

M O M E N T U M

2006

IdeasConnectionActionChange

VISIONARY PHILANTHROPY FOR PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL CHANGE

TIDES | FOUNDATION

M O M E N T U M

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THE MOMENTUM PAPERS: AN INTRODUCTION

Strategic progressive philanthropy is a major task at any time. Today it seems especially daunting as it seems every right is under threat, every community is under siege and every issue is critical — it feels as though the stakes have never been higher. But today’s climate also means the need — and the opportunity — for positive change has never been greater. The question before us is: What is the best way to make that change?

Identifying which strategies offer the best prospects for social change, and which specific organizations can implement those strategies, could easily be a full-time job. But for many, if not most, individual philanthropists, it can’t be. That is why we organized the Momentum 2006 conference — to bring together people invested in making a difference so that we could tackle these questions together.

During the last weekend in April, donors and activists came together and worked to strengthen the progressive movement. We challenged each other to think critically about the work we are doing. At the conference, we used concrete funding strategies to address real world issues and accelerate positive social change.

We developed this booklet to offer a brief contextual overview and a few sample funding strategies for the eight topics addressed at Momentum 2006:

- Civic Participation
- Vision and Values
- Race & Poverty
- Global Change
- Arts & Culture
- Economic Justice
- Reproductive Justice
- Sustainability

Tides Foundation staff devotes every working day of every year to moving money to great groups doing great work. We monitor and have access to a consistent flow of information that informs our thinking on current issues, innovative groups and good grantmaking practices. And we would like to share as much of that with you as we can.

What is a Funding Strategy?

A strategy implies a vision; having long term and short term goals; and understanding the resources available to you and how you can best use them. A strategy is a plan of action. A grantmaking strategy can help you make sense of your giving and even your role in the world of progressive social change. It can help you leverage your resources and increase the impact of your giving, as well as the impact of the groups you support.

Every person goes about this process in their own way, but some common steps are:

- Deciding what are the most important values for you, and what you are most passionate about;
- Defining what “social change” means to you, and deciding what are the most effective and strategic ways to make that change happen;
- Finding out what is already going on in the areas in which you are most interested; and then
- Crafting a grantmaking program that fits your vision, your budget, and your theory of change.

Getting Started: What Are You Passionate About?

Developing your own funding strategy is an extremely personal endeavor — yet it can have a profoundly public impact. The first step may sound like the easiest, but it can be the hardest: Finding your passion.

Reflecting on the reasons why you want to make grants in the first place can be a surprising and enlightening exercise. Spend some time getting clear about:

- A vision you want to make real (e.g., *economic justice in the U.S., fair trade, universal human rights*)
- A problem you want to help solve and the obstacles that stand in the way (e.g., *global warming, lack of health care for working people, HIV/AIDS in the developing world*).
- A specific place where you want to help make change (e.g., *the place you live, a state, a region of the U.S., another country, a region of the world, the entire U.S.*)
- A group of people or specific community whose fate is of utmost concern to you (e.g., *women, African Americans, white working class American men, children in Central America*)

These categories are not mutually exclusive and in fact can build on each other. For example, if you decide that what motivates you is a vision of economic justice in the U.S. and the obstacle is the growing gap between rich and poor. You might then decide that finding ways to increase the income of those on the bottom of the economic ladder in the U.S. is the issue you want address. You could then decide that you want to find ways to address it in the community in which you live, and that you are most concerned about women and children.

The Role of the Individual Donor

As we all know, there is no shortage of effective groups working to make this world a better place. A glance at our own grantee list at Tides Foundation from any recent year will introduce you to several thousand. But a funding strategy is about more than a list of great groups doing great work.

Over the past 30 years at Tides Foundation, we have had the privilege of working with effective grantees and some of the most innovative grantmakers in the country, both institutions and individuals. Thanks to this experience, we have been able to develop some guiding principles to how we view effective philanthropy today — with “today” being the operative word. As responsible and responsive philanthropists, it is up to us to keep our strategies nimble and current.

That is one of the areas where individual donors like you have the upper hand on larger grantmaking institutions. We have always encouraged long-term relationships with effective grantees, but individuals can also respond quickly to significant shifts in society or public policy.

Tides' Guiding Principles

The progressive movement has been analyzed relentlessly recently. While these analyses differ in many respects, their bottom line is fairly consistent about how the movement has evolved and what it needs to change for the better. From that analysis, we have developed the following set of strategic principles that we believe can apply across the broad spectrum of our grantmaking. We feel that it is important to articulate these principles explicitly, but they are not meant to be definitive or finite. Ideally, these strategic principles will serve as a living document and will continue to be refined, revised, and adapted over time. They are:

- **Listen to the Field:** Responsive philanthropy is connected philanthropy — grantmaking that speaks to the realities of activists and constituents in the field.

- **Fund from Bottom to Top, from Side to Side:** Making the connection between community-based grassroots organizations and national organizations, between organizing campaigns and think tanks, between Voter registration and policy development — integrated funding strategies can have a broad impact.
- **Seize Today; Plan for Tomorrow:** Support direct action by groups who can take advantage of immediate opportunities while building capacity for the future.
- **Remember that Race Matters:** This painfully obvious fact was made all the more obvious following the disaster of the hurricanes on the Gulf Coast. As funders, we can work to support groups that integrate an explicit racial and ethnic justice lens in their analysis, strategic framing and tactics. We also can support the leadership of people of color within the progressive movement.
- **Re-frame the Vision:** The one thing everyone agrees on is that the progressive movement needs a pro-active, widely-adopted vision for progressive movement.
- **Connect the Connectors:** Building an integrated progressive movement means supporting collaborative efforts among organizations, breaking down “issue silos,” and reaching out across cultural lines, across communities, and across strategies.

On the Radar: Current Issues and Long-term Imperatives

These principles can be applied to any grantmaking strategy. We can easily identify opportunities for immediate action in economic justice, reproductive justice, environmental sustainability and others. However these principles were created with long-term grantmaking in mind as well. For example, the effects of Hurricane Katrina pose obvious immediate implications for economic justice, and civic participation in the short term. Equally important, there is also a great opportunity to address long-term rebuilding strategies that promote greater sustainability while addressing inequities of race and class.

We need to ensure that our funding is integrated with existing work and dovetails with long-term goals as well, such as:

- Re-framing and defining progressive values, and linking those values into action that counters the right wing “monopoly on morality”;
- Looking beyond — but not past — election cycles and working toward a more uniformly educated and engaged electorate;
- Approach global funding opportunities as global movement building opportunities;
- Enabling the progressive movement to access and utilize the latest in technology; to name just a very few.

Finding a Niche or Leverage Point: Where’s Your “Tipping Point”?

Once you have identified long term needs, short-term opportunities and missing pieces, you can begin to identify a place for your funding within this context. Again, this is a moment to think about what motivates you. Do you like seeing short term concrete results quickly, or are you comfortable with more long-term, process-oriented outcomes? Do you want to have direct and day-to-day relationships with organizations or projects that you fund (which might mean you want to fund in your community) or are you comfortable with being more removed from the immediate results of your funding (may be funding national efforts, or efforts in other communities and regions)?

Thinking About How Change Happens: What's Your Theory of Change?

This is another point for reflection. You have identified what you care about, created a context and identified a niche or leverage point. Now you need to take another step back and think about another big question: How do you think change happens in the world?

This may seem academic, but it isn't. Some people think change happens when powerful leaders or institutions implement an idea. Some people think change occurs when a large number of people decide they want things to be different. Some people believe that government is the key change maker, while others think it is business and the private sector. For some folks, the key to making change is affecting what goes out over mainstream media. For some, all change is local; for some it's all global.

A Call to Action – Linking with Others to Fuel the Progressive Movement

Wherever you decide you want to focus on making change, and whatever lens and set of values you bring to your grantmaking, there will be other donors and activists who share your passion and your goals. If we can create opportunities to pool resources, to share knowledge and to build partnerships among philanthropists and activists, we have the best hope to attain our vision for a more just and equitable world. We hope that the materials we present here will help move us towards that vision.

CIVIC PARTICIPATION: Building the Power to Govern

Introduction: Towards Equitable Citizenship

Increasing electoral participation has always been a goal of the progressive movement, but in recent years it has become a progressive imperative. The irregularities of the 2000 election in Florida demonstrated clearly that every vote really does matter...and that we cannot rely on our system to count every vote in a fair and equitable manner. The work to extend this fundamental lever of democracy has a clear goal: equitable citizenship. Our democracy must reflect the needs and interests of all its citizens. We must work to remove barriers to voting and we must actively encourage the exercise of electoral power by everyone.

When put in these terms, increasing civic participation seems so fundamental, mainstream, as American as the flag and “apple pie.” In reality, the work to increase electoral power for low-income communities, people of color, and immigrants is on the cutting edge of the political conflict between progressives and conservatives. Progressives are successfully raising state minimum wages through ballot initiatives. Meanwhile, conservatives are passing “common sense” laws requiring a picture ID for all voters — IDs that might be standard for the automobile-owning middle class, but are less than common for those living in the inner city or who don’t own cars.

Within the practicalities of voting — from how people register to how many workers staff their polling place to how the votes are counted — sit the fundamentals of our democracy. Addressing these fundamentals is difficult, resource-intensive, and does not result in immediate, short-term gains. It requires the nitty gritty basics of organizing: knocking on doors, standing on corners, making phone calls. It also requires advocating for policy changes that can seem mundane. Most importantly, it requires that voting be relevant to people’s lives.

That’s why the victory of the minimum wage ballot initiative in Florida in 2004 was so significant. As were the passage of the clean energy initiative in Colorado, the defeat of a measure in Montana to allow cyanide in gold and silver mining, and a new law in Washington to regulate toxic waste. These victories signaled a positive trend that extends beyond the Blue/Red divide. They are evidence that, when given a clear choice, voters are supporting progressive ideas — particularly on the environment and economic justice.

2004: Lessons Learned, Momentum Established

The aforementioned “silver lining” victories were not the only bright spots of the 2004 election cycle. There was an unprecedented level of financial support for c3 and c4 voter participation initiatives. There was also greater collaboration in the field: at the state level through the creation of coordinating committees, and nationally through the work of broad networks like National Voice, and through coordinated efforts like the Campaign for Communities (Earth Day Network, Project Voter, NAACP National Voter Fund, Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project).

The nonprofit sector applied more energy and innovation to the work of civic engagement. Many small grassroots community organizing groups got involved in electoral work for the first time — some with the support of the Center for Community Change’s Community Voting Project. Some social services organizations — including those serving Latino communities — connected voter registration and education to their core work. New groups such as Women’s Voices, Women’s Votes emerged to engage single women voters. Young voters were the target of a large-scale effort by USPIRG, and by innovative youth-led efforts such as the League of Young Voters (aka League of Pissed off Voters). Also significant was the expansion and strengthening of the work of progressive stalwarts like Project Vote, which worked with ACORN affiliates and other organizations to register over a million voters in 26 states. Many of these efforts used new technology

in their organizing efforts including GIS mapping tools, PDAs, and web-based outreach. Finally, the election protection work in 2004 was remarkable in bringing together a strong coalition of organizations and a cadre of thousands of volunteers. The cumulative impact of all these efforts was that turnout in historically under-represented communities increased by over 5 million, dramatically changing the face of the electorate¹.

2005 — Not Quite the Constant Campaign. But Some Progress

These achievements made it clear that, instead of waiting for the next presidential election, we need to maintain a “constant campaign” that engages citizens and builds electoral power in every election, whether for a municipal ballot initiative, state assembly, or U.S. Senate. But, despite stated intentions to maintain the momentum into 2005, the constant campaign approach to electoral organizing did not receive the funding and support it needed. Nevertheless, there were some electoral outcomes in 2005 that signal the evolving power of the progressive electorate:

- Antonio Villaragosa in Los Angeles pulled together a coalition of Latinos, progressives and African Americans to win the mayor’s office.
- California fought back ballot initiatives that bashed unions and required parental consent for abortions.
- Voters supported government spending programs including transportation bond issues in New York (\$2.9 billion) and Ohio (\$1.85 billion).
- Washington voters declined to roll back the state gas tax and Colorado voters agreed to forego \$3.7 billion of promised tax rebates over the next five years.
- Perhaps indicating a trend that voters who reject gay marriage can affirm employment rights, Maine voters declined to repeal a state law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Looking Forward

Whether one focuses on achieving policy gains or moving forward a vision of equitable citizenship, the opportunities for funding voter participation work are vast. Here are a few issues, priorities and principles to keep in mind in developing funding strategies:

- **Improve the capacity of progressive organizations** — both organizing groups and social service providers — to register, educate, and mobilize voters. Make sure that this capacity is long-term and not just for a single election cycle. Enable organizations to utilize new technology that facilitates organizing and better captures data. Support coordinated efforts between national and local groups.
- **Ensure that voting is meaningful** by supporting pro-active ballot initiatives, paying attention to local politics (which often has more resonance to voters), and pursuing electoral reform that improves the choices provided to voters (such as fusion voting and preference voting²).
- **Protect voting rights** by removing barriers to registration (including restoring ex-felons’ right to vote), improving election systems and policies, monitoring electronic voting, and securing re-authorization of the Voting Rights Act.
- **Engage with the changing demographics** of the country by prioritizing Latino and immigrant communities, young people, and single women voters.

In the following pages, we present funding strategies that attempt to address some of these priorities.

¹ Cited by National Voice at <http://www.nationalvoice.org/thanks.html>

² Fusion voting, which makes it possible for more than one party to combine forces and endorse the same candidate, is described by The New Majority Education Fund at www.nmef.org. Preference voting allows voters to rank a list of candidates in order of preference and allows for a majority vote without the need for a separate run-off election.

Funding Strategy Two: CAPACITY AND INFRASTRUCTURE:

**TO BUILD AND EXPAND THE CAPACITY OF NONPROFIT SECTOR
TO MOBILIZE THEIR CONSTITUENCIES TO VOTE**

Voter engagement work — registering people to vote, educating them about the electoral process and the choices they can make, and then mobilizing them to vote on election day — has become an increasingly important part of the activities of nonprofits that engage in community organizing as well as those that provide social services. This field needs access to new technology for data collection and outreach. It needs technical guidance on legal issues to ensure that groups maintain their charitable status while engaging in electoral work. Large, established national groups — and smaller statewide or regional groups — need support for expanding their civic engagement activity to new communities and strengthening their existing operations.

Suggested Strategy:

This strategy has three priorities

- To support the expansion of voter engagement work integrated into the activities of the nonprofit service sector. Over the past two years, we have seen the impact of groups like the Center for Nonprofits and Voting, and the National Nonprofit Voter Engagement Initiative which are helping community service groups to integrate voter registration and education into their work.
- To support the expansion of voter engagement initiatives among smaller, local community organizing groups through the work of groups like the Center for Community Change — Community Voting Project.
- To support the ability of established national civic engagement and advocacy groups working to expand local capacity and engage local constituents.

What to Look For:

- Long-term capacity building
- Meaningful connections between national efforts and local organizing
- Coordination between large national players

Possible Organizations to Fund

NATIONAL GROUPS WORKING TO EXPAND LOCAL CAPACITY AND ENGAGE LOCAL CONSTITUENTS

- US Action
- Project Vote
- Planned Parenthood
- Center for Community Change — Community Voting Project
- Center for Nonprofits and Voting, National Nonprofit Voter Engagement Initiative

LOCAL AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

- Western States Center
- Minnesota Council on Nonprofits
- Southwest Voters Education Project
- Liberty Vote (Los Angeles)
- MassVote

TECHNICAL GUIDANCE ON LEGAL ISSUES:

- Alliance for Justice

Funding Strategy Three

STATE STRATEGY

STATE BALLOT INITIATIVES

Ballot initiatives motivate voters and make voting seem directly relevant and meaningful. Sometimes this motivation is for the good (raising the minimum wage) and sometimes for less-than-progressive goals (restricting services for immigrants). On the pro-active side, in 2006 minimum wage initiatives will be decided in nine states. On the defensive side, progressives will be busy fighting off restrictions on abortion and defending the rights of lesbian/gay couples.

If 2004 was the year of anti-gay marriage initiatives, 2006 will be the year of TABOR (taxpayer bill of rights) initiatives. TABOR is a damaging ultra-conservative gimmick designed to remove spending decisions from the state legislature and thereby bankrupt core state expenditures like emergency services, public education, healthcare and infrastructure repair. After passing the only TABOR law in the country in 1992, last year Colorado citizens voted to suspend it in order to fund vital services.

Suggested funding strategy

- Focus support on 2006 efforts in states where there are pro-active efforts to raise the minimum wage and/or defensive efforts to fight off restrictions on abortion, defeat TABOR*, and defend the rights of lesbian/gay couples.
- Balance funding between national and state-based organizations. Fund national groups that address policy issues or provide technical support to initiative campaigns as well as those that have state-based and local affiliates engaged in electoral organizing. At the state level, directly support the actual initiative campaign committees (usually c4 work) or electoral organizing work on the ground.

Priority States

STATE	PRO-ACTIVE	DEFENSIVE
AR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage increase 	
AZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage ▪ Early childhood education (tobacco tax) ▪ Land conservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ban same-sex marriage and domestic partnership benefits ▪ TABOR (taxpayer bill of rights)*
CA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage increase ▪ Election Day Holiday ▪ Alternative Energy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Health care funding for non-citizens ▪ Invalidation of domestic partnerships ▪ Parental notification for abortion
CO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage increase ▪ Domestic partnership protection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Restricts services for immigrants ▪ Abortion limitations
MO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage increase 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ TABOR
MT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage increase 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ TABOR
NV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage increase 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ TABOR
OH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum wage increase 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ TABOR
OR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sustainable timber harvesting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ TABOR ▪ Abortion limits, parental notification ▪ Abolishing public sector unions

What to Look For:

- Collaborations that link across issues and communities.
- National efforts playing the appropriate role with, and connecting to, local organizations and state-level activity.
- Efforts where ballot initiative work combines a focus on both policy change and the long-term engagement of voters.

Possible Organizations to Fund

NATIONAL LEGAL, POLICY AND ADVOCACY GROUPS:

- Ballot Initiative Strategy Center
- Brennan Center
- Economic Policy Institute
- Planned Parenthood
- National Gay & Lesbian Task Force

NATIONAL ORGANIZING GROUPS:

- ACORN
- Center for Community Change
- US Action

STATE-BASED ORGANIZATIONS AND CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES

VISION AND VALUES: Articulating a Progressive Morality

Introduction: Reclaiming Values

- Fair pay for a fair day’s work.
- Equal access to educational and business opportunities.
- Increasing voter education and participation.
- Shared responsibility for the planet, for the nation and for each other.
- Respect and protection for the rights of the individual.

These are basic statements with which few people in this nation will disagree. So how are we losing the national “culture war?” The conservative agenda is often reduced to Pro-Life, No Taxes and Strong Defense. While that is a perhaps an extremely simplified generalization, it is a generalization that can be articulated by many people. An often-heard criticism of progressive leadership is that there is no counter-narrative, no equally “high relief” map of our values — at least not one that can be widely agreed upon.

For many years, progressive organizations have shied away from overt expression of the shared values and vision that underpin their work—and particularly from articulating those values in terms that may evoke spirituality or morality. That silence has created a gap that the right wing has been able to fill—often with Orwellian results. Progressives have realized that we cannot lead with a policy analysis in public debates. Rather we must lead with the broad and basic values that inform our positions. A living wage ordinance is not simply an economic issue, but it is a moral imperative: *working families should not live in poverty*. We need to make sure our supporters can walk out of a voting booth not only thinking “I voted my values” but able to articulate those values in clear, compelling agreed-upon terms.

Sharpening Our Focus

In recent years — and particularly after the 2004 election — many progressive thought leaders have devoted time and resources to developing a widely accepted progressive vision and statement of values. Many notable examples have emerged:

- In his groundbreaking book, *“Don’t think of an Elephant,”* UC Berkeley Professor of Linguistics and Cognitive Science, George Lakoff offered the following ten word framework for thinking through how our worldview informs our values that in turn inform the issue areas and policies we care about most.

PROGRESSIVES

Stronger America
Broad Prosperity
Better Future
Effective Government
Mutual Responsibility

CONSERVATIVES

Strong Defense
Free Markets
Smaller Government
Lower Taxes
Family Values

- The **Opportunity Agenda** is applying communications, research and advocacy tactics to engage the public around the shared goal of expanding opportunity in America. Their work lays a critical foundation in articulating the following six “Opportunity Values” as fundamental components of realizing the American dream — **Equality - Mobility - Redemption - Voice - Community - Security** — and placing each in a philosophical and historical context (see attached).
- The **Network of Spiritual Progressives**, led by Michael Lerner, is challenging the misuse of religion by the Religious Right, advocating a “New Bottom Line in America” as one that: *“takes into consideration not only how well institutions and the economy maximize money and power, but how well they maximizes love and caring, ethical and ecological sensitivity and behavior, kindness and generosity, non-violence and peace”*. (From *Left Hand of God*.)

No Silver Bullets

But this is only the starting point. No matter how tightly constructed our messages are, we have to make sure they are connected from the bottom to the top — to activists, to leadership and to communities. Because no amount of “framing” or “messaging” will ever take the place of community organizing and civic participation. These strategies always go hand in hand.

As Jean Hardisty and Deepak Barghava remind us in their article “Wrong About the Right,” (see attached article), victory for good policies at the polls is not an end in itself. It is, in fact, part of a larger movement building strategy. We seek to represent, connect, recruit and build leadership for a vibrant civil society. To get there, progressives need to ask fundamental questions about what they actually believe and then *“declare those values in a clear, uncompromising voice that is not only morally compelling, but strategically smart.”*

Developing messages requires many of the same elements as effective organizing. Firstly, deep engaged listening in the communities where the work is being done is fundamental. Secondly, it is important to avoid letting progressive voices on the East and West coast dominate the message development. For messages to resonate nationally, they need to span America. Funders and activists alike need to rethink traditional assumptions and start from a place of learning together to build and articulate a vision that is stronger and more far-reaching.

The Funding Approach

As recently as the last Momentum conference in February 2005, funders were focusing on how to support initiatives in this area being undertaken by organizations large and small. The following three funding strategies — Big Ideas, Connecting the Dots, and Spreading the Word — offer a starting place for individual funders who want to effectively support organizations that are working toward the massive goals of developing, sharing, articulating and disseminating a truly progressive vision for the future.

Funding Strategy One: EXPLORING BIG IDEAS

WHAT WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT VALUES

“It’s a funny thing about the term “framing:” The more it gets used, the less we seem to understand what it means. Three years after George Lakoff emerged from academia to help make framing a household word among progressive activists, most of us are now thoroughly confused about what a frame is, or how to distinguish a frame from a slogan, message or spin...

What we learned from Lakoff early on is that framing begins at a deep conceptual level. It is really about how we understand the world and our place in it; how we define problems and solutions; how we organize ourselves to achieve our goals; and how we talk about all of it.”

From: *Suitable For Framing?* By Peter Teague, on AlterNet, January 2006

The challenge of “articulating a progressive morality” is not just a question of finding the right new phrase or sound-bite. It requires a step back to reassess “business as usual” and to ask some fundamental questions: What role do we want government to play in our lives? What are the rights we stand for? What does our vision of a just economy look like? What fundamental changes are needed to achieve that vision? How should we gauge progress, growth and success? Many organizations are taking on these questions with a commitment to serious research and analysis, and to generating policy solutions that challenge current assumptions. Whether targeted to specific issues, or taking a global view, these institutes are working towards development of new approaches to entrenched issues and viewpoints, and to a new articulation of values that can resonate with the U.S. and international public. For example:

- **Redefining Progress** is a national policy institute that works in partnership with grassroots communities, labor unions, policymakers, academics and businesses to develop new frameworks to shift the economy and public policy towards sustainability. Their development of the Ecological Footprint — defined as the amount of nature it takes to sustain a given population over the course of a year — offers a different measure to assess the impact of programs and policies.
- The **Center for American Progress** is a research institute committed to “developing a long term vision of a progressive America”. The Center offers innovative policy solutions, talking points and analysis on topics ranging from “Using the Arts to Galvanize the Public on Global Warming” to “HIV/AIDS and its Impact on Africa” and almost every other topic covered in these Momentum briefing papers.

Suggested Strategy:

- Provide general operating support to progressive think tanks and policy institutes that a) are committed to early and meaningful involvement from community activists to inform their research and vision development and b) are focused on fundamental questions and reframing.

Possible Organizations to Fund

- Institute for Policy Studies
- Institute for American’s Future
- Institute for Policy Studies
- Institute for American’s Future
- Center on Budget & Policy Priorities
- Opportunity Agenda
- Economic Policy Institute
- Rockridge Institute
- Center for American Progress

What to Look For:

Institutes and policy organizations that have the most potential to articulate a progressive vision that will resonate across the country are those:

- that build a broad base of connections beyond the beltway;
- whose analysis and research approach incorporates questions of race and class on every issue;
- whose work looks beyond immediate electoral outcomes and toward movement building; and
- whose research is linked proactively to communications and mobilization strategies.

Funding Strategy Two: CONNECTING THE DOTS

BUILDING CONNECTIONS AMONG AND BETWEEN POLICY INSTITUTES, ACTIVISTS AND COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

“The challenge posed by the lessons from the right is not just for individual, single-issue movements to articulate a shared vision but for those visions to add up to something even larger: a broader, multi-issue progressive movement. If related single-issue organizations working toward the same long-term goals would be more powerful, imagine the power of even more organizations, working across issues for the same ends. Certainly the issues are intersectional — foreign policy is inextricably intertwined with economic development policy; abortion rights and reproductive freedom intersect with criminal justice. Our solutions must intersect as well”

Introduction to the Movement Vision Project of The Center for Community Change

Too often, organizations doing effective work in one particular issue area operate in a vacuum, rarely connecting with other organizations working in the same field, and even more rarely with organizations across other sectors. This is often an issue of competing priorities and limited time, but a large part of this problem is also the fact that activist and community-based organizations rarely receive funding that is specifically designated for collaboration, learning, partnership meetings, convenings and conferences. Yet it is exactly these types of activities that can play a crucial role in developing a broader progressive movement.

Making this interaction an integral part of an organization’s workplan allows for the mental space necessary to take full advantage of these occasions. Sharing work product, sharing ideas, sharing language and sharing values will not only make each individual group stronger, but strengthen the movement as a whole. Funders can play a critical role in supporting organizations to make this work a priority and in helping them identify and convene with other progressive organizations to build networks and identify common solutions, while fully allowing the activists to drive the process and the results. Most effective are convenings whose membership extends beyond the “usual suspects”; that cross issue lines and cultural lines; that bring together policy institutes and community organizers; that link organizations working at the local, state and national level; and that break down the often artificial distinction made between “activist” organizations and those focused on “service delivery”.

Suggested Strategy:

- Provide targeted and consistent funding to convening initiatives that bring together diverse coalitions of organizations in order to identify common interests, build alliances, identify shared strategies. A particular priority is initiatives that build systems to ensure ongoing collaboration and encourage long-term relationships.

Possible Organizations to Fund

- Redefining Progress
- Urban Institute
- Demos
- Media Matters for America
- Center for American Progress
- Center for Community Change

What to Look For:

Some of the questions to consider when identifying initiatives to support include:

- Who is leading the work? Specifically, what is the role of the communities most impacted by the issues being discussed — communities of color, LGBT people, low-income communities, youth, seniors etc.
- What are the roles being played by beltway and grassroots leaders? Is there broad representation?
- Who are the initiative's stakeholders? Who defines the goals of the initiative?
- Does the work provide a stepping stone to deeper, long-lasting connection across grassroots groups?
- What are the expected or possible outcomes? Is there a concrete initiative that can emerge from the convening?

Funding Strategy Three: SPREADING THE WORD

PUTTING POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNITY

Reclaiming the right, the confidence and the framework to articulate the goals of the progressive movement in terms of a shared value-driven vision is crucial groundwork, but it is not the end. Even when the message is clear and strong, there are often too few messengers, or too many who are communicating on behalf of, rather than from, the communities most impacted. There exists a clear need to ensure that activists and community leaders at every level and in every community have the training and tools to communicate their vision and have their message heard.

Building the communications capacity of the progressive movement requires investment at many levels: from ensuring that grassroots organizations have access to toolkits, training and resources to communicate their work more effectively, to investing in large-scale collaborative mainstream media campaigns. In this work, support for progressive intermediary organizations with a high level of expertise in communications is crucial, and can have broad impact. For example, one of the most effective products of Tides' *"Bridging the Economic Divide"* Initiative has been the development with the SPIN Project of a highly regarded manual on economic justice, entitled "Words that Work", which includes sample news releases, talking point templates, training exercises and in-depth resources on the issue of economic justice and the living wage.

Suggested Strategy:

- **Invest in building the communications capacity of community-based progressive organizations** with a particular focus on organizations led by, and for, low-income communities and communities of color. This includes designating funding specifically for the communications components of all projects and initiatives, and supporting organizations' internal capacity through communications audits, development of communication plans, and media training.
- **Provide general operating support to intermediary organizations whose mission is to build the communications capacity of the progressive movement.** This includes supporting organizations that provide communications training, or that help manage media campaigns and communication strategies for progressive initiatives and campaigns.

Possible Organizations to Fund

- SPIN Project
- Communications Leadership Institute
- Spitfire Strategies
- Rockwood Leadership Training
- Media Matters for America
- Movement Strategy Center

What to Look For:

- Communications plans and strategies that give a platform for, and amplify the voice of, spokespeople from the communities most affected by the issue being addressed.
- Intermediary organizations that have strong partnerships with, and clear strategies to make their resources and services available to, progressive community-based organizations.

RACE & POVERTY: The Katrina Imperative

Introduction: Not Simply a Human-Made Disaster

For a brief time at least, the devastation wreaked on New Orleans by Hurricane Katrina and the wholesale failure of the local, state and federal disaster relief efforts exposed the pernicious ways in which race and poverty continue to be inextricably linked in this country. If America can be imagined as a “lifeboat”, using a metaphor in vogue during the early 1970’s, then in the immediate aftermath of the hurricane, with flood-waters rapidly rising due to the failure of human-made levies, those who found themselves without an assigned seat on “the boat” or any other viable means of escape were largely black, brown and poor Americans.

The disaster continues... Nearly eight months after Hurricane Katrina first made landfall, the TV cameras have mostly turned away from the protracted struggle to rebuild New Orleans and the rest of the Gulf Coast region. But at last count nearly 500,000 people remain dispersed throughout eighteen different states, with many of the displaced saying that they lack sufficient means to return. Even if such a return were possible, survivors would likely find many of their neighborhoods declared off-limits and their houses condemned. A controversial rebuilding plan supported by some city-leaders has sparked widespread fears of re-gentrification: i.e. the permanent displacement of poor, largely black households in favor of white, mostly upper-income families. Add to this the virtual disappearance of jobs in New Orleans’ service-based economy and the daily exposure to industrial contaminants left by the receding floodwaters and you begin to get the picture.

Among progressive activists on the ground there is a growing recognition that to attribute the devastation solely to “natural causes” is an error. First, though the immediate trigger for what is now taking place in New Orleans and throughout the Gulf region may have been Hurricane Katrina, the impact of this “natural disaster” has been compounded by long-term social, political and economic policies that have disproportionately hit the poorest of the poor. The implementation of these policies has led to the diversion of much needed funding from public infrastructure systems, the systematic dismantling of important elements of the social safety-net, the reduction of available funding for environmental monitoring and toxic clean-up, a substantial increase in already high levels of cynicism about civic participation, and a record expansion of the racial-economic divide in America.

Lessons from the Field

What can the experience in New Orleans teach us about the struggle for racial justice in other parts of the country and nationally? The short answer is, “plenty.” In the immediate aftermath of Katrina, social conservatives began to openly speculate that New Orleans and the Gulf Coast Region would provide the perfect opportunity to test social and fiscal policies that were either stalled in congress due to lack of support or deemed too politically charged to implement in other parts of the country. Many of these policies entailed the suspension or virtual repeal of federal and state protections of organized labor, the environment, affirmative action, immigrants, federal contracting, and more. Though local organizers and other progressive leaders and activists have been able to challenge some of these reprehensible policies, others are still moving forward.

Coming from a place of profound sorrow and respect for the loss of human life, the destruction of family homes, the ruination of livelihoods, and the continued struggles of Hurricane Katrina survivors, progressive activists and donors can also glean important lessons from what is now unfolding in New Orleans.

Below are some key insights passed on by progressive leaders and activists — all of which apply to organizing around race and poverty issues not only on the Gulf Coast but across the U.S. As events continue to unfold, there will no doubt be many more lessons to come:

- **Becoming a Reliable Ally.** Progressive donors and activists are not immune from the effects of systemic racism and poverty. In order to become a reliable ally in the struggle against racial inequalities, some focused self-reflection may be in order.

1. How have racism, poverty, class-privilege, etc. shaped your own worldview?
2. In what way do the communities most affected give input into your funding decisions?

A number of progressive organizations currently offer workshops and trainings on unlearning racism, examining privilege, and becoming a reliable ally.

- **Strategic Coordination & Alliances — Now More than Ever.** The mammoth nature of the problems facing displaced black and brown communities requires an immediate infusion of resources to progressive organizations that are not only able to carry out their individual missions but that also are capable of building strategic partnerships and alliances. In most regions of the country, the non-profit sector has been plagued by a phenomenon known as “splintering” in which two or more organizations share similar goals, work in the same general geographical area, and engage only in minimal communication. Now more than ever — both in New Orleans and across the country — organizations must demonstrate the commitment, skill and competence to build smart and strategic alliances.
- **Responding to Changing Demographics.** Though African American culture and history have been instrumental in shaping New Orleans’ past, present and future, the city’s demographics — like those of many other regions in the United States — have been gradually shifting over the past two to three decades. It is important to recognize that Mexicans, Hondurans, Vietnamese, and other communities of color were also disproportionately affected by the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. In addition, the displacement of large numbers of native New Orleanians and the high demand for manual laborers is bringing a new influx of immigrant labor, which has already led to rising tensions. Building solidarity among various communities of color requires transcending the zero-sum game myth that holds that advances for one underserved community can only be attained at the expense of another. Instead, an effective progressive movement requires identifying points of both commonality and difference, and fostering sustained commitments to effective multi-racial/ethnic coalitions.
- **Understanding the Connections.** The issues of racism and poverty can not be dealt with singly. As indicated above, not only are they intricately connected to each other, they are also closely tied to efforts supporting affordable housing, just and living wages, reproductive justice, civic participation, environmental justice, etc. The struggle for racial equality can not be waged in isolation from the efforts taking place on each of these fronts. Progressives would do well to grasp the fundamental interrelatedness of these issues and to develop an analytical framework that brings issues of race and poverty to the forefront.

Funding Strategy One: COMMUNITY-LED REBUILDING AND PLANNING EFFORTS

“As a rapacious free market has come to dominate the rebuilding of New Orleans, it has seen spiraling prices and the influx of property speculators keen to cash in on the disaster. The result is one of the most shocking pieces of urban planning that black and poor America has seen: reconstruction as survival of the wealthiest.”

The Observer Newspaper

At present, New Orleans is faced with not one but two formal rebuilding plans, neither of which has garnered significant input or support from residents of devastated neighborhoods. The plan offered by New Orleans’ current mayor has won some support from smart-growth advocates and establishes a four-month moratorium on rebuilding efforts in places like the lower Ninth Ward and New Orleans East. Over those four months, the affected neighborhoods must develop a plan for how would become viable by reaching a still as yet undefined “critical mass of habitation.” Progressive activists have yet to give formal agreement to one coordinated approach, but they are unified in their opposition to efforts to open the gates even wider for opportunistic developers. Initiatives such as ACORN’s Katrina Survivors’ Association, and the People’s Hurricane Relief Fund’s work to develop a People’s Reconstruction Plan, are connecting displaced residents and providing them the opportunity for advocacy and input in the rebuilding process.

In this respect as in all others, New Orleans is not an anomaly. In communities across the U.S., poor communities of color are rarely at the table for decisions about development of their neighborhoods, their cities or their country. Nor are their concerns prioritized over those of developers and commercial interests. Countering this reality, many community groups have built a significant track record of success in creating inclusive coalitions that are informing and setting the priorities for planning and rebuilding efforts at the local, regional and national level.

Suggested Strategy:

- New Orleans: Support community-led collaboratives that are challenging neighborhood gentrification plans and articulating an alternative, more inclusive rebuilding plan for the city.
- Across the country: Support community-based organizations and coalitions working to ensure that local and regional planning and development strategies are informed by, and reflect the interests of, all sectors of the community — not just corporate and wealthy interests. The most effective among these are those that connect grassroots organizing in specific neighborhoods with regional and national partnerships to influence policy formation.

What to Look For:

- Leadership by and on behalf of communities of color.
- Active participation in decision-making by residents of the most affected communities.
- Commitment to work in coalition with other progressive organizations to develop well-coordinated strategies for rebuilding.
- Organized efforts to protect and ensure the right to vote for displaced residents of the Gulf Region.

Possible Organizations to Fund

IN NEW ORLEANS:

- ACORN: Katrina Survivors Association
- People’s Hurricane Relief Fund & Oversight Coalition
- Common Ground Collective

ACROSS THE U.S.:

- National organizations with grassroots community organizing chapters:
 - ACORN
 - PICO Network
 - Gamaliel Foundation

POLICY ORGANIZATIONS:

- PolicyLink
- Center for Social Inclusion

Funding Strategy Two: TACKLING ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ISSUES

“Most people here assume that Coastal Louisiana’s longstanding toxicity has worsened in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Testing by Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and independent scientists confirms their fears. Lead, a severe hazard to children’s development, was stirred up and moved around by the floodwaters. Arsenic, highly carcinogenic, leached from car batteries, pressure-treated wood and disturbed landfills.”

Oskar Cole and Cleo Woelfle-Erskine, *Rebuilding on Poisoned Ground*

Funding strategies that seek to address race and poverty must include support for organizations committed to rebuilding safe, sustainable communities and a healthy environment in communities of color in New Orleans and across the U.S. The consequences of winning the struggle to reclaim New Orleans’ neighborhoods for its displaced residents while not at the same time developing a strategy for tackling the dangers posed by widespread toxic contaminants are potentially disastrous. Even before Hurricane Katrina, coastal Louisiana was a disaster area caused by the loss of wetlands and wildlife, long-term exposure to industrial pollutants, and the siting of toxic dump-sites in or near low-income communities of color.

Once again, the Katrina tragedy has brought to light a specific injustice that also exists in many other communities across the U.S. Over the past twenty years, as the environmental justice movement has taken shape, there has been growing recognition across the country that poor communities of color are overwhelmingly the ones impacted by the siting of toxic waste sites and contaminants. In many communities, broad coalitions of neighborhood groups and grassroots organizations have emerged with coordinated strategies to challenge this injustice.

Possible Organizations to Fund

IN NEW ORLEANS:

- The Louisiana Bucket Brigade
- The Deep South Environmental Center
- The Louisiana Environmental Action Network

ACROSS THE U.S.:

- Asian Pacific Environmental Network
- Center for Health, Environment, and Justice
- Southeast Alliance for Environmental Justice
- Southwest Network for Environmental & Economic Justice
- National Black Environmental Justice Network

Suggested Strategy:

- In New Orleans: neighborhood efforts with community leadership that are working to get the EPA, FEMA and other government agencies to do their job in terms of environmental clean-up in both the short and long-term.
- Across the country: coordinated strategic efforts to bring attention to, and challenge, the policy of siting toxic waste dumps in or near low-income communities of color. While local campaigns and organizing are crucial, this and other environmental issues transcend regional boundaries and present too big a problem for any local group to tackle alone. They require a coordinated strategy led by communities of color at the local, state and national level.

What to Look For:

- Leadership by and on behalf of communities of color and active participation in decision-making by residents of the most affected communities.
- Focus on short-term as well as systemic causes of pollution and environmental degradation.

Funding Strategy Three: BRIDGING THE RACIAL-ECONOMIC DIVIDE

“Racial wealth inequality continues to deeply shape the United States. Hurricane Katrina should have made this clear for those who previously refused to see. With destructive clarity, Hurricane Katrina highlighted the deep racial fault lines. We have been shaken... To argue that race does not matter is to reject reality. Race does matter.”

Chaka A. K. Uzundu, [Washing Away the Veil: Katrina and the Racial Wealth Divide](#)

When questioned in a national survey about whether racism played any role in the government response to Hurricane Katrina, 66% of African Americans responded affirmatively, while only 13% of whites did so. Chaka Uzundu suggests that many Americans’ inability to see racism at work can be attributed to the persistence of two pernicious myths in America: (1) the belief that America has achieved a colorblind society that has transcended racial and cultural differences, and (2) the belief that racial advancement is a zero-sum in which one group moves forward only at the expense of another.

Neither of these myths touches upon reality. In actuality, most Americans have been impacted by a widening income/wealth gap that has fostered a growing sense of economic insecurity, and African Americans and Latinos/as have been disproportionately impacted. To understand how racial injustice functions on an everyday basis, these myths and others like them must be consistently challenged. To challenge the reality requires investment in initiatives that promote collaborative solutions and long-term coalitions among communities of color including new immigrant communities.

Suggested Strategy:

- Support to organizations led by and for poor communities of color that are seeking to redress and change social and economic policies that further handicap the poor. The Economic Justice briefing paper provides a framework for funding strategies in this area.
- Support to national and regional organizations that are developing progressive political strategies that incorporate race and class, and that draw on the perspectives of poor communities of color.
- Support to organizations that build coalitions and alliances across and among different communities of color working together to develop shared strategies to attain more just social and economic policies.

Possible Organizations to Fund

- SEIU Black & Brown Workers Project
- Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice
- Applied Research Center — Racial Justice and Leadership Initiative
- East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy
- National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights
- Institute on Race and Poverty
- United for a Fair Economy

What to Look For:

- Organization’s ability to understand and communicate how local efforts fit into the “big picture,” (i.e., national struggles for racial justice).
- Strategic coordination between grassroots activists and local, state, and federal policy-makers.

GLOBAL CHANGE: Funding a Connected World

“If you have come to help me you can go home again. But if you see my struggle as part of your own survival then perhaps we can work together”

Australian Aborigine Woman

Probably at no point in history has the truth of this statement been more evident. The world is getting smaller. Products, expertise and ideas are flowing across borders with dizzying speed and ease. New technology has created a powerful communication platform for sharing work and information around the world in ways that we are just beginning to understand and utilize. As big businesses and free markets embrace globalization, social activists and philanthropists are doing the same. Issues of fair wages, human rights, and environmental sustainability have always been interwoven. Today, addressing issues such as women’s rights, economic justice and climate change without a global context seems impossible, as does challenging inequity without addressing it in the world’s poorest communities where its impacts are most devastating.

From “Top-down Development” to “Globalization from Below”

The past fifty years has seen unprecedented investment in international development and aid, dominated by the top-down development strategies of the World Bank, government aid agencies, and many large non-profit aid organizations. These have largely pursued policies that promote modernization and integration into capitalist economic systems. As Anuradha Mittal of the Oakland Institute put it: *“Foreign assistance programs have helped create major markets for agricultural goods, created new markets for American industrial exports and meant hundreds of thousands of jobs for Americans. In 1995, the director of the U.S. aid agency defended his agency on the basis that 84 cents of every dollar of aid goes back into the U.S. economy in goods and services purchased.”* In contrast, the result for the recipient countries has been ever-widening wealth gaps, social and environmental havoc, and the erosion rather than enhancement of the capacity of people to determine their own future. Clearly a different approach and vision are needed.

That alternative vision is of a progressive global social change movement that has at its center grassroots organizations led by and for marginalized communities, that trusts in communities’ capacity to determine and address their own needs, and that prioritizes communities’ efforts to maintain or regain control of the “commons”: clean water, fertile land, seeds and the resources they need to thrive. It is a vision that creates opportunities to build grassroots leadership, to connect organizations with each other and to enable the voices of grassroots leaders to be heard alongside those of regional, national and global policy and advocacy organizations. This model, characterized by Grassroots International as “globalization-from-below”, can be illustrated as:

Grassroots projects ■ local community activism ■ collaboration across communities
transnational linkages between community-led organizations ■ systemic change.

There are many powerful examples of the impact of the model: The *Peasant Movement of Papaye* in Haiti combines community-based development projects, with popular education programs that explore U.S. foreign policy in Haiti, economic globalization, and other political, economic and social realities. The *Center for Liberian Assistance* is combining provision of food and resources to displaced women with training in human rights and how to run for political office. The *Center for Development Services* works directly with more than 200 community-based groups in both rural and urban areas of Bangladesh, supporting their efforts to promote women’s rights and fight for fair wages and safe

¹ Quoted in conference preamble for speech by Anuradha Mittal at <http://www.girlfestbayarea.org/Conference.htm#Friday>

working conditions, and creating opportunities for them to connect with, and learn from, each other. The U.S.-based partners of these three organizations – Grassroots International, Global Fund For Women, and International Development Exchange respectively – are creating channels for these grassroots groups to receive support, and are bringing visibility to their work, and linking them with progressive partners on a regional, national and international level.

Opportunities for the Same “Globalization from Below” Approach to Funding Strategies

Although this model offers the best prospect for social change, the reality is that of the less than two percent of U.S. giving that goes to international causes, only a fraction goes directly to support grassroots community-based organizations. Total international giving has risen in recent years but that growth is coming primarily from a few large foundation funders, most notably the Gates Foundation, and the majority of international funding continues to support large-scale top-down development and relief efforts.

The case for investment in the grassroots seems clear. Not so clear is the challenge of navigating the range of opportunities, issues, strategies for investment and regulatory obstacles, as well as deciding where and how to make grants. Technology and communications have lifted some of the barriers to giving directly to grassroots organizations and marginalized communities in the past, and have facilitated the emergence of powerful partnerships between grassroots organizations, and progressive partner organizations and funding networks in the U.S. These different tiers of partnership cross every issue area and offer a framework for integrated funding strategies that can combine to promote social change with local, regional and systemic impact.

Looking Forward

Here are some issues and priorities to keep in mind in developing global funding strategies:

- **Choosing to focus will lead to more informed and impactful funding** It goes without saying that the opportunities for making grants to initiatives that contribute towards global social change are vast and diverse. Targeting a funding strategy within a specific geographic area and/or towards a specific issue and sector of the community will help provide a focus, will make the task of identifying grantees more manageable, and will help donors to come to grips with the cultural, social and political context in which their grantees are operating.
- **A gender lens is crucial to all giving decisions** In making the case for investment in women’s funds, the Women’s Funding Network puts it like this: *If you give a woman a fish, she will feed her family first and might possibly go hungry. If you teach a woman to fish, she will feed her family until outside forces take away her fishing rights or pollute the lake. If you help a woman buy the lake, she will feed her family, keep the lake environmentally clean and have something to pass on to future generations.* Funding women-led initiatives is vital, but the goal of gender equality is not the realm of women’s projects alone. It requires that every project and program funded be assessed in terms of the power dynamics between women and men and in terms of how it impacts women and men’s access to, and ownership of, resources.
- **HIV/AIDS is not just a health funding issue** The impact of the HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and across the Global South reaches far beyond the tragic loss of life. Families, communities and nations are facing the social and economic toll of the crippling loss of human capacity: in many African countries AIDS has claimed more than half of their trained teachers and one in four of their trained physicians, and many countries have experienced up to 60% decreases in food production and significant reductions in industrial productivity. The crisis represents a major challenge to fundamental human rights, illustrated most starkly by the inequity of treatment access between rich and poor countries². All of this makes HIV/AIDS a priority for direct funding, but also means that it is important to

² Southern African accounts for 84 percent of AIDS deaths, but just 3 percent of global AIDS spending

consider how or whether HIV/AIDS is impacting the work of, and being addressed by, all organizations whether focused on health, education, micro-financing, income-generation, food production and more.

- **Social change cannot be separated from addressing urgent immediate needs** U.S. approaches to progressive philanthropy do not necessarily translate across borders. Whereas in the U.S. social change is seen by many as primarily the work of organizations focused on activism and community organizing, rather than the realm of providers of social services, this distinction cannot apply in the context of the global south. As Grantmakers Without Borders puts it:

“Living truly on the edge, struggling every day for basic survival, the world’s poorest communities first and foremost must meet their own basic needs before they can even think about participating in broader social movements seeking systemic change. In the global South, community organizing is not likely to succeed when it is not in some way coupled with efforts that address the urgent needs of people’s daily lives. On the other hand, if programs fail to articulate poverty in the context of structural issues, and if there is no effort made to organize grassroots communities to fight for their own well being, then the best that can likely be hoped for is poverty alleviation, not poverty eradication.”

- **Be aware of, but not put off by, the new regulatory landscape** International grantmaking has always been complex, and is even more so after September 11. Fears that charitable giving may be channeled to organizations promoting terrorism have sparked new U.S. regulations with respect to global philanthropy. These regulations — specific details of which are available on Tides Foundation website — mean that due diligence on international grantees to ensure that funds are used for charitable purposes and that all government compliance requirements are fulfilled is more important than ever. But these are not obstacles, only processes. We cannot be discouraged from making international grants including grants to groups that work in areas of conflict, because the need for international funding is greater than ever.

In the following pages, we present funding strategies that offer a framework for progressive global philanthropy that can be applied across a wide spectrum of issues, communities and geographic areas.

Funding Strategy One: GRASSROOTS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

SUPPORTING COMMUNITY-LED INITIATIVES TO BUILD A BROAD-BASED MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE

“The potential of grassroots work is clear to anyone who has seen how an isolated grassroots initiative can turn into a great collaborative movement with a profound effect on national and international policies, the conduct of global business, and the quality of all our lives”.

Global Greengrants Fund

As in the U.S., across the globe, marginalized communities are organizing around the immediate challenges they face, whether they be ensuring access to food, water, education, health care, curbing environmental degradation, or creating opportunities to generate income. At the grassroots level, a small grant can have an immediate impact on the lives of those most acutely affected by injustice, and can build a broad and inclusive base for the global movement for social change. Without investments in community-led initiatives, that movement will be dominated by agendas set by the more educated middle classes, whether from the U.S. or from the global south.

Some of the characteristics of grassroots organizations that are successfully integrating efforts that tackle both the impacts and the root causes of poverty include: active community leadership and participatory decision-making; integration of education, skills building, and leadership development into all activities; implementation of strategies that sustain their environment and that are rooted in local resources and knowledge; and a commitment to collaborate with other organizations to leverage their collective voice.

Suggested Strategy:

- Provide funding directly to grassroots community-led organizations particularly those in and led by, the most marginalized communities, and those which integrate community organizing and leadership development. A particular priority is a) organizations led by and for women and b) organizations working to protect or regain their access to, and control over, key community-held assets including water, land, and natural resources.
- Support local and regional alliances and collaborative initiatives led by and for grassroots organizations, with a particular focus on alliances that are led by, and for, women, and those that promote community leadership development.

What to Look For:

- **Context is everything.** Be as familiar as possible with the cultural, political, environmental and social context in the region and local community in which you make grants, and exercise flexibility in your funding criteria and expectations of grantees based on that local context.
- **Consider multi-year funding and long-term investment.** There are no shortcuts to building the capacity of marginalized communities to advocate for change or to developing strong leaders and collaborations. Quick wins and immediate results are unlikely, and setbacks and changes of direction are to be expected. Long-term

Possible Organizations to Fund

While the ideal is to identify and make grants directly to grassroots organizations, that is not always possible, particularly if the goal is to reach the most marginalized communities. Some of the resource organizations that can help with that task, and also help with understanding linguistic and cultural subtleties and navigating local laws and regulations, include:

- The Lambi Fund of Haiti
- International Development Exchange
- Global Greengrants Fund
- Global Fund for Women
- Urgent Action Fund
- Grassroots International

investment in, and partnership with, a community organization is essential and will also enrich the experience and learning for donors.

- **Be aware of the digital divide:** Widespread global connectivity does not instantly create global equity. While technology can help identify and research issues and organizations, it also leaves many of the most effective grassroots organizations out of the loop.
- **Grants for relief and reconstruction also offer opportunities for investment in grassroots organizations.** Natural disasters and other urgent crises require immediate response. They also present opportunities to invest in indigenous organizations and strengthen local community leadership in long-term rebuilding efforts. For example, within days after the tsunami, Tides Foundation was able to distribute funding to Yayasan IDEP-Aceh Aid, an indigenous organization providing direct aid to every family it could reach in isolated areas of Aceh, Indonesia. Support for such organizations in the days, weeks, and years after a disaster can turn short-term aid into long-term change.

Funding Strategy Two: IN-COUNTRY AND U.S.-BASED INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATIONS

TAP THE KNOWLEDGE BASE OF INTERMEDIARIES TO SUPPORT INTEGRATED ORGANIZING

For their efforts to have the broadest impact and to result in long-term social change, grassroots organizations rely on the partnership and support of intermediary non-government organizations (NGOs). It is important to remember that, while in many countries in the global south a strong civil sector (or NGO sector) has been a powerful force for social change, this is only true to the extent that the organizations bring a progressive vision and analysis to their work. Just as in the U.S., there are many organizations whose focus is more on top-down service delivery and poverty alleviation than on systemic change, and many which shore up rather than challenge government policies that perpetuate inequality.

However, there are also many progressive intermediary organizations that can provide needed resources, training, technical support, and skills development, and can build alliances among grassroots organizations and across communities and regions. Their work helps to translate isolated initiatives in individual communities into collective action for systemic change. When they are rooted in, and their agenda is set by, grassroots groups, these organizations also create the mechanism for marginalized communities to have a voice on the issues of human rights and reproductive, social, economic and environmental justice that impact their lives.

Creating Change in the U.S. to Support Global Change

“If we are serious about ending poverty, we have to be serious about ending the systems that create poverty by robbing the poor of their common wealth, livelihoods and incomes. Before we can make poverty history, we need to get the history of poverty right. It’s not about how much wealthy nations can give, so much as how much less they can take.”

Vandana Shiva

U.S.-based progressive organizations with a global focus have an equally crucial role to play. As well as helping link donors with initiatives and groups needing support, U.S.-based organizations can also amplify the impact of grassroots organizations by increasing public awareness of global issues in the U.S., and by bringing together partners working on the same issues across regions and borders. Most importantly U.S.-based organizations can develop integrated strategies that link activism against injustice in the global south with activism in the U.S. targeting the practices and policies that perpetuate and exacerbate that injustice.

Suggested Strategy:

- **Provide operating and capacity-building grants to indigenous intermediary organizations** with a clear social change vision that build the leadership of, and strengthen grassroots organizations. Priorities include: organizations that build networks of grassroots groups, and that engage grassroots organizations in specific campaigns and organizing efforts at a regional or national level.
- **Provide general support grants to support U.S. progressive organizations focused on international issues** that work collaboratively with partners in the global south. Priority activities to support include: public education campaigns and organizing efforts that bring visibility to their international partners; efforts to convene and link grassroots organizations from different regions to develop transnational advocacy strategies; and initiatives which combine support to organizations in the south with activism on the same issues within the U.S.

What to Look For:

- How are community organizations and leaders involved in the leadership of regional and national organizations and in U.S.-based organizations — do they influence the organizations' priorities and agenda — are they represented in leadership, or, for U.S. organizations, on boards and advisory boards?
- How do in-country intermediary organizations characterize their work and relationship with grassroots groups, e.g. are they working “on behalf of” or “with”, are they bringing projects to communities or supporting community-initiated priorities?
- How does relief and reconstruction work supported by in-country and U.S. intermediaries also have a long-term social change perspective e.g. Ashoka's post-tsunami work includes both helping tsunami victims market their products in India, and supporting national policies to establish standards of care for children affected by the tsunami in Sri Lanka.

Possible Organizations to Fund

As with the previous strategy, there are so many countries, issues and organizations, that it is neither easy nor wise to single out a few particular in-country intermediary organizations in this list. However, the following U.S. or international organizations, as well as being important to fund for their own U.S.-based advocacy and education activities, also work with strong partner organizations in the global south, and their websites and materials are an excellent source to identify organizations to support.

- Global Greengrants Fund
- Grassroots International
- Global Fund for Women
- International Development Exchange
- Human Rights Watch
- Ashoka
- Pesticide Action Network
- American Friends Service Committee
- Planned Parenthood International
- Oxfam International
- Pangaea Global AIDS Foundation

Funding Strategy Three: PROMOTING AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL OF GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY

BUILDING A GLOBAL NETWORK OF DONORS, GRANTEES AND ACTIVISTS AS EQUAL PARTNERS

Given the relatively small amount of giving that reaches grassroots social change organizations in the global south, and the enormity of the crises that those organizations are addressing, it is of paramount importance both to increase global philanthropy and to get the maximum impact from every dollar given. Achieving impact means applying many of the same criteria emphasized in the other funding strategies — most notably the value of collaboration and alliances, and the importance of engaging community leaders and activists from the global south as equal partners and decision-makers. This vision of philanthropy is central to the work of many organizations:

- The **Global Fund For Women's** Strategic Plan has established a goal to “actively promote an alternative model of philanthropy that brings together grantees and donors working as equal partners in a global network” and prioritizes the expansion and strengthening of international women's funds;
- The **Tides HIV Collaborative Fund** represents the first time that a global coalition of people living with AIDS has developed a funding mechanism that allows them to set funding priorities and implement their strategies
- The **Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Action's** international grants are informed by an advisory panel of LGBT activists and donors from U.S., Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe.

There have also emerged many community foundations, women's funds and other philanthropic institutions initiated by, and established within, countries of the global south. These, together with many other progressive donor circles and collaborative giving initiatives, have an impact beyond the dollars raised or granted, by breaking down the dominant model of philanthropy and donor activism as a one-way process — with donors in the north and recipients in the south. This is particularly valuable as a counterpoint to many of the mainstream strategies used to increase international donations — particularly those which identify specific recipient children or families — which actually perpetuate and reinforce the stereotype of poor communities as passive recipients of aid, rather than as agents of change.

Suggested Strategy:

- **Provide direct funding to community-led philanthropy** in the global south. Priorities include building the capacity of international women's funds, and of grantmaking initiatives that engage donors and activists as equal partners.
- **Invest in organizations that are building the field of global progressive philanthropy** including women's funding networks, and progressive associations of grantmakers.

What to Look For:

- Choose to make a collective grant with others, and look for opportunities to partner with like-minded donors, particularly in initiatives that integrate grantmaking with research and public awareness strategies, and that strengthen networks of donors, activists, and community leaders around specific issues.

Possible Organizations/ Initiatives to Fund

- Urgent Action Fund
- Global Fund for Women: International Women's Funding;
- Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice International fund
- Wheat Fund (South Africa)
- African Women's Development Fund
- Tewa for Self Reliant Development (Nepal)
- Africa Grantmakers Affinity Group
- Tides HIV Collaborative Fund
- Women's Funding Network — U.S. Women without Borders: Ending Violence against Women and girls worldwide.
- Women's Donor Network
- International Network of Women's Funds
- African Women's Development Fund

ARTS & CULTURE: Inspiring Change

“It is the chants we sing in resistance that have kept the memory of our movements alive. It is the streets we bomb with resistance graffiti. It is the strategy sessions we have to keep media accountable. It is the radio, video, web, and theater pieces we create to validate our experiences and use our culture as resistance.”

Third World Majority

Art moves and inspires. It has the power to transform communities, to provoke thought and lead to insight, to change hearts and minds, and to inspire action. It can expand our vision or awe us with beauty. From Diego Rivera to Mahalia Jackson to Bill T. Jones, art has also been a force for progressive social change. Intuitively we know that art has a role in social change. If we begin to change the way we see the world, we can discover and reveal an alternative worth fighting for. If the majority of the world can perceive their current environment as changeable by the force of their resistance, we are considerably closer to personal, social, political and economic liberation.

Arts and Social Movements

Many social movements have been propelled and shaped by art and artists: the Mexican muralist movement that followed the Mexican Revolution, the ground-breaking music in the Civil Rights Movement, arts activism in the HIV/AIDS fight, and the political music in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Looking at these varied examples, one can see that art can provide frames, mobilize resources, communicate information, activate and reach diverse constituencies, and build community. At the heart of each of these functions is the ability of art and artists to arouse emotion and convey a new story, a peripheral narrative at odds with generally accepted cultural narratives. As a movement, we can champion both the creation of these stories and their integration into our cultural understanding.

Artists' response to the AIDS pandemic, for example, illustrates the diverse roles that art can play. Art, wrote the AIDS activist and critic Douglas Crimp, has the power to save. But to support this power, *“we will have to abandon the idealistic conception of art. We don't need a cultural renaissance; we need cultural practices actively participating in the struggle against AIDS.”* In the 1980s when the crisis first erupted, artists were instrumental at all levels:

- critically acclaimed writers, artists and performers, like Tony Kushner and Paul Monette created work to educate a high-end public audience;
- local arts collectives like L.A.'s “Artists Confronting AIDS,” and San Francisco's “Love Like This Theatre Project” reached into their communities to raise awareness;
- activist and community-based organizations, like ACT UP and the Gran Fury, used sophisticated advertising strategies and art world connections to detonate political consciousness in spaces where demonstrations were not invited;
- arts activism around AIDS continues to evolve as the struggle continues and international human rights organizations such as Breakthrough address the global pandemic through arts and popular culture.

Other contemporary examples abound:

- Alternative art spaces, like Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions (LACE) are building community and nurturing not only young and under-recognized artists, but also newly emerging art forms, and they are providing the impetus for dialogue about contemporary arts and culture.

- Youth organizations have capitalized on the power of hip-hop to engage young people and mobilize them around issues relevant to them.
- In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, the Finding Our Folk Tour allowed evacuees to share their journey through art and culture and feel connected to their community and to a common narrative.

Arts and Culture Funding Landscape

Support for arts and culture made up almost 13 percent of foundation funding in 2003, for a total of \$1.8 billion dollars. But if you look more closely at these numbers you will see that almost 60% of these funds went to support museums and performing arts institutions. Most arts funding is to mainstream organizations, rather than community-based arts or arts and culture focused on social change, and less and less funding is reaching artists directly. An integrated approach to supporting art and artists for social change may be in our future but this is just a starting point

Looking Forward

Whether you are passionate about visual arts, music, poetry media or any other art form, there is an opportunity to support art for social justice. In developing arts funding strategies, there are issues, priorities and principles to keep in mind so that the arts might play a more integrated role in our movement:

- **Funding arts and culture is not an adjunct to social change philanthropy — it is a central and powerful strategy.** As such, as much priority and strategic analysis should be given to arts funding as we give to funding in support of economic justice, sustainability or any other issue.
- **Investment in arts and culture to inspire social change requires investment in individual artists. Many foundations are unable to invest in individual arts,** but as individual donors we have an opportunity to nurture and support their role within their community as change agents and leaders in the movement.
- **Organizations with artists at their core can better represent the interests of artists and take chances.** There are organizations that work with or support individual artists, but those that involve artists at all levels of the organization are much better positioned to serve them and their audiences. We need to look at the community of artists themselves; not the growth of institutions and commercial success, but art and artists rooted in their communities
- **Employ a rigorous race, class, and gender analysis to your funding strategy.** Arts and activism are inextricably linked but we must be conscious of who is being reached and how. There is an opportunity for artists and the communities that support them to use media to tell different stories than those we hear in the mainstream media channels and to engage marginalized communities in the creative process.

There is an opportunity for us as a community of individual donors to be thoughtful and deliberate in how we support art as a vehicle for social change. In the following pages, we present funding strategies that attempt to address some of these priorities. These strategies push you to think beyond the art itself to the process of creation, the community leaders doing the creating, the stifled stories being told and the communities being engaged.

Funding Strategy One: INVEST IN INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS

Often when we think about the role of art in social change movements, we think primarily of the product, the art itself. But it is clear that the process of creating art and sharing it can be just as powerful as the art itself. The transformative practice of the creative process can generate new ideas and inspiration that in turn will develop new leaders and new voices for the movement.

The cultural wars of the 80s and 90's had a chilling effect on the arts community. Mainstream cultural institutions — museums, music halls, galleries — are just now beginning to experience some semblance of stability. But the individual artists' hands, feet, tools, space are still under attack — by a stifling political environment, by caution and conservatism among mainstream and government arts funders, by neighborhood gentrification that has robbed many artists of workspace, and by the basic challenge of getting by in the current economy. Artists are being starved of their creative time and space and of their ability to engage in collaborative processes.

Alternative models of funding do exist. For example, witnessing increasing challenges for individual artists to simply continue to work and create, the **Lambent Fellowships in the Arts** award unrestricted grants to individual artists. The award supports diversity and stimulates New York City's cultural dialogue by selecting visual and performing artists in all five boroughs of New York whose artistic work intersects with social justice visions. This award has encouraged the fellows to take risks in creative explorations in ways that were unimaginable to them before.

Suggested Strategy:

- Support programs and/or organizations that prioritize support for, and investment in, individual artists. These include fellowship programs, community-based artist-in-residency programs, and alternative arts organizations that have individual, emerging artists at their core
- Support organizations that nurture and strengthen the work of individual artists. These include local organizations that provide technical assistance, institutional structure, rehearsal/studio space and fiscal sponsorship for artists' projects, and regional and national networks that promote artists' work and bring it to a larger audience.

What to Look For:

- **Remember the middle of the country:** many artists feel the need to move to the coast in order to pursue their work and obtain funding opportunities, leading to a creative brain drain in some regions. Look instead for opportunities to enable artists to stay in their communities across the country.
- **Support initiatives that engage artists as decision makers:** Many organizations and funders use arts committees that are made up of artists themselves.
- **Connect with other grantmakers:** affinity groups such as Grantmakers in the Arts are valuable resources to learn about emerging artists and the organizations that support them.

Possible Organizations to Fund

FUNDS/PROGRAMS FOR INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS

- Creative Capital
- Astraea Foundation for Justice Visual Arts Fund
- Frameline Completion Fund - for LGBT filmmakers
- Women in Film
- National Performance Network

ALTERNATIVE ARTS ORGANIZATIONS

- The Kitchen (New York)
- Diverse Works (Houston)
- Lower Manhattan Cultural Center.
- Conjunction Arts (New York)
- LACE (Los Angeles)
- The Luggage Store (San Francisco)
- Mad Art (St. Louis)
- SPACES (Cleveland)

Funding Strategy Two:

INVEST IN COMMUNITY-BASED ARTS ACTIVISM

SUPPORTING SOCIAL JUSTICE ORGANIZATIONS THAT USE ARTISTIC PRACTICE AS AN ORGANIZING TOOL, AND ARTS ORGANIZATIONS ROOTED IN A SPECIFIC COMMUNITY.

Many social justice organizations understand the inherent role and value of art, and the strength it can bring to their work. They have built partnerships among artists, organizers and educators, working together to mobilize their community around specific issues. Similarly, many arts organizations have emerged out of specific disenfranchised communities and serve to bring voice and visibility to those communities and to inspire them to action. Whether strengthening local communities and local organizing efforts or having a broad, national reach, each of these models of using art for social change are powerful alone, and even more powerful when they work in partnership. Examples include:

- **Blackout Arts Collective** is a grassroots coalition of artists, activists and educators working to empower communities of color through the arts. BAC uses the tools of culture and education to raise awareness and catalyze action around the critical issues that impact its communities.
- The **National Hip Hop Political Convention** is the initiative of a coalition of organizations, artists and educators committed to the community-based movement at the origins of hip hop culture and to using hip hop to engage young people and support the movement towards increased civic and political participation by the Hip Hop generation. They held the first of what are to become bi-annual events in 2004, where they voted on, adopted and endorsed a political agenda and trained local organizing committees to implement that agenda across the country.
- **Afro Solo Theater Company** in San Francisco organizes an annual Arts Festival in San Francisco that combines performances by emerging and established African American artists with forums bringing together artists, organizations, activists and other community members to discuss the issues, such as the impact of HIV/AIDS, that are explored in the art.

Suggested Strategy:

- Support community-based organizations that utilize art and the creative process as a central organizing, base-building tool. A particular priority is organizations that effectively bring together professional artists, grassroots organizations and communities in partnership.
- Invest in culturally specific art centers that are grounded in communities and that partner with community-based, social justice organizations that work with emerging artists.

What to Look For:

- Don't just look at the end product or judge impact by marketing, audience numbers, box office exhibitions, etc. — the artistic process, and its success in engaging, mobilizing and inspiring a community, is often more important than the product.
- When investing in new technology-based media, be sensitive to issues of access and the digital divide — this divide exists in arts and culture too.

Possible Organizations to Fund

CULTURALLY SPECIFIC ART CENTERS

- Studio Museum of Harlem
- The Mexican Museum
- El Museo de Barrio
- Intermedia Arts (Minneapolis)
- Blackout Arts Collective (National)
- Queer Latino/a Artists Coalition (QUELACO)

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS THAT USE ART AS AN ORGANIZING TOOL

- Groundswell Community Mural Project
- Precita Eyes
- Hip Hop Association

Funding Strategy Three: MEDIA ARTS AND ACTIVISM

INITIATIVES TO INTEGRATE PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL CHANGE IN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

Strengthening alternative community-based arts organizations and individual artists — as described in the first two strategies — is crucial if we are to counter the narrow and misleading view of reality as portrayed in the mainstream media. But the fact is that we live in a media-driven culture. To reach a broad audience, the progressive movement needs to be actively engaged in the mainstream too. This means both monitoring and challenging media misrepresentations, and pushing for the inclusion of progressive cultural and social change perspectives and diverse worldviews and opinions. Media has the powerful ability to shape and guide public opinion through images, words and texts. This is especially true with today's monopolized ownership and content control of the multiple communication mediums: radio, television, cable, print, etc. Organizations that focus on monitoring the ownership and content of these shared communications commons are necessary alongside organizations that are working to re-create value based media.

- **Breakthrough**, an international organization with offices in U.S. and India, partners with the creative world through radio, music, art, television, theater and other communications to promote values of dignity and equality. Working in partnership with women's groups, Breakthrough produced an award winning music video highlighting the issue of domestic violence that was widely distributed and aired on MTV.
- **Adbusters**, is working to "advance the new social activist movement of the information age" through a range of media including its magazine, website, spoof ads, flash media, social justice advertising agency, and more.

Suggested Strategy:

- Invest in initiatives and projects (such as Breakthrough) that support and encourage community-based, non-arts-focused social change organizations to integrate the use of arts and culture that interface with broader popular culture and mainstream media.
- Support "media watchdog" social justice organizations that work to ensure fair, accurate and inclusive representation of marginalized communities in the mainstream media and pop culture.
- Fund social justice organizations that provide media literacy training to youth, women, low-income communities and communities of color.

What to Look For:

- Recognize that this work exists in a larger regulatory landscape, where issues such as media ownership and communications policies impact community based organizations working in the field.
- Support for alternative media organizations and the development and distribution of publications that challenge mainstream perspectives remains crucial to the progressive movement.

Possible Organizations to Fund

ORGANIZATIONS INTEGRATING ARTS

- Breakthrough
- Esperanza Peace and Justice Center (San Antonio)

MEDIA JUSTICE ORGANIZATIONS

- Third World Majority (Oakland)
- Media Alliance (San Francisco)
- ColorLines Magazine
- Paper Tiger Television (New York)
- AdBusters
- Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD)
- The Media Justice Fund (an initiative of the Funding Exchange)

MEDIA LITERACY

- 911 Media Arts Center (Seattle)
- Alter.net

ECONOMIC JUSTICE: Affording the American Dream

Introduction: Bridging the Economic Divide

Over the past 30 years, as unrestricted corporate power has come to dominate this country's economic landscape, the quality of life for wage earners has suffered in every way imaginable — lower pay, longer work hours, less health care, no pensions, and a lack of job security. State and local budget crises along with consistent shrinking of federal funding for social services — or 'federal devolution' policies — also contribute to this historic squeeze on our workforce, both immigrant and U.S.-born.

States are recording the highest fiscal shortfalls since World War II. Federal tax cuts benefiting corporations and the wealthy, restrictions on state sales taxes, and shifting of costs from Medicare to Medicaid all contribute to this problem. Adding to this harsh equation is the collapse of the minimum wage, growth of the temporary work force, decline of unions, globalization and off shoring, and "Wal-Mart-ization" of the retail industry. And bearing the brunt of all this are the poorest states, many of which are located in the South, such as Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

It has been nine long years since Congress raised the minimum wage. At the current rate of \$5.15/hr, a full-time, year-round minimum wage worker earns just \$10,712 per year — more than \$5,000 below the official poverty line for a family of three. In fact, 40 percent of minimum wage workers are the sole breadwinners in their families and the majority of these workers are women; 43 percent of the workers who benefited from the last minimum wage increase were women.

Living Wage Movement

One response to this has been the movement for living wage laws¹. Since the first ordinance passed in 1994, living wage organizing has emerged as a key wage-based strategy that empowers low-wage workers and builds momentum for a broader economic justice agenda. Diverse coalitions of community, labor, and faith-based organizations in communities all over the U.S. have won passage of over 130 living wage laws, including many in major metropolitan areas. As a direct outgrowth of the living wage successes, 18 states have also passed legislation or initiatives to raise statewide minimum wages higher than the federal level.

At its core, these campaigns are about raising wages for working people. But just as important is the effect these campaigns have on civic participation and expanding democracy. A recent Pew Research Center poll shows that Americans overwhelmingly support an increase in the minimum wage: 82 percent said it was an important priority and only 6 percent opposed an increase. Other polling has also shown that wage initiatives effectively motivate historically difficult-to-engage voters — younger voters, infrequent voters, and low income voters. Not coincidentally these are among the key demographics for strengthening the progressive movement. At a time when progressives are uncertain how to respond to "wedge" issues as framed by conservatives, economic justice issues offer progressives the opportunity to frame the debate as being about the value of fairness and the opportunities that fair wages should provide working people.

¹ While each community coalition has set its own definition of "living wage", the most common benchmark has been the poverty rate for a family of four.

Evolution of the Movement: Looking Back at Successes and Challenges

The expansion of the living wage movement is arguably the most successful achievement of the progressive movement during the past ten years. On no other issue have we won as many victories on the local and state level: raising the floor for working families and framing the narrative on what kind of society we want to live in.

The first living wage ordinance was passed in Baltimore in 1994 after a \$1 billion-plus taxpayer renovation of the Baltimore Inner Harbor had resulted in little but low-wage, dead-end jobs. Two appealing and enduring principles were central to the Baltimore ordinance and continue to effectively frame the overall debate: working people deserve a fair wage and private development financed by public funding should benefit the local community. Since then, the living wage movement has changed the landscape of the current fight to bridge the economic divide between the rich and the poor.

The last several years have also seen some pivotal changes in the living wage and broader economic justice movements. Many of the coalitions that achieved living wage victories have expanded their scope to include campaigns to increase minimum wages at the city and state levels and efforts to gain control over how their neighborhoods are being built and developed. However, there are now fewer new, active living wage campaigns than in each of the past 10 years. This is because organizations strengthened and born out of living wage campaigns have assessed their work and accomplishments and, in ongoing dialogue with members and allies, have seen that much of the gain from wage increases is being lost due to soaring housing, healthcare and childcare costs. Using the momentum from their success, these organizations are now leading the movement by addressing a host of other factors that disproportionately impact low-income people, and are campaigning for affordable housing, retirement, healthcare benefits, childcare and public transportation, among others.

Current Opportunities to 'Build Opportunity'

Decisive economic justice victories in Nevada and Florida in 2004 have led to continued groundwork and base-building by economic justice activists in order to replicate those successes in more states. 2006 mid-term elections will see statewide minimum wage initiatives on ballots in key electoral states: Arizona, Colorado, Missouri and Ohio. Montana and Oklahoma are already targeted for next year. On March 29th, Michigan's governor signed legislation to raise the state minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$6.95 this year, reaching \$7.40 by 2008. This will affect over 500,000 low-wage workers and was a direct result of the effective organizing and coalition building by activists who were ready to put a minimum wage initiative on the state ballot in November. Recognizing the broad-based support for such an initiative, the Republican-controlled legislature did an about-face and backed the legislation. Even more recently, the Arkansas legislature passed a minimum wage increase in response to similar pressure from an effective grassroots campaign for a constitutional amendment to raise the state minimum wage. Effective October 1st, the Arkansas minimum wage will be \$6.25/hr.

If questions remained about what the long-term impacts of the federal government's regressive economic policies and continued gutting of the social safety net would be, then here, spelled out in bold capital letters was the answer: a "natural" catastrophe unparalleled in American history. As if to add insult to injury, a week after Hurricane Katrina hit, President Bush suspended the obligation of businesses to pay prevailing wages during the reconstruction. The rebuilding of the Gulf Coast is the opportunity for progressives to put into action our belief that the intersections of economics, race and environment are but different ways to talk about building a safe, sustainable and fair community for all.

Looking Forward

Bridging the deep economic divide in this country will demand that we work at every level of government, using strategies as varied as there are different communities to work in. Here are some guiding principles to help prioritize and inform funding strategies for economic justice:

- **Do Not Ignore Race.** Last year Hurricane Katrina illustrated in stark relief a fact that the left has recognized for years: race and class still matter. The issue of race continues to define the experiences of many people in this country. People of color and low income communities disproportionately bear the burdens of Katrina, and disproportionately stand to lose out on the benefits of recovery and relief. Throughout the U.S., racial income disparity remains wide, African Americans earning 57 cents for every dollar earned by white people. The wealth divide is an even wider gap. White families have eleven times more wealth; the median wealth for an African American household is \$19,000, including home equity, retirement savings, and car ownership, compared to \$121,000 for whites. Race and class are not issues that can ever be dealt with as an afterthought — but must be at the forefront of every funding strategy.
- **Prioritize Base-building and Organizing for the Long-term.** Achieving victories that change the immediate context for working families trying to make ends meet is critical. However, building the long-term capacity and infrastructure of the economic justice movement is just as essential if we are to build permanent power to make change. Oftentimes fighting the good fight and “losing well” is as valuable to the movement as a specific win. Community groups in the South have been working to pass local living wage ordinances over five years — given the challenging context in which they work, a victory may take another five years or more. It is crucial to share this long-term view and invest in the leadership development of historically under-resourced and under-developed community leaders, particularly in this region.
- **Support Local and State-level Work.** Given the gridlock at the federal level, state and local efforts have yielded the most opportunities for making change in the last five years. Supporting national think tanks and advocacy organizations is vital — but never without a solid connection to community-based organizations doing work on the ground.
- **Improve Infrastructure and Capacity.** Effective organizations constantly need technical assistance and dedicated resources for leadership development and institution-building. The basic need of keeping good groups viable cannot be forgotten.
- **Strengthen the South.** Precedents need to be set with key economic justice victories and strengthening the long-term capacity of key groups. This region, with its increasing numbers of low-wage immigrant workers and persistent race and class divides, should be a priority. Because of the difficulty of the political territory, wage campaigns and other economic justice strategies may be the best way to bolster the region, and strengthen the broader progressive movement as well.

In the following pages, we present funding strategies that attempt to address some of these priorities.

Funding Strategy One: WAGE CAMPAIGNS

FAIR PAY FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK

Introduction

The majority of the 130 living wage laws that have passed have resulted from “traditional” living wage campaigns — i.e. campaigns that seek to attach conditions only to jobs created by public funds. This makes for a highly palatable argument to most voters and legislators — particularly in conservative southern cities — and so has functioned especially well as a ground-floor strategy to build coalitions that go on to pursue broader economic justice measures. The downside, though, is the low number of workers these ordinances cover — sometimes a few hundred or even fewer. In Los Angeles, for example, a city of 3.7 million people, the living wage law covers roughly 7,000 workers, all at businesses that receive city funds. Employees stocking shelves at Target or flipping burgers for McDonald’s are generally left out.

For many coalitions, the next step after a living wage victory has been to establish city minimum wage ordinances. These in turn, can spur broader change. The minimum wage win in San Francisco, for example, could be a jumping-off point for adjacent cities to pass similar measures and set a higher regional wage floor in the Bay Area. It is notable that campaigns for a raise covering all minimum wage workers have been successful in cities — including San Francisco, Santa Fe and Madison — where there was a well-developed organizing infrastructure, often developed through the living wage campaign. Wage activists, of course, want to see raises for as many workers as possible, and some organizations — in states where they feel they can generate the necessary political might — are pressing for statewide minimum wage initiatives, either through legislative change or through the initiative process.

Suggested Strategy:

- **Traditional living wage campaigns** have built a strong and successful movement and have the potential to organize a base, develop leaders and launch more far-reaching campaigns. In particular, there are two circumstances when it makes particularly good solid sense to continue to support living wage campaigns:
 - ▲ **Southern States:** In the conservative south a traditional living wage effort is the most winnable ground-floor economic justice issue;
 - ▲ **Building Blocks:** Living wage campaigns can be a highly effective first step in a longer-term power building strategy to change the political structure, like the city council in a municipality.
- **City minimum wage campaigns** are a significant new direction for the living wage movement; activists call them “the next wave.” They cover a far greater number of workers and, if successful, can

Possible Organizations to Fund

COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

- Atlanta Living Wage Coalition
- Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy
- Florida ACORN
- Santa Fe Living Wage Network
- Progressive Maryland Education Fund
- Idaho Community Action Network

NATIONAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE INTERMEDIARIES:

- Brennan Center for Justice
- SPIN Project
- ACORN Living Wage Resource Center
- Political Economy Research Institute

be the springboard for regional or statewide initiatives.

- **State minimum wage campaigns** represent another important new front in the fight for economic justice in the US. They have the potential to raise living standards for millions of workers as the federal government refuses to budge. Their strategic electoral importance in mobilizing progressive voters, especially new and infrequent voters, has excited much interest since November 2004.

What to Look For:

- Strong and lasting coalitions between community organizations, faith groups, labor and business.
- Organizations that intentionally and effectively incorporate a deeper racial justice analysis within broader economic justice work.
- Commitment to work in coalition with other progressive organizations to develop well-coordinated strategies for rebuilding.
- Organized efforts to protect and ensure the right to vote for displaced residents of the Gulf Region.

Funding Strategy Two: ACCOUNTABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

PUTTING POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

Historically, economic development decisions have often been made behind closed doors and without any input from communities directly affected. The resulting initiatives, rather than improve the quality of life for local residents, have often generated dead-end, low-paying jobs without healthcare. There is a growing movement to hold governments and corporations more accountable to the public for how tax dollars are spent in our neighborhoods. The community benefits agreement (CBA) strategy represents another vital way forward for the economic justice movement. CBAs expand on the principles represented by living wage campaigns: jobs created by public investments should be quality jobs that do not pay poverty wages. In addition, CBAs take on housing, healthcare, childcare, parks and other environmental issues, and thus provide potential for broad coalitions to shape local development. The CBA strategy has been adopted by activists in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Jose, Palm Springs, Ventura, Santa Barbara and Fresno in California, and several cities across the country, including Denver, Atlanta, Boston and Miami.

Living and minimum wage campaigns have been effective in many ways, but they do not address another force in the economic landscape: Wal-Martization. Wal-Mart's business model suppresses organizing by its own workforce, and pressures suppliers to cut costs through work speed-ups and wage suppression. Wal-Mart has developed and championed it, but employers such as Home Depot (500,000 workers), Lowe's and Kmart/Sears are following suit. Because of Wal-Mart's size, the economic ripple effects of wage suppression are substantial. As other companies are taking the same steps to fatten their bottom line, the overall effect is one of lowering wage and workplace standards. In 2004, Good Jobs First produced the first national study of Wal-Mart, which revealed that this corporate giant's U.S. and global expansion has frequently been financed in part by taxpayers, through more than \$1 billion in subsidies from state and local governments.

Suggested Strategy:

- **Community Benefit Agreements** provide a key opportunity for grassroots participation in the economic development process that in most places is still dominated by backroom deals between local government and developers. These campaigns can actually deliver essential quality-of-life improvements and result in true economic development instead of a public windfall for private companies. CBA campaigns further the argument that public funds need to be invested judiciously and with a plan, and they provide a vehicle for coalition building and strengthening that builds much-needed progressive infrastructure at the state and local levels.
- **Organizing efforts to force Wal-Mart**, or other big box employers, to meet wage, healthcare and other workplace standards is critical. One in 10 American workers is a Wal-Mart employee. Given the pervasive negative impact Wal-Mart has on the economy, changing its policies directly changes the entire industry.

Possible Organizations to Fund

COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

- East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy
- Miami Workers' Center
- Center for Policy Initiatives
- Tenants' and Workers' Support Committee
- Working Partnerships

NATIONAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE INTERMEDIARIES:

- Brennan Center for Justice
- SPIN Project
- Political Economy Research Institute
- Economic Policy Institute
- The Partnership for Working Families
- Good Jobs First

What to Look For:

- How are national, regional and local organizations working collaboratively and coordinating their roles to ensure that efforts are not duplicated?
- How are organizations building the base, even if losing specific battles?
- How are organizations balancing the need to build and increase internal capacity while partnering with regional and national technical assistance groups?
- Strong and lasting coalitions between community organizations, faith groups, labor and business.

Funding Strategy Three: IMMIGRANT WORKER ORGANIZING PUTTING POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

The face of the low-wage worker is likely to be indigenous/Latin American, Asian or Afro-Caribbean; the face of low-wage labor is likely to be that of an immigrant. When European and Irish immigrants arrived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, they met with a rapacious Gilded Age economic environment, but also with institutions such as unions and the “settlement house” movement that offered some protection against market forces. Today’s immigrants are plunged into an environment with no such protections. They are “unstuck” from the organized economy, and many, like day laborers or domestic workers, move from job to job and employer to employer. Such workers remain untouched by any of the wage strategies described here.

Their situation is emblematic of the common condition of worker dislocation in the 21st century. How do you organize workers who don’t show up to the same workplace all the time, whose employers change constantly? What goals make the most sense in that context? How do you build leadership, institutions? Organizers have attempted to address these conditions by two principle means: immigrant workers centers, and day laborer organizing, whether at a local day laborer center or on the street corners where the men congregate looking for work.

Suggested Strategy:

- **Immigrant worker centers** are the often the most active entities pushing to enforce wage and labor standards, and pressuring employers to comply with the law. Most government agencies are too overwhelmed and understaffed to investigate working conditions or even follow up on complaints. In an exciting new development, workers centers have begun to team up with fair-wage advocates to enforce wage and hour laws, increasing the influence and impact of both organizations. Oftentimes, the centers function as possibly the only nexus point for workers and so become the place to organize them. This is vital given that the traditional model of workplace union organizing is irrelevant to workers who switch workplace and industries.
- **Day laborer organizing** functions at both a national and local level. The “jornaleros,” as the day laborers call themselves, are hired by the day by different employers and are frequently underpaid or stiffed completely. They are also impacted by ordinances that limit their ability to seek work. Local day labor organizing takes on these issues, often in partnership with worker centers that offer the base for organizing. Day laborers in California have marched on the homes and businesses of those notorious for cheating workers to force them to pay up, and have joined with other community groups and institutions to challenge ordinances that limit their speech and assembly.

Possible Organizations to Fund

WORKER CENTERS/DAY LABORER ORGANIZATIONS

- Coalition of Immokalee Workers
- Interfaith Worker Justice
- Latin American Workers Project
- La Mujer Obrera
- Koreatown Immigrant Worker Advocates

NATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEGAL, POLICY AND ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

- Brennan Center for Justice
- National Day Laborer Organizing Network
- Coalition of Immigrant Worker Advocates
- National Immigration Law Center
- Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

What to Look For:

- What is the balance between providing much-needed direct services versus organizing and advocacy?
- Is there a commitment to leadership development?
- How are organizations dealing with the reality that for immigrant workers, wage and job issues are intertwined with immigration issues, and how are they developing clear, strategic goals that address both.

REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE: Choosing a Broader Movement

Introduction: Envisioning Reproductive Justice

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the women’s movement in the U.S. made tremendous gains. We have a great deal to celebrate, and consequently a great deal to defend. As if in backwards motion, the 21st century is proving to be more politically treacherous, particularly in the area of reproductive justice. Since 1995, states have passed nearly 400 measures blocking access to essential reproductive health services. Although we still have Roe, the right to have an abortion has been systematically eroded, state by state, and is now in more peril than at any time since its passage. Increasingly, women across the U.S. lack access to basic reproductive health services and are struggling daily with a host of reproductive injustices that the traditional reproductive rights movement has yet to include in its advocacy efforts.

As a consequence, a large-scale shift is occurring in the movement itself, from a traditional “reproductive rights” framework to a broader one, being defined as “reproductive justice”. In talking with a number of women’s organizations, working at the grassroots level, the following vision emerges for what reproductive justice would look like in the U.S. In this vision, every woman and girl would have:

- quality reproductive health care that is accessible, affordable, culturally appropriate and available in her language
- the right to live and work in an environment that is free of toxins that would compromise her reproductive health
- comprehensive school sex-education
- access to contraception and affordable abortion services
- a living wage
- equal rights if she identifies as LGBT
- freedom from sexual, emotional, and physical abuse and violence
- equity with men in the research dollars spent studying illnesses that affect her body
- food and water that is healthy and affordable, and;
- immigration policies that do not destabilize her family or erect barriers to services.

To achieve this vision, a vibrant U.S. Reproductive Justice movement would have:

- a large and diverse base of organized support with the power to compel decision makers into positive action
- a solid and balanced infrastructure of service delivery, advocacy, grassroots organizing, media, and research organizations, to support fundamental social and policy change
- the internal strength of strong alliances among reproductive health and justice organizations and an external strength of connections with other key social justice movements such as the environmental and labor movements
- at its center the goal of empowering all women to become active and engaged leaders in transforming the structures that impact their lives and the lives of their children and communities

- a recognition of women’s multiple identities (as low-income, women of color, LGBT, etc) as critical to strategy, analysis and framing
- an explicit racial justice analysis

Perhaps most importantly, it would give all women and girls equal opportunity and the self-determination to participate in and lead a movement that addresses the reproductive rights issues that most affect them and their communities.

More Than Choice: The Distinction Between Reproductive Rights and Reproductive Justice

The traditional *reproductive rights* movement has been characterized by a narrow leadership, constituency and issue focus. It uses a legal and advocacy framework that emphasizes the individual woman and her personal right to reproductive health care, with a primary focus on “choice”. It has tended to focus its energies on a national-level, inside-the-beltway strategy. By contrast, the rapidly growing *reproductive justice* movement strives for a broad and diverse leadership, constituency and issue focus. It has an organizing framework that looks collectively and systemically at reproductive issues, viewing the control of individual women’s bodies as intrinsically linked to the historic and current control of entire communities, and acknowledging the intersection and impact of multiple systems of oppression — such as racism, classism, homophobia, xenophobia, etc. — on women’s reproductive well-being. It focuses on strengthening the base of the movement through building the leadership and collective power of historically underrepresented women to change structural power inequities around a range of reproductive issues that they identify as important.

A Movement that Lacks a Base, Lacks Power: Building the Base of the Reproductive Justice Movement

In 2003, leaders representing three of the most prominent women’s organizations in the U.S. sat down to plan a march on Washington with a vision of organizing the largest mobilization of women in the history of the nation. The trouble was, the more they thought about what was needed to achieve this, the more they realized that there were a lot of key players and key communities that they had neglected to invite to the meeting.

It became increasingly clear that for this march to succeed — strategically and numerically — its focus and leadership would need to reflect the women and communities whose reproductive freedoms were under the greatest attack but who had often been on the margins of the mainstream U.S. reproductive rights movement: poor women, women of color, immigrant, rural, LGBT women and young women. It would also need to include the issues that these sectors of women defined as critical to their reproductive freedom:

- African American women account for more than 80% of the female HIV/AIDS cases in the U.S. and face maternal mortality rates comparable to the third world.
- Native American women on reservations confront the forced loss of their traditional midwifery practices and the prospect of traveling 100 miles to deliver their babies at the nearest substandard, government Indian Health hospital.
- Rural Latina women are impacted by the dearth of bilingual health care and miscarriages or birth defects caused by pesticides in the fields where they pick crops.
- Low-income white women lack affordable reproductive health care and suffer the impacts of federal subsidy programs that push marriage.
- Asian women suffer the reproductive affects of Agent Orange and other chemical warfare exposure in their homelands. Asian immigrants and Asian American women might be exposed to toxins in their current workplaces, such as the rapidly growing nail salon industry.
- LGBT women face rampant discrimination in the health care system.

- Young women struggle with a government mandate to push abstinence-only curricula in public schools.
- For immigrant women, restrictive immigration policies add to the other insurmountable barriers to obtaining basic reproductive health care.

For at least the past decade, these issues have been widely ignored by the traditional reproductive rights movement – during which time this movement’s losses have far outweighed its gains. Wisely, the march organizers chose to broaden out, expanding their core leadership to include the Black Women’s Health Imperative, and the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, along with NOW, Feminist Majority, NARAL Pro-Choice America, and Planned Parenthood. These leaders in turn reached out to historically underrepresented women and, after much reluctance on the part of the more established organizations, broadened out from a singular focus on abortion, to include a myriad of reproductive issues impacting various communities. It was a difficult and grueling process but the results were gratifying.

On the day of the march, April 24, 2004, over 1 million people flooded into the National Mall. It was certainly the single largest protest of any kind at the capital, and possibly the largest and most diverse protest in U.S. history. Over 1,400 organizations and 57 countries were represented. One-third of the participants were under the age of 25 and young women of color, including young immigrant women, were among the core leadership. As far as strategies go, the plan to engage a diverse constituency had been a hugely effective one.

For the battle weary reproductive rights movement, the march signaled a new hope, and demonstrated that a powerful reproductive justice movement was possible in the U.S.. The lessons were clear: in order to succeed, in order to win on abortion or any other front for that matter, the movement needs a broader and more diverse core leadership and base of support. Such a base is not created through the tokenized use of young women, women of color or poor women, to support a middle class, white women’s agenda. It is built through a true sisterhood in which women of every walk of life are empowered to identify the issues that impact their reproductive freedom, and to take the lead in a truly democratic movement that fights alongside them on those very issues.

Grassroots Organizing is the #1 Base Building Strategy: Why Aren’t We Funding It?

Women and girls and the issues that impact their lives would seem an obvious priority for a progressive U.S. social justice movement. If such a priority exists however, it has yet to be reflected in the flow of philanthropic dollars. In the U.S., a meager 6% of all giving is specifically earmarked for this sector. The fraction of this that goes into the reproductive health and rights arena has been shrinking dramatically over the past decade. Of the funding that does go into this arena, there exists a significant imbalance in who is receiving resources to do what. The vast majority of funding for reproductive rights in the U.S. continues to go to a few prominent and long-standing women’s organizations, the majority of which have a leadership comprised of middle to upper middle class white women, and a strong belief that fundamental change occurs through providing reproductive health services to individual women and addressing the legal aspects of reproductive issues through a national, in-the-beltway advocacy strategy. These large, well-funded institutions have played an integral role in keeping abortion legal in the U.S. but have failed to develop an agenda that resonates with the majority of women around the country or to galvanize much needed support at the state and local level.

After more than a decade of crushing losses, it seems prudent for the philanthropic community that supports reproductive rights to reflect on a few commonly held assumptions. First, can a vibrant reproductive rights movement be built through grantmaking that delivers the majority of its resources to a leadership that reflects neither the diversity of women in the U.S. or the sectors of women that are most heavily impacted by restrictions on reproductive rights? Second, is the practice of funding almost exclusively, service delivery and legislative advocacy, wise? These two strategies, carried out in isolation, have consistently failed to demonstrate their ability to maintain hard won gains or deliver new victories in the reproductive rights arena. The questions are fundamental ones: who and what should be funded?

Who and What to Fund?

Over the years, several foundations have wrestled with the questions of “who,” with efforts to target a broader diversity of organizations and constituencies and move resources to sectors that have typically been starved for funds. Ms., Third Wave, Jessie Smith Noyes, Public Welfare and Tides Foundations, among others, now prioritize giving to organizations that engage and build the leadership of women of color, young, low-income, immigrant, rural and LGBT women. The Women of Color working group of the Funders Network on Population, Reproductive Health and Rights is currently exploring the possibility of a five-year initiative (initiated by the Ford Foundation) focused entirely on reproductive health/rights/justice organizations led by women of color, with an eye to fostering increased capacity and long term sustainability.

These funders, along with others, have also tackled the question of “what,” exploring which strategies or combination of strategies best support movement building. When one puts an ear to the field, several things bubble up to the surface. First, reproductive health service providers are being dramatically constrained by an increasing number of arcane laws restricting what resources and services they can provide women. Second, advocates who speak to decision makers on behalf of the women affected by such laws have little to no recourse when these decision makers fail to act, or simply say ‘no’. Third, grassroots organizing, the strategy that builds the leadership and collective power of the people directly affected by a given problem, and most importantly provides the most powerful recourse for the advocates, receives next to no funding.

The Case for Investment in Grassroots Organizing

Grassroots organizing is not the same as mobilization for large demonstrations, it is the systematic and long-term work needed to build the involvement and leadership of women and male allies at the community level. The lack of resources for organizing has created a lopsided movement with an anemic base of support with insufficient clout to win. The Reproductive Justice movement has been as precarious as a two legged table, teetering on service and advocacy, without the stability of a third leg of grassroots organizing or a fourth leg of research and media. When we step back and make a comparison to other movements the case for grassroots organizing is strikingly obvious. Can we imagine the Civil Rights movement succeeding without an organized base built in Selma, Alabama and other communities most affected by Jim Crow? Can we imagine Cesar Chavez and the farm workers winning against powerful agribusiness with only community services and advocacy conducted on their behalf by people who had never worked in the fields? The thought alone is ridiculous. Can we picture the rise of the right wing, for that matter, without the full scale investment in community organizing through churches and local clubs to build a broad and powerful base of support? Then why would we continue to fund the reproductive justice movement in such a top-down manner despite its ineffectiveness?

In the following pages we propose funding strategies that work together to remedy this imbalance and build the base of a vibrant reproductive justice movement.

Funding Strategy One: BUILDING THE BASE OF THE MOVEMENT

FUNDING GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING EFFORTS IN HISTORICALLY UNDERREPRESENTED COMMUNITIES

“Young women, women of color, and poor women are here to lead. We are not here as foot soldiers, we are here to make decisions, we are here to build a broad social justice movement”

Caricia Catalina, National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health youth organizer, March for Women’s Lives, 2004

Grassroots organizing efforts among women in historically marginalized communities exist and are growing. Native American groups are organizing around the impact of military and corporate toxins on the reproductive health of women and children. There is reproductive justice organizing happening among teen sex workers, incarcerated women and girls, women farm workers, Vietnamese nail salon workers. In the South, African American women are organizing for access to reproductive health care to address skyrocketing maternal mortality rates. These efforts are breakthrough, vibrant, and rooted in the community. They are also starved for funding, and struggling to grow in a funding climate that channels the majority of resources into think tanks, or large service and policy advocacy organizations.

Suggested Strategy:

- **Fund groups working at the state and local level.** In the current federal climate, and following the Supreme Court’s 1992 decision in *Casey v. Planned Parenthood*, which devolved much decision-making authority to the state level, local and state-level efforts represent the best opportunities for victories and for base building. We must remember that the right wing thrives today in part as a result of seeds diligently planted on the local level decades ago, in churches, clubs, school boards and town councils. There are many ways in which to approach this, including focusing on a particular region, constituency, or issue area.
- **Provide multi-year, general support funding.** Organizing work is difficult and grueling and takes time and tenacity on the ground. Long-term investments to support the overall capacity of organizations are crucial. There are no shortcuts to developing strong leaders or the committed engagement of a community. Expectations for organizing victories should be tempered by a realistic look at the community and region in which the organization is operating. A decision to fund in the south may mean investing in the initial infrastructure, and the tough political climate will mean fewer quick victories than in New York or the San Francisco Bay Area, for example. This does not diminish the importance of funding in this critical region, with a vision for long term victories.

Possible Organizations to Fund

- Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice
- Khmer Girls in Action
- Young Women United
- Center for Young Women’s Development
- Georgians for Choice
- Idaho Women’s Network
- Women’s Voices for the Earth
- Alaska Community Action on Toxics
- Illinois Caucus for Adolescent Health
- Organizacion en California de Lideres Campesinas
- Sicangu Way of Life
- Migrant Health Promotion

What to Look For:

- Organizations whose constituency of historically underrepresented women is reflected in their leadership, including staff and board composition.
- Organizations that either focus solely on grassroots organizing or include it as a core strategy in a model that may also include service delivery, research or advocacy.
- Organizations with a strong community base and a demonstrated ability to mobilize that base to action.
- Organizations with comprehensive leadership development components that provide tools, resources, and leadership opportunities to their constituencies.

Funding Strategy Two:

BUILDING THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

INVESTING IN RESOURCES TO BUILD THE CAPACITY AND IMPACT OF GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS

Local and state level organizations often rely on coalitions or intermediary support organizations (ISOs) to boost their capacity and provide the connective tissue for a larger movement. ISOs include organizations that provide training and technical support with research, media, policy, and legal work to strengthen the work at the local level, and help build inter and intra movement alliances. They also include national organizations that help connect local organizations to key fights on the state or federal level.

While they play a critical role, ISOs are largely ineffective without a strong network of grassroots organizations to work with. They also attract more funding than local groups, which is important to bear in mind when balancing your giving between ISO's and more community-based organizations. Key coalitions are critical to deepening alliances between groups within the reproductive justice movement and bridges to other movements. They also provide an important 'glue' to strengthen the movement and a mechanism to allow organizations to flex their collective muscle in the policy arena.

Suggested Strategy:

- Fund one or two intermediary support organizations that have an effective existing support relationship with a network of grassroots groups in a specific geographic area. It is critical that the ISO have the trust of local organizations and a demonstrated practice of taking direction from the field rather than driving the work in a top-down fashion.
- Fund key coalitions comprised of strong local grassroots organizations that are working around specific policy initiatives. It is important to identify coalitions that include a diverse network of organizations to carry out a broad-based effort.

What to Look For:

- ISOs that base their strategy and technical support on the needs articulated by the community organizations that they serve.
- Effective grassroots organizing groups that have developed a technical support arm to assist other reproductive justice organizations.
- Organizations and coalitions that effective grassroots organizations identify as critical to their success.
- Coalitions forming around key and timely policy initiatives.

Possible Organizations to Fund

- Western States Center
- National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum
- National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health
- California Latinas for Reproductive Justice
- Idaho Women's Network
- Missouri Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice
- New Mexico Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice
- Native American Community Board
- West Virginia Free

Funding Strategy Three: BUILDING CROSS-MOVEMENT LINKAGES

INTEGRATING REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE AND OTHER PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS

“A political struggle that does not have women at the heart of it, above it, below it, and within it is no struggle at all.”

Arundhati Roy

In the reproductive justice movement there exist organizations which, either by virtue of their issue focus or due to a primary objective of broadening the movement, are building bridges to other social justice movements. These organizations are often leaders in their region and catalysts for expanding the movement’s overall base of support. They play a critical role in bringing women’s issues back from the margins into the center of the larger U.S. progressive agenda. An organization that is working for reproductive health care access for immigrant women, for example, is well-poised to work with broader immigrant rights organizations. A group working at the intersection of reproductive justice and economic issues is well-positioned to work with labor unions. Other organizations work through an inverse strategy, going to organizations that have a strong community base and supporting them to integrate reproductive justice issues into their member action and education.

Suggested Strategy:

- Organizations that are building working alliances with other social justice movements around common issue areas. Examples include: a local reproductive justice membership organization working in conjunction with the progressive faith community around reproductive healthcare access for low income residents; or a grassroots women’s organization teaming up with environmental organizations to fight a toxic plant that is affecting women’s reproductive health.
- Efforts to move more organizations to educate and engage their membership on reproductive justice issues. Examples include: education and information initiatives within organizations such as labor unions that have an existing base but an issue focus that has not historically included reproductive justice; or organizations that provide a variety of community based organizations the tools they need to talk to their specific constituency about reproductive justice.

Possible Organizations to Fund

- Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice
- Alaska Community Action on Toxics
- Center for Young Women’s Development
- Latino Issues Forum
- Western States Center
- Young Women’s Collaborative
- Organizacion en California de Lideres Campesinas
- National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum
- National Advocates for Pregnant Women
- Women’s Voices for the Earth

What to Look For:

- Reproductive justice organizations that have done cross-movement collaborations on specific campaigns.
- Organizations with a comprehensive network, training curriculum, and support mechanisms to help non-RJ-focused organizations to incorporate reproductive justice issues into their work.
- Viable progressive organizations that are incorporating reproductive justice into their core programming. For example, an effective and prominent national Latino organization launching an reproductive justice organizing program, lends important legitimacy and exposure to reproductive justice issues.

SUSTAINABILITY: The Ties That Bind

Introduction: What is Sustainability?

The concept of sustainability encompasses a broad vision of transformation, one rooted in the connection between natural and human systems. Sustainability recognizes that “the environment” is not a place separate from day-to-day human life. Taking a lesson from one of the founders of the environmental justice movement, the late Dana Alston, sustainability views the environment as “where we work, where we live and where we play.” Intrinsic in Tides Foundation’s definition of sustainability are the links between justice, democracy and the health of human and natural communities. At Tides we believe sustainability is a powerful way to connect disparate elements of the progressive movement and find common ground and shared value. That’s why we’ve created a new Tides Initiative aimed at fostering more expansive, strategic giving in sustainability.

For example, we can think about jobs, energy, globalization, corporate power, the growing gap between rich and poor, natural resource depletion and privatization as a laundry list of disparate issues on the progressive agenda. But looking at that set of concerns through the lens of sustainability allows for the strategic, systemic understanding of the linkages between them and offers many roads into a shared worldview. And once we share a worldview, we can begin to create shared or complementary strategies to achieve governing power. And the many elements of the progressive movement cannot be played off one another, as they too often are today.

But sustainability is a vast subject and, to fund effectively in this arena, being strategic is essential. In this case, being strategic means narrowing focus – while remembering the long-term, goal of systems transformation. In this document, we’ve selected only three possible ways to narrow focus and build a funding strategy that allows for visible short-term achievements while advancing a very long-term vision. These are not the only ways to approach sustainability funding, of course, and we hope that this outline provides the tools you need to chart your own course.

Context

It’s been more than three decades since the first Earth Day in 1970 made “environment” and “ecology” household words. Recycling, organic food, hybrid cars, energy efficient appliances, and green buildings – many elements of sustainability seem to be part of everyday life. Yet virtually every indicator of environmental quality seems to be going in the wrong direction; the world’s consumption of “stuff” keeps increasing while the gap between rich and poor grows ever larger. And while many of us take personal responsibility by making environmentally and socially sensitive purchasing choices (and the proliferation of fair traded, organic products indicates just how widespread this value is), our individual actions don’t seem to be adding up to systemic change. At the same time, this country’s generations-long commitment to end poverty, which resulted in significant social and economic gains, seems to have fallen by the political wayside. The gap between rich and poor in the US is as large as it has ever been, and is growing. (Visit www.worldwatch.org, www.americasfuture.org, www.epi.org or www.wri.org to get comprehensive information about these trends.)

Why are we headed in the wrong direction? There are many reasons, but the most obvious ones include:

- The U.S. economy (and the global economy as well) is based on resource depletion and the production, consumption and disposal of ever increasing amounts of “stuff” (much of it toxic); low cost labor; and the supremacy of short-term monetary profits. Some progressive observers say it’s a system that knows the cost of everything, and the value of nothing; others might say it’s a system that can only value that which can be monetized — which leaves out the health of people and the planet, the costs of endemic, persistent poverty, and

the dangers of systems in which a small number of elite institutions and individuals make decisions that affect the future of the planet.

- Corporations and other interests that benefit from the continuation of this system virtually own the US political system at all levels. The Bush Administration and its cronies in Congress are particularly indebted and in service to these interests. These interests also control many of the governments around the world, as well as multi-lateral agencies. Over the past generation, institutionalized corruption and the mounting costs of American political campaigns threaten to destroy the grassroots democracy that is the heart of progressive organizing. On a global level, the forces of free trade and globalization — from corporations to international institutions like the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund — have made the American model of development the goal for the rest of the world at huge environmental, social and human cost.

What Needs to Change?

The short answer to that question is that the basic development paradigm that dominates our country and much of the world needs a fundamental overhaul. Breaking that transformational goal into smaller parts, the following are just four ideas for what needs to change:

- The activities or goals rewarded by economic and political systems. Today, the profligate use of resources is rewarded through tax breaks, short-term profits, the passing on of costs to the public etc. The mis-treatment of workers is rewarded by laws that limit or prohibit collective bargaining, the lack of universal health care and pension protections, low wages, etc. We need to find ways to reward sustainability and broadly shared prosperity as the ultimate goals of economic and political systems.
- Industrial processes, materials and systems that are wasteful, inefficient and toxic. These can be replaced with systems that are renewable, non-toxic, based on reuse and recycling and that minimize or eliminate waste. This transition can be jump-started by the interplay of market campaigns, corporate accountability measures, subsidies and regulations and penalties, and must encompass energy, as well as basic materials used in daily life and the larger systems (transportation, manufacturing, building, et. al.) that deliver goods, services and people.
- The United States's role as the world's largest user of energy and resources must change in order for the entire world to live in prosperity. This is not meant to be a guilt-inducing exercise, but rather a political challenge. While it's important for each of us to live in ways that comport with our values, we must also recognize that it is only through collective action that the vast systems of which we are a part can be transformed. As long as we believe (or behave as if we believe) that the accumulation of wealth and power is the goal of humanity, achieving sustainability will be impossible.

Funding Strategy One: CHANGING PUBLIC POLICY

Public policy is one the most basic and visible ways in which government acts. Some policy originates at the level of executive orders (i.e., actions presidents, governors or mayors can take on their own) but most of what we hear about is legislation — in other words, ideas advanced by legislative bodies (Congress, state legislatures, city or county councils). In addition, in many states and localities, citizens can put policy proposals directly on their ballots through the initiative process.

Today in the U.S., given the intransigence of the current Administration, working at the state and local level offers more opportunities for success. When major cities and states act, others follow — and when a critical mass of local governments act, federal action often follows. For example, some 224 US mayors have committed their cities to reducing green house gas emissions, the main cause of climate change, and are demanding that the President sign and live up to the Kyoto climate change treaty. The governors of a dozen states have committed themselves to action to reduce global warming and are also putting pressure on the Administration. These actions have been brought about by a combination of citizen action — all these elected officials have heard from their constituents — and access to tools and information to guide change.

If you are interested in tackling even the biggest global issues — climate change, energy or reducing toxic chemicals in the environment — you can do so at the state and local level. Some possible elements of a strategy:

Suggested Strategy:

- **Supporting organizations that provide state and local governments with the information and support they need to make change.** Local governments need help figuring out how to do sustainable procurement. Some organizations offer toolboxes for local development that is environmentally sustainable and based on good, decent wage jobs. Others provide how to information to governments, business and communities, and creating new frameworks for defining and quantifying what economic systems value. This kind of framework for change needs support.

- **Supporting state and local organizations that are educating and mobilizing people at the grassroots level and helping them be effective advocates for sustainability.** Many of the national environmental organizations have state affiliates or efforts and there are also independent multi-issue environmental organizations in almost 40 states. (Visit the State Environmental Leadership program www.selp.org to access these groups.) Good Jobs First and the Apollo Alliance also have links to grassroots organizing efforts. There are Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs in almost every state) and nearly all of them are building a constituency for sustainability. (www.uspirg.org). The Federation of State Conservation Voter Leagues (www.fscvl.org) and the national League of Conservation Voters (www.conservativevoter.org) are also sources of information about citizen organizing and mobilizing work — and work that holds elected officials accountable for their actions. Wal-Mart Watch (www.walmartwatch.org) is a new organization supporting unions, organizations, communities and individuals in efforts to hold this global mega-company accountable. GAIA, the Global Anti-Incinerator Alliance, helps governments at all levels find alternatives to the burning of waste, which is harmful to the environment and human health. (www.no-burn.org).

Possible Organizations to Fund

- International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
- Center for Climate Strategies
- Apollo Alliance
- Clean Air, Cool Planet
- The Center for A New American Dream
- Good Jobs First
- Climate Solutions
- Redefining Progress

Funding Strategy Two: CHANGE HOW BUSINESS OPERATES

Many organizations (and coalitions) now focus directly on corporate behavior, using a combination of carrots and sticks to demand that sustainability become the new bottom line. In addition, in communities around the country, new kinds of businesses and industry are being created, some for-profit, some non-profit. These new enterprises are based on values of sustainability, looking at the long-term health of communities, the environment and individuals. Bypassing politics and public policy, activists have identified specific actions corporations could take to improve their environmental performance or their treatment of workers and the community. These campaigns are called “market campaigns” since their goal is to shift the practices of whole industries or markets.

For example, ForestEthics was created to protect British Columbia’s Great Bear Rain Forest. The organization began with a legal strategy aimed at halting timber cutting, but soon realized that the old growth forests being cut were being destroyed to produce pulp for paper, most of which was being consumed in the US. ForestEthics launched a campaign targeted to Staples customers and, in only a few months, got the company to vastly increase its stock of recycled paper and stop purchasing from paper companies whose pulp stock came from BC. It is now targeting the catalogue shopping industry through its Victoria’s Dirty Secret Campaign, pushing major catalogue retailers to shift to recycled paper and ultimately to shift to another form of marketing. In early 2006, more than five million acres of the Great Bear forest were protected by BC government action — in large part due to the ForestEthics campaigning. (www.forestethics.org)

Another example is Earthworks’ Dirty Gold campaign targets jewelry manufacturers, and has encouraged them to demand that their gold suppliers maintain the highest environmental and labor standards. Recently eight major companies, led by Tiffany and Co., have called upon mining companies to clean up their act, vowing to buy only “clean” gold. Earthworks’ campaigning — which targeted the brand name of Tiffany in its earliest iteration — appears to have brought about changes at the highest level of corporate decision-making. (www.earthworksonline.org)

Other successful market campaigns include:

- Health Care Without Harm www.noharm.org
- Center for Health Environment and Justice www.chej.org
- Clean Production Action www.cleanproduction.org
- Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition/Clean Electronics Campaign www.svtc.org
- Healthy Building Network www.healthybuilding.net
- Rain Forest Action Network www.ran.org

Other organizations take a gentler approach, encouraging and supporting companies as they become more responsible and to promote innovation in materials and processes. Some of these include:

- CERES www.ceres.org
- Business for Social Responsibility www.bsr.org
- Redefining Progress www.redefiningprogress.org
- Green Biz (a free information source about green business development) www.greenbiz.com
- Green Chemistry Institute
www.chemistry.org/portal/a/c/s/1/acdisplay.html?DOC=greenchemistryinstitute\index.html
- US Green Building Council www.usgbc.org
- Forest Stewardship Council www.fscus.org
- Rocky Mountain Institute www.rmi.org
- Lowell Center for Sustainable Production www.sustainableproduction.org
- Center for Small Business and the Environment www.geocities.com/aboutcsbe

Another way to change business is to create new models of business development and activity. For middle class and wealthy communities, sustainability means having abundant options for how we live our lives. But what does

sustainability mean in the context of poverty, injustice and resource depletion? What are the choices available in the face of inadequate housing, low-wage jobs, and no access to health care, and communities contaminated by poorly regulated industries? Because Tides' definition of sustainability includes meeting basic human needs, as well as environmental protection, the field of economic development, which focuses on jobs, housing and health care for families and communities, is an obvious partner for sustainability work. Some opportunities for collaborative work include:

- **Innovating and mainstreaming green affordable housing.** Enterprise's new Green Communities Program (www.greencommunitiesonline.org) is building more than 8500 green affordable housing units over the next five years and is mainstreaming the whole field of green affordable housing. The Healthy Building Network (www.healthybuilding.net) is partnering with several organizations to promote affordable green housing as the Gulf Coast rebuilds post-Katrina. This is a new area and it presents great local opportunities for funding and partnership building.
- **Supporting green community development in low income communities.** Across the nation, nonprofit community development organizations are creating new economic opportunities and good "green" jobs that pay living wages. Partnering with private sector and government, they are also training (and retraining) workers in green jobs. Some examples: The Green Worker Cooperative (www.greenworker.coop/website) and Sustainable South Bronx (www.ssbx.org) in New York City; east Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy (www.workingeastbay.org) and the Ella Baker Center (www.ellabakercenter.org) in Oakland CA; Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (www.laane.org); Coop America (www.coopamerica.org); Apollo Alliance's local and regional efforts (www.apolloalliance.org). This is also a new field, and one which could use a great deal of support both to launch new organizations in new communities and to provide basic organizational capacity support to existing organizations.

Funding Strategy Three: REACHING INDIVIDUALS TO CHANGE BEHAVIOR AND INSPIRE VALUES

We are all complicit in the status quo. Individuals, especially those with some discretionary income, can make consumer and life choices based on sustainability values. But these are effective only when they become collective organized choices — in other words, when 2500 people working together decide to change behaviors, it's more effective than 2500 people one by one, in isolation, making a change. Individual choices must be made with an understanding of the systems (public and private) that must be transformed and of the key individuals and institutions with the power to effectuate transformation. Here faith institutions, educational institutions, civil rights and unions are important “non environmental” sustainability messengers, and can often have more impact on public officials and business leaders than can “card carrying” environmentalists.

Funding in this area can support these “non traditional” messengers and collaborations or effective non-profit media. Most of the groups already mentioned above are doing powerful communications work, but can always use more assistance both to hone messages and to reach new people. In addition, groups like Interfaith Power and Light (www.theregenerationproject.org) are working congregation by congregation to encourage clergy and laity to adopt energy efficiency and to push for policies that will promote clean energy and reduce global warming. The National Religious Partnership on the Environment (www.nrpe.org), the National Council of Churches Eco-Justice Program (www.nccusa.org), the Committee on the Environmental and Jewish Life (www.coejl.org) and the Evangelical Environmental Network (www.creationcare.org) are all reaching people of faith on a regular basis with messages of sustainability and justice. The new Center for Religion and Ecology is compiling the key messages of all the world's greatest religions (environment.harvard.edu/religion/main.html and www.religionandecology.org).

The United Steelworkers of America have just issued a pioneering statement on the environment which, for the first time, links the health of the planet with the health of their union. Through a new partnership with the Sierra Club, the Steelworkers are trying to build and activate a new force for sustainability in this country, using communications and civic engagement strategies. This partnership is so new that it does not yet have a website, but you can visit either www.uswa.org or www.sierra.org for more information. The Apollo Alliance, mentioned earlier in this document, is another pioneer partnership of unions, environmentalists and civil rights groups aimed at promoting a sustainable energy future for this country. (www.apolloalliance.org)

At the global level, perhaps the most comprehensive vision of sustainability is put forth in the Earth Charter, the product of a global, decade- long, deeply participatory process launched after the 1992 United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, which calls upon governments, institutions and individuals to: respect earth and life in all its diversity; care for the community of life with understanding, compassion and love; build democratic societies that are just, participatory, sustainable and peaceful; and secure Earth's bounty and beauty for present and future generations. Around the world, thousands of people and organizations are working together to encourage governments, businesses and other institutions to endorse this visionary document. (See www.earthcharter.org for more details)

In the field of non-profit media, American Public Radio's *Marketplace* has launched a sustainability desk and is now reporting on green, responsible business development around the world (www.marketplace.org); GRIST provides regular information about the environment and sustainability through its website and daily push email (www.grist.org); *Orion* magazine offers insightful coverage of issues and ideas (www.oriononline.org); *Mother Jones* has recently beefed up its sustainability coverage (www.motherjones.com). www.Greenbiz.com and www.greenguide.org offer regular coverage aimed at business development and personal lifestyle choices, respectively. Two venerable publications: *E Magazine* (www.emagazine.com) and *Yes: A Journal of Positive Futures* (www.yesmagazine.org) have written about sustainability issues for decades. All of these nonprofit media outlets do more than reach the “choir” — their reportage, by strategic design, influences and shapes what mainstream media covers.

Finally, funders interested in communicating sustainability can also support documentary films. The 2003 film *Blue Vinyl*, for example, has influenced hundreds of thousands of viewers to not buy vinyl products and, again by strategic design, is influencing architects, home builders, contractors and home products retailers to choose nontoxic building materials. (www.bluevinyl.org) If you are interested in connecting with documentary filmmakers, visit Working Films (www.workingfilms.org) or Active Voice (www.activevoice.net), two organizations that work with documentary filmmakers to ensure that films are seen and used as organizing tools. You might also check out local film and video foundations that support independent film makers.

Final Thoughts

All three of these avenues for change require organizations that can mobilize individuals who are knowledgeable about problems, solutions, and where the power to change resides. Doing so requires strategic communications strategies that reach mainstream as well as niche media; civic engagement strategies; and long-term accountability strategies. Please take a look at the Civic Engagement Strategies Paper to learn more about this area and how it relates to sustainability.

As human beings grapple with climate change, the growing gap between the rich and poor, globalization, increasing demand for scarce resources, population growth and profound demographic change, a borderless war on terror, and infinitum, the need to move beyond piece meal solutions and single issues has never been greater or more urgent. Sustainability — in all its meanings — offers a path forward.

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