Won passage of ballot measures to increase corporate income taxes and increase the marginal tax rate on the wealthiest taxpayers. These measures will generate an additional \$727 million for the state in just one biennium.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Rural Organizing Project, members of Our Oregon coalition</p>		
\$ 727,000,000	All residents of Oregon	2009–2010
<p>IMPACT: Won a Portland citywide resolution to protect immigrant and refugee rights, promote their inclusion in public life and improve government services. This led to permanent funding for diversity and civic leadership programs, which will receive at least \$1.8 million in funding through 2012, and establishment of Newcomer Portland, a program in the Office of Human Relations that will receive a total of \$490,270 in funding through 2012.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Center for Intercultural Organizing and 65 coalition partners</p>		
\$ 2,343,590	immigrants and refugees in Portland	2005–2008
<p>IMPACT: Prevented implementation of the REAL ID Act in Oregon, which would have cost the state at least \$20 million to implement.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: CAUSA, PCUN, Oregon's Farmworker Union, Speaker of the House</p>		
\$ 20,000,000	all residents over 18	2008–2009
<p>IMPACT: Won additional state funding of \$39 million per biennium to expand Oregon Head Start Prekindergarten to serve 3,200 additional children age 3-5 and their families.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Children's Institute, Ready for School campaign, business organizations, teachers and school employee unions and other children/education advocates.</p>		
\$ 74,490,000	3,100 children	2005–2007

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
OREGON (continued)		
<p>IMPACT: Won passage of the Oregon Family Fairness Act, a statewide policy to create domestic partnerships, which grant to same-sex couples all the rights, benefits and responsibilities that are granted to opposite sex couples under state law. According to the Williams Institute, Oregon will save at least \$3.6 million.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Basic Rights Oregon, Basic Rights Education Fund, and dozens of organizations and legislators</p>		
\$ 3,672,892	more than 3,500 same-sex couples	2007
<p>IMPACT: Worked with the governor and state legislature to secure close to \$1 million in first time funding for Early Head Start.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Children's Institute, Ready for School campaign, business organizations, teachers and school employee unions and other children/education advocates.</p>		
\$ 910,000	60 children	2007–2010
<p>IMPACT: In response to report on need for professional development in early education, Education and Quality Investment Partnership (EQUIP), a public-private partnership to improve the quality of child care in Oregon, was launched and received \$2.9 million in federal stimulus funds and \$200,000 from the Oregon Community Foundation.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Public-private partnership including State Child Care Division, Department of Human Services, Department of Education, The Oregon Community Foundation, Commission on Child Care, Children's Institute and many others.</p>		
\$ 3,100,000	7,000 teachers and caregivers and up to 68,000 children in early education and care	2008–present
WASHINGTON		
<p>IMPACT: Worked with governor and state legislature to develop Washington New Americans Program, which promotes successful immigrant integration by helping Legal Permanent Residents pursue citizenship and become active members of the community. State funding has totaled \$862,000 since 2008, and federal and private grants added \$163,250. Not included are \$400,000 in pro bono legal services provided by lawyers over two years.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: OneAmerica, with many allies</p>		
\$ 1,025,250	1,650 immigrants each year	2008–present
<p>IMPACT: Helped create Washington Prescription Drug Card, a multistate purchasing pool that makes prescription drugs much more affordable, saving \$12.2 million through June 2010.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Community Action Network, health care advocates</p>		
\$ 12,200,000	100,000 enrollees	2002–2008

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
WASHINGTON (continued)		
<p>IMPACT: Secured federal stimulus funds for statewide residential energy efficiency. The nonprofit Sustainable Works has garnered at least \$1.3 million of those funds to create jobs and cut energy use by 30 percent for Spokane homeowners. Not included are the cost savings to homeowners from reduced energy use.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Spokane Alliance</p>		
\$ 1,300,000	hundreds of homeowners	2006–present
<p>IMPACT: During conversion from nonprofit to for-profit hospital, got the State Health Department to require Community Health Systems to increase funding for indigent care (3.35 percent of budget) to just under twice the amount paid by the previous owner and to pay a minimum of \$80 million to the community foundation created from the sale to continue the nonprofit mission of Empire Health Services.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Spokane Alliance, VOICES coalition, Columbia Legal Services and Service Employees International Union</p>		
\$ 80,000,000	Spokane residents seeking indigent care	2007–2008
<p>IMPACT: Secured \$300 million for the state Housing Trust Fund, which has leveraged additional housing funds at a rate of 4:1, bringing an estimated \$1.2 billion more for affordable housing. Not included but also significant are the taxes generated at the state and local level and economic ripple effects of housing construction and related job creation.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Low Income Housing Alliance, Washington State Coalition for the Homeless, Seattle – King County Housing Development Consortium, Spokane Low Income Housing Consortium, Affordable Housing Consortium of Pierce County, Housing Consortium of Everett and Snohomish County</p>		
\$ 1,500,000,000	5,000 households	2007–2009
<p>IMPACT: Won passage of the Homeless Housing and Assistance Act in 2005 that established a document recording fee to fund homeless programs. Additional fees were established in 2007 and 2009. Total estimated funding generated from these fees is \$176 million through 2012.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Low Income Housing Alliance, Washington State Coalition for the Homeless</p>		
\$ 176,000,000	23,000 homeless individuals	2005–2009
<p>IMPACT: In 2005, helped pass state law to create Individual Development Account program. Since the 2006 start-up, \$1.7 million in contracted state IDA funds have generated \$1.8 million in federal and private funds that contribute to local projects.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Statewide Poverty Action Network, Representative Eric Pettigrew and Washington Asset Building Coalition</p>		
\$ 3,500,000	512 account holders	2004–present

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
WASHINGTON (continued)		
<p>IMPACT: Won a 3 percent cost of living adjustment for TANF recipients, the first such increase in 15 years.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Statewide Poverty Action Network, Speaker of the House Frank Chopp, coalition of welfare advocates</p>		
\$ 7,800,000	56,457 families	1998–2008
<p>IMPACT: Won creation of Health Insurance Partnership to provide state subsidies for low-income employees of small businesses. In October 2009, Washington State was awarded a five-year, \$34.7 million federal grant from the State Health Access Program (SHAP), allowing the state to pick up where it left off when state funding was cut in January 2009, and finally implement the HIP, using 80 percent of the SHAP funding.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Small Business for Secure Health Care Coalition, a project of Washington Community Action Network, Representative Eileen Cody, Healthy Washington Coalition</p>		
\$ 27,760,000	thousands of small business employees	2006–2009
<p>IMPACT: Protected funding for and prevented elimination of the Basic Health Plan, a fully state-funded, subsidized health insurance program for working families who do not qualify for Medicaid but can't afford private insurance. It covers every eligible resident in the state regardless of citizenship status. In 2009, the program was cut by 40 percent but advocates preserved the remaining \$337.8 million.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Community Action Network and more than 100 other organizations in a broad coalition</p>		
\$ 337,757,000	66,000 enrollees	2005–2009
\$ 5,097,554,582 \$ 33,869,587 \$ 150.51	Total monetized impacts Total investment in advocacy and organizing Return on Investment (ROI)	
<p>* NCRP independently verified each impact. Detailed calculation methods are available upon request. The "Organizations" field is not intended to provide a complete list of every organization or individual involved in achieving an impact. Additional stakeholders may have participated.</p>		

APPENDIX C

Non-monetized Impacts and Beneficiaries*

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IDAHO	
<p>IMPACT: As part of national campaign, secured congressional reauthorization of the State Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). Succeeded in adding provisions to the program that allowed states to extend coverage to legal immigrants in the country for less than five years.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Community Action Network, Northwest Federation of Community Organizations, Mountain States Group, Health Rights Organizing Project</p>	
30,000 Idaho enrollees	2008–2009
<p>IMPACT: Successfully pressured Lewiston Burger King management to end discriminatory employment practices against workers of color, pay employees for lost wages, terminate a manager at fault, provide cultural sensitivity training, end favoritism and establish a fair promotions process.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Community Action Network, Northwest Federation of Community Organizations, Burger King employees, Nez Perce tribal elder, community members</p>	
Employees of Burger King	2008
<p>IMPACT: Stopped Idaho legislature from enacting a bill that would allow the insurance industry to mislead consumers whose primary language was other than English.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Community Action Network</p>	
All Idaho residents with limited English proficiency	2007
<p>IMPACT: Successfully organized opposition to a proposed coal fired power plant in the Magic valley region surrounding Twin Falls. Spurred state to initiate energy planning process.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Rural Council, Idaho Conservation League</p>	
Idaho residents	2005–2006
<p>IMPACT: Convinced state to enter into negotiated rulemaking to regulate application of toxic dairy waste onto agricultural lands. Resulted in increased fines for misapplication of sprayed waste.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Rural Council</p>	
Idaho residents	2008–present

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IDAHO (continued)	
<p>IMPACT: Helped rural neighborhood groups successfully oppose land use permits for large-scale animal factories in rural parts of the state.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Idaho Rural Council</p>	
Idaho residents	2005–present
<p>IMPACT: Created Idaho Energy Collaborative, which brought together conservation groups, state agencies, businesses and others to build a common base of knowledge and advocate for innovative clean energy policies in areas such as energy efficiency, clean energy and fostering green businesses and jobs.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Snake River Alliance and 40 green businesses, organizations and government agencies</p>	
green businesses	2009–present
<p>IMPACT: Organized to stop a federal Department of Energy proposal to consolidate all its highly radioactive plutonium 238 activities at the Idaho National Laboratory (INL).</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Snake River Alliance, Alliance for Nuclear Accountability</p>	
250,000 residents who drink from aquifer and INL workers	2005–2007
<p>IMPACT: Ensured ongoing remediation and cleanup at INL, where 750,000 barrels of waste from the cold war era were dumped in unlined pits and trenches. The wastes contained radionuclides, heavy metals and toxic chemicals that have contaminated the Snake River Aquifer, used by more than 250,000 people for drinking water and also as a water source for agriculture. Reached agreement with INL on the degree of further cleanup needed as well as the best practices that would be used to do so.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Snake River Alliance, Alliance for Nuclear Accountability</p>	
250,000 residents who drink from aquifer	1979–2007
<p>IMPACT: Helped Elmore County residents and other communities fend off a nuclear power plant proposed by Alternative Energy Holdings, Inc. (AEHI).</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Snake River Alliance, Sierra Club, Idaho Conservation League, Idaho River United and other groups</p>	
29,000 residents of Elmore County	2006–present

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IDAHO (continued)	
<p>IMPACT: Prevented the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership from being implemented in Idaho. GNEP was a federal proposal that would have identified U.S. nuclear facilities such as INL to engage in commercial reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel, posing a security and environmental threat to the state.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Snake River Alliance, Alliance for Nuclear Accountability</p>	
250,000 residents who drink from aquifer	2007–2009
MONTANA	
<p>IMPACT: Defeated more than twenty anti-immigrant bills introduced in two consecutive biennial state legislative sessions. These included bills that would deny public assistance to undocumented immigrants, require English proficiency to obtain a driver's license and allow police to stop anyone for questioning if the officer suspected the person of violating federal immigration law.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Montana Human Rights Network, ACLU of Montana, and a coalition including immigration attorneys, labor organizations, faith groups, civil rights groups and domestic violence prevention groups</p>	
30,000 immigrant residents	2007 and 2009
<p>IMPACT: In 2005, won passage of state bill to allow residents to register to vote up to and including election day. Defended attempts to roll back this law in 2007 and 2009. Almost 7,500 Montana voters utilized late registration in 2006 and more than 10,000 did so in 2008.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Montana Women Vote, Montana Conservation Voters, Disability Rights Montana, League of Women Voters, AARP</p>	
All Montana voters; at least 10,000 have already utilized late registration.	2003–2009
<p>IMPACT: Won passage of state bill to allow voters to apply to vote by mail, allowing no-fault absentee ballots, which has led to increase in voter participation. In the 2006 general election, 29 percent of Montana voters cast ballots by mail and this number was up to 43 percent in 2008.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Montana Women Vote, Montana Conservation Voters, Disability Rights Montana, League of Women Voters, AARP</p>	
All Montana voters	2002–2005
<p>IMPACT: Prevented passage of anti-choice bills and ballot measures.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Montana Women Vote and member organizations NARAL, Planned Parenthood, Blue Mountain Clinic and Bridger Clinic.</p>	
All Montana women and families	2000–2009

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
MONTANA (continued)	
<p>IMPACT: Convinced state to adopt water standards for several rivers, giving irrigators and other water users the power to challenge coal bed methane pollution in court.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Northern Plains Resource Council, Tongue and Yellowstone Irrigation District, Tongue River Water Users Association, Buffalo Rapids Irrigation District.</p>	
All water rights holders in Montana	2002–2009
<p>IMPACT: Prevented a coal bed methane company from acquiring a water right to discharge its water, thus averting water privatization.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Northern Plains Resource Council, Tongue and Yellowstone Irrigation District, Tongue River Water Users Association</p>	
All water rights holders in Montana	2006–2009
OREGON	
<p>IMPACT: Successfully urged the state to adopt 60-day no-cause termination notice for month-to-month tenancies, doubling the amount of time many tenants have to find new housing.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Community Alliance of Tenants, state legislators, Landlord-Tenant Law Coalition</p>	
an estimated one million tenants	2008–2009
<p>IMPACT: Secured the adoption of rental housing inspection codes in Gresham and Multnomah counties, which enforce habitability requirements related to conditions such as mold, roaches and lead paint that affect household health.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Community Alliance of Tenants, Multnomah County Environmental Health Department</p>	
an estimated 670,000 tenants	2008
<p>IMPACT: Won passage of the 2007 Oregon Equality Act, a statewide policy to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression in employment, housing, public accommodations, education and public services. Successfully defended the nondiscrimination and domestic partnership laws from going to the ballot for repeal in 2008. This defensive victory was won by challenging the petition gathering process and by defending the results of this process in federal court.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Basic Rights Oregon and dozens of other organizations and legislators</p>	
at least 153,000 residents who identify as LGBTQ	2005–2008

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
OREGON (continued)	
<p>IMPACT: Successfully urged Multnomah County and the City of Eugene to reform their hiring practices by removing from job applications the question about conviction history and developing a clear and consistent approach to determining the relevance of such histories when they are considered.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Partnership for Safety and Justice</p>	
job applicants with conviction records	2007, 2009
<p>IMPACT: Secured resolution by Multnomah County Commission to keep youth in the juvenile justice system and prevent them from being held in adult jails, so that they are less likely to be physically harmed and less likely to be repeat offenders.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Partnership for Safety and Justice</p>	
incarcerated youth	2008
<p>IMPACT: Defeated two anti-immigrant ballot measures in Columbia County, one at the ballot and the other in the courts after the voters passed it. Measure 5-190 proposed a \$10,000 fine on any business found to be employing undocumented workers. Measure 5-191 proposed that 4 x 8-foot signs be posted at every construction site stating “Legal Workers Only” and the contact number for the Department of Homeland Security.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: CAUSA, Rural Organizing Project, Basic Rights Oregon, Western States Center, Our Oregon</p>	
Columbia County residents	2007–2009
<p>IMPACT: Helped preserve cost of living adjustment for Oregon's minimum wage against bills calling for its elimination. This ensured that wages rose according to inflation rates. The Oregon minimum wage rose from \$7.25 to \$8.40 between 2005 and 2009 and is the second highest in the nation.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: CAUSA, Oregon Public Policy Center, United Labor Lobby</p>	
thousands of minimum wage workers and those just above minimum	2005
<p>IMPACT: Secured state law protecting tenants during condominium conversions and allowing some tenants more notice and access to relocation assistance from displacement.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Community Alliance of Tenants, Oregon Housing Alliance, state legislators</p>	
tenants in properties with condo conversions	2007

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
OREGON (continued)	
<p>IMPACT: Secured Wasco County antidiscrimination ordinance with protections for LGBTQ residents.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Rural Organizing Project, Basic Rights Oregon</p>	
Wasco County residents	2006–2007
<p>IMPACT: After a series of listening sessions on racial profiling by law enforcement, the Portland City Council established a Racial Profiling Commission and accepted other recommendations from the sessions.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Center for Intercultural Organizing, Oregon Action, Northwest Constitutional Rights Center.</p>	
People of color, immigrants and refugees in Portland	2006–2007
<p>IMPACT: Defeated anti-immigrant ballot measure that would have severely limited English as a Second Language (ESL) in Oregon.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Center for Intercultural Organizing, many other organizations</p>	
immigrants and refugees in Oregon	2007–2008
<p>IMPACT: Successfully urged the state to adopt a federal option to extend access to Medicaid and CHIP to legal immigrant and refugee children who have been in the country for less than five years.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Center for Intercultural Organizing, People of Color Coalition</p>	
immigrant and refugee children and their families	2009
<p>IMPACT: Won the Safe Schools For All Youth Act to strengthen and enhance Oregon's anti-bullying policy for K-12 public education.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Basic Rights Oregon, and a coalition of 40 local and state-based organizations, including Oregon Student Association, Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon, Center for Intercultural Organizing, Urban League, Stand for Children and Family Action Coalition Team</p>	
more than 300,000 students who experience bullying	2008–2009
<p>IMPACT: Released a report identifying weaknesses with Oregon's kindergarten readiness survey and worked with Department of Education to reform the school readiness assessment.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Children's Institute, Department of Education, and the Leaders Roundtable, a coalition of business, civic and government leaders in the Portland metropolitan area.</p>	
kindergarten students, policymakers and education leaders	2009–present

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
WASHINGTON	
<p>IMPACT: In response to rising rates in the individual health insurance market of up to 43 percent every year, won a Rate Hike Accountability measure that gives the elected Insurance Commissioner greater authority to approve rate increases, which indirectly benefits all health insurance purchasers.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Community Action Network, broad coalition of health care advocates, faith leaders, and community organizations</p>	
individuals purchasing health coverage	2005–2008
<p>IMPACT: Defeated three anti-immigrant ballot initiatives. Similar measures filed in 2006 and 2007 (Nos. 946 and 966) would have required state and local government employees to verify identity and immigration status of every applicant for non-federally mandated public benefits, and report immigration violations, making failure to report a misdemeanor.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Hate to Hope Coalition, including Community to Community Development, OneAmerica, the Church Council of Greater Seattle, and Washington Community Action Network</p>	
800,000 immigrants	2006–present
<p>IMPACT: Washington New Americans Policy Council – New Americans Executive Order was signed by governor to improve immigrant integration across the state.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: OneAmerica, with allies</p>	
800,000 immigrants	2007–2008
<p>IMPACT: Fended off anti-immigrant initiatives in the state legislature each year on a range of issues, including revoking the ability to procure driver's licenses for the undocumented, restricting access to benefits for immigrants and others.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: OneAmerica, other community-based organizations, labor unions, businesses, and state and local elected officials</p>	
800,000 immigrants	2005–present
<p>IMPACT: Won state legislation increasing protections for renters living in foreclosed properties, such as additional notice before the home is put up for sale, and before a new owner can evict an existing tenant.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Low Income Housing Alliance, Tenants Union of Washington State, Columbia Legal Services</p>	
occupants of foreclosed properties	2007–2008

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
WASHINGTON (continued)	
<p>IMPACT: In anticipation of \$360 million school district renovations, worked with the Spokane Regional Clean Air Agency (SRCAA) to post violation histories of asbestos mitigation contractors on their website. Worked out a violation standard with school district representatives, which allowed contractors with one or two violations to bid on projects, with three violations to have a monitoring company verify compliance at the contractors expense and with more than three violations within three years contractors could bid, but their bids were not accepted under the responsible contractor provision of state law.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Spokane Alliance</p>	
school districts, school occupants, asbestos mitigation workers	2008–2009
<p>IMPACT: Won state legislation increasing protections for renters living in foreclosed properties, such as additional notice before the home is put up for sale, and before a new owner can evict an existing tenant.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Low Income Housing Alliance, Tenants Union of Washington State, Columbia Legal Services</p>	
occupants of foreclosed properties	2007–2008
<p>IMPACT: Through several actions raised visibility of urban Indian issues in the state policy arena. Initiated Urban Indian Roundtable to provide platform for policy analysis and recommendations for issues affecting urban Indians. Participated on steering committees of "high cost of being poor" report and Racial Equity Report Card on state legislature.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Urban Indians of All Tribes Foundation, other organizations in the state</p>	
at least 100,000 off-reservation Native Americans	2009–present
<p>IMPACT: Sponsor of National Urban Indian Family Coalition, which has assembled a group representing 12 cities across the country engaging in unprecedented meetings with representatives from the President's Domestic Policy Council, White House Office on Urban Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, Department of Health and Human Services, Department of Labor and other federal agencies to advance federal policy relating to off-reservation American Indian/Alaskan Native populations.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Urban Indians of All Tribes Foundation, National Urban Indian Family Coalition, 23 other urban Indian groups</p>	
2.4 million off reservation Native Americans	2003–present
<p>IMPACT: Generated funding of administrative services and prescription drugs for Project Access, an organization providing free medical care to working poor who have no health insurance.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Spokane Alliance</p>	
13,000 working poor residents	2005–2006

CATEGORY AND/OR NUMBER OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
WASHINGTON (continued)	
<p>IMPACT: Passed several bills to prevent future abuses in subprime mortgage market: gave mortgage brokers fiduciary duty, banned kickbacks for high-cost loans, banned foreclosure rescue scams, likely saving home buyers thousands of dollars each in predatory costs and possible loss of their home.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Statewide Poverty Action Network, Alliance to Prevent Predatory Lending (APPL), which includes faith, labor, community organizations, former senator Brian Weinstein and representative Steve Kirby</p>	
all future homebuyers	2007–2008
<p>IMPACT: Helped passage of the state's first law to rein in predatory payday lenders; includes reasonable repayment plan and limit on number of loans a person can have per year. According to the Center for Responsible Lending, payday lending volume is \$1.5 billion a year in the state; \$1.1 billion of that is from churning, or taking out new loans repeatedly. Total payday lending fees paid annually are \$194.5 million.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Statewide Poverty Action Network, APPL Coalition, Representative Sharon Nelson</p>	
payday borrowers	2004–2009
<p>IMPACT: Improved language access services and financial assistance at two local hospitals in Snohomish County, with a goal of building toward statewide improvements. Local hospitals each have spent as much as \$150,000 or more to improve translated materials and signs, and to set up toll-free language interpretation lines. There are likely cost savings in terms of improved health outcomes because of the presence of an interpreter.</p> <p>ORGANIZATIONS: Washington Community Action Network, interpreter associations and several legislative champions</p>	
70,000 limited-English speaking residents	2005–2008
<p><i>* The "Organizations" field is not intended to provide a complete list of every organization or individual involved in achieving an impact. Additional stakeholders may have participated.</i></p>	

NORTHWEST ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Grantmaking for Community Impact Project

The Northwest Advisory Committee was formed to serve as ambassadors for the project and provide feedback on the research findings. The views in this report are those of NCRP and do not necessarily reflect those of Advisory Committee members. They include:

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STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY, INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES

Impacts of Advocacy, Organizing and Civic Engagement in the Northwest Region

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Funding advocacy and advocates is the most direct route to supporting enduring social change for the poor, the disenfranchised and the most vulnerable among us, including the youngest and oldest in our communities.

—Gara LaMarche, President and CEO
The Atlantic Philanthropies*

The National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP) aims to ensure that philanthropic institutions practice Philanthropy at Its Best® – philanthropy that serves the public good, supports nonprofit effectiveness and responds to those in our society with the least wealth, opportunity and power. NCRP believes that one of the most effective ways to address the needs of the disenfranchised is by providing support for advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement.

NCRP's *Criteria for Philanthropy at Its Best*, published in March 2009, challenges grantmakers to promote the American values of opportunity and inclusion by contributing to a strong, participatory democracy that engages all communities. One way they can accomplish that is by providing at least 25 percent of their grant dollars for advocacy, organizing and civic engagement. This aspirational goal is one of ten benchmarks in Criteria.

Many grantmakers invest in advocacy, organizing and civic engagement as a way to advance their missions and strengthen communities. A sizable number of foundations, however, have not seriously considered investing in these strategies, partly because they have difficulty measuring impact and fully understanding how effective these strategies can be. The Grantmaking for Community Impact Project (GCIP) addresses these concerns by highlighting the positive impact that communities have seen through funder-supported nonpartisan advocacy and organizing.

To provide foundations with useful information that can help them consider supporting these strategies at higher levels, each GCIP report documents impact and demonstrates how advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement result in community-wide benefits and can advance a foundation's mission. This report on the Northwest Region is the fifth in the series.

Additional information is available online at www.ncrp.org.

* The Atlantic Philanthropies (2008). *Why Supporting Advocacy Makes Sense for Foundations*. Atlantic Reports, Investing in Change.

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