

# WHAT'S NEXT?

Supporting the Evolution of Social Change Movements



A Publication of Tides Foundation





# The Evolution of a Movement

**In 2004, we saw an extraordinary level of funding to progressive organizations around voter engagement efforts, mobilizing young people, low-income communities and people of color committed to positive social change.**

**W**e also saw unparalleled cooperation between national progressive organizations, between national and local organizing efforts and between activists working on different issues, working with diverse strategies and working with disparate constituencies.

Clearly, there is still much work to be done.

One of the goals is to hold on to this organizing momentum and build this foundation—a foundation of cooperative and integrated activists ready to move this nation forward. Today.

## This Guide

This guide is a contribution to the conversation we are hearing everywhere: “Where do we go from here? What’s next?”

As philanthropists committed to making a positive difference in this world and as a movement of individuals concerned about fairness, freedom and community, we need to ask some hard questions.

This guide will explore four possible approaches to building a broader, stronger, more successful progressive movement—and how we as funders can support that movement.

We also hope this document will encourage debate and spur new ideas. We look forward to your input as we embrace this challenge together.



## New Voters

**There were 15 million new voters in the 2004 Presidential Election.**

**1 in 8 of the national electorate voted for the first time.**

**—National Voice, exit polls**

# How Do You Build and Support a Movement?

As we look to the future, what are some of the tough questions?

- What strengths do we need to build upon? And what do we need to change?
- What are our common values? And how do we turn those into a common vision?
- What barriers prevent organizations from working together effectively? How can we help groups working on different issues come together to build a broader movement?
- How do we find a balance between national and local priorities? Between short-term and long-term needs? Between research and application efforts?

And, as funders, we need to explore and debate how to best to support this work. If we want to support strong collaborations, should we give general support to collaborating organizations? Or should we provide funds for the true cost of collaborations, such as for specific gatherings or shared resources? In addition to long-term funding and multi-year general support, what are some other “best practices” that we could adopt?

## Prioritizing Strategies

To further this discussion, we took some of our ideas to the community. We interviewed fellow funders, Tides Foundation grantees and other leading nonprofit organizations and asked them: How do you intend to maintain the extraordinary momentum of 2004?

We then surveyed recent Tides Foundation grantees and Tides Center projects and asked their opinion on what we heard. More than 400 nonprofits responded, providing us invaluable feedback on four key strategies that are key to building momentum.

### 1. ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

Broadening electoral participation and civic engagement has always been an explicit progressive goal. These strategies both engage and energize communities and build their political power. Now we have seen a marked increase in funding and in coordination between national and grassroots efforts. The goal now is to maintain these efforts in between major election cycles.

### 2. GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING

Building on the momentum of the organizing efforts in 2004 is preeminent on many agendas. The tools and mobilizing strategies necessary for this work, however, are constantly changing. And the movement needs to change with it.

### 2004 Voter Turnout

120.2 million people cast ballots on November 2nd

– 15 million person increase from 2000

59.6% of eligible voters

– a 5 percentage point increase from 2000

*Washington Post, estimated data from the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate*



### 3. COLLABORATION AND COORDINATION

Smart and intentional collaboration between organizations working on disparate issue areas and with separate constituencies has proven both vitally important and inherently difficult. Cross-issue collaboration has significant short-term and long-term benefits for all involved, however it rarely happens naturally—and thus needs particular attention from the funding community.

### 4. FRAMING, VISION AND VALUES

The most difficult, and perhaps most exciting, challenge is to step back and re-evaluate how we think about our goals, our methods and our language. Shifting from a reactive to a proactive stance, promoting a broad value-based vision rather than a series of issue-based agendas, and building some consensus within the progressive movement are no small tasks. Then again, positive change is what we're all about.



# Electoral Participation: The Constant Campaign

National Voice's 1,500 local organizations registered and turned out more than 5 million new voters from underserved communities, changing elections forever.

**How do we move from the cyclical to the consistent?**

## Take the Long-term View

Activists highlight the need to support electoral work long-before—and after—election day. **The Center for Community Change's Voting Project** was able to register nearly 150,000 new voters in low-income communities and communities of color in 25 states over 2 years. This project is now continuing to build permanent, community-based non-partisan electoral capacity through training groups to use the voter files to build membership and increase their impact.

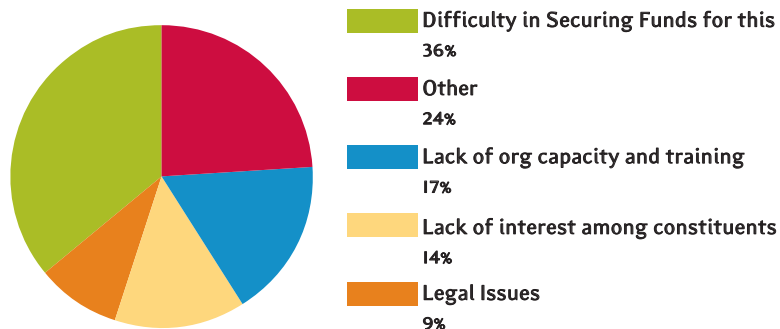
*"It's very important that funders continue to support work by community organizations beyond 2004. We need to invest in [issues] which aren't as glamorous. Community organizations are the glue that keep grassroots leaders involved between elections so that they are able to speak out on the issues that are most important to them on election day."*

**Deepak Bhagarva,**  
**Center for Community Change**

## Support Local Electoral Work

All politics are local. Victories at the local level often translate into broader momentum. **MassVote** provides coalition members with voter education and voter engagement resources for communities with historically lower rates of voting and representation. As a result of this local work, Boston elected its first African American female police chief and 27% more Latinos turned out to vote.

## What the Field is Saying: Challenges to Doing This Work



Tides Foundation has received more than 400 responses from social change nonprofit across the country. Some of these results are highlighted in this guide. For a full report on these survey results, please visit us at [www.tidesfoundation.org](http://www.tidesfoundation.org).

*“Elections tend to throw organizations off balance.. There is a lot of emphasis around mobilizing around elections. We need to build strength around our own capacity and then find a balance between long-term development and elections.”*

Christine Neumann-Ortiz, Voces de la Frontera

### Build Electoral Infrastructure

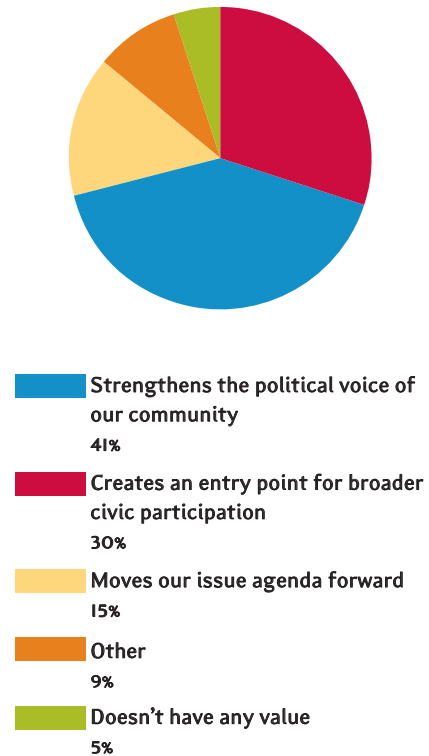
The simple fact is electoral participation is expensive. Voter rolls, precinct maps, research tools, analysis...the list goes on. We find that while it is sometimes less exciting to support the purchase of a list or the hiring of a canvasser, this is what makes organizations work and grow stronger. **Democracy South** used such infrastructure support to develop a voter mapping system that nonpartisan grassroots voter mobilization campaigns used to improve their registration and GOTV efforts.

### Make Voting Matter

With the success of the minimum wage campaign in Florida, **ACORN** has established a model for connecting electoral participation to the issues that matter to broad constituencies. Voters in all of Florida's 75 counties approved the wage increase, demonstrating the importance of economic issues for voters across party lines.

Florida **ACORN** also registered over 250,000 new voters around this issue and Florida saw an increase of 500,000 new African American voters. Building on this success, **ACORN** is planning to organize other similar state-based campaigns for a 2006 Minimum Wage State Ballot Initiative.

What the Field is Saying:  
The Value in Doing This Work



# Grassroots Organizing: A Lasting Voice for the Community

In 2004, a broad capacity for community organizing developed to increase electoral participation. Now, that capacity can focus beyond the electoral arena and continue to organize local, grassroots efforts. And these grassroots efforts are what get things done on a local level and build strong bases for future national campaigns.

## What does it take to sustain and build on the great grassroots work in 2004?

### Increase Investment in Grassroots Leadership

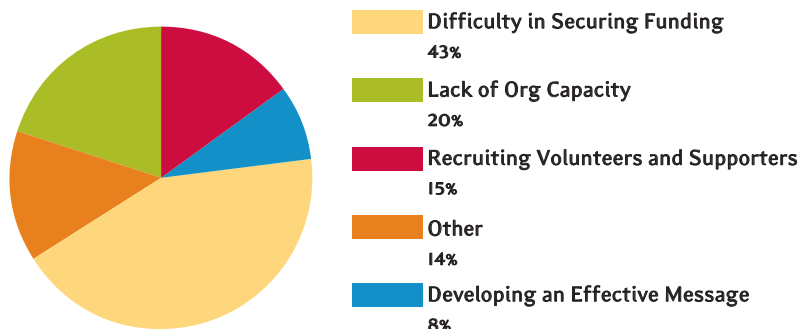
Lasting change comes from leadership and experience—in other words making sure movement leaders stay in the movement. By investing in grassroots leaders, we invest in more efficient and more effective social change campaigns. **Southern Echo** has used this strategy in Mississippi and across the South by developing young organizers into experienced leaders who hold officials accountable to the community. That investment pays off with community trust.

Since 1999, **Rockwood Leadership Institute** has trained more than 400 non-profit activists to become effective leaders. Rockwood concentrates on developing skills in communication, self-awareness, presentation, emotional intelligence, team-building and personal mastery: all the skills that help people move issues, groups and missions forward with skill, grace and strength.

### Support Connections Between Policy and Community

When issues matter, people act. Making a clear connection between policy and our communities makes it easier to organize those who care. **El Pueblo**, a social service organization in North Carolina, mobilized over 2,000 Latinos to the state capitol by educating their constituency on how a proposed drivers license legislation would directly and negatively affect their community. Legislators voted against it saying they had never seen so much passion about an issue before.

## What the Field is Saying: Obstacles to Organizing



## Support Market Campaigns

Without much hope that the government will reign in corporate excess, activists are using attacks on their brands to force direct change from the offending corporations themselves. Organizers from various fields are using these strategies to reverse the “race to the bottom” of globalization. **ForestEthics** and the **Dogwood Alliance** have spearheaded a national grassroots movement to change the way paper is made in the US. The campaign puts market-based pressure on companies, like Victoria's Secret, that use virgin paper for their abundance of catalogues to make environmental commitments. **Rainforest Action Network (RAN)** has instituted a Global Finance Campaign to hold private financial institutions accountable for environmentally and socially destructive investments. In January 2004, Citigroup adopted a set of landmark environmental standards after a four-year campaign. And in early May of 2004, Bank of America set new industry best practices with its climate change and forest policies.

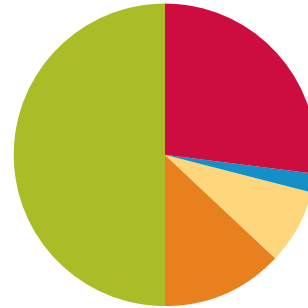
## Strengthen Long-term Capacity

From office space to technology, from keeping full-time field organizers after the elections to maintaining key leaders are all part of maintaining momentum. It sounds basic, but we need to remember it: The infrastructure makes it possible.

*“Community organizing involves developing high quality relationships among constituencies; recruiting additional organizers; investing in community organizer training... all this accelerates the bench line-up for the progressive movement.”*

Scott Douglas, Greater Birmingham Ministries

## What the Field is Saying: Why We Do It



- Creates Visibility and Awareness of an Important Issue**  
50%
- Strengthens Political Voice of Our Community**  
27%
- Moves Our Issue Agenda Forward**  
13%
- Other**  
8%
- Has No Value**  
2%





# Collaboration and Coordination: Breaking Down Barriers

**Successful, well-supported community organizing efforts are necessary to develop effective local organizations. And those are the organizations that can join together and form stronger, more long-term collaborations.**

**T**he progressive movement has long lamented its fragmentation. Coalitions are frequently created, but they are just as frequently short-lived. Without adequate resources or planning, these coalitions have not been the most effective instruments of change.

Recently, we have seen some improvements on this front. We have seen significant coalitions formed within long-standing issue-based movements, such as the reproductive justice movement. But these collaborations take time, willingness to take chances, and a common vision that moves outside of traditional progressive silos.

And when organizations reach out across those silos, forming truly “cross-issue” collaborations, there is potential for even greater success. But maintaining these initiatives takes a long-term investment in the true costs of these sorts of collaborations.



## **What the Field is Saying: Challenges to Collaboration**

**67% of survey respondents cited resources as the greatest challenge for collaboration. Almost all respondents had engaged in a joint project with other organizations and have been involved in a network within their issue area at some point. However, the resources to construct and sustain these networks were continually cited as a barrier.**

**What holds us together? How do we support innovative collaborations?**

### **Provide General Support for Partnerships**

There are fundamental elements to successful collaboration - trust, clear vision, and common language. It takes time and opportunity to build these things. These elements, which may seem like administrative support, are often the most critical to collaboration and for which it is often the most difficult to obtain funding.

### **Invest in the Development of a Common Vision**

Collaboration cannot succeed if all participants do not share a clear vision of its goals. With diverse partners, this takes time. And funders have to be willing to support long-term vision building initiatives that may not yield immediate results.

### **Build Infrastructure for Effective Networks**

Exploiting the advantages provided by emerging technologies can erase the distance and boundaries between campaigns. Supporting the building and integration of this technological infrastructure, as we saw with election campaigns, can increase the capacity and voice of individual organizations.

*“It is very costly to put people together for three days, isolated with an agenda that they believe in and to build real, meaningful connections. It is hard to find resources for this to be conducted.”*

Oscar Chacon,  
Enlaces America

## Effective Coalitions

### Working Within An Issue Area

#### SUPPORTING ALLY DEVELOPMENT

A movement is made up of many communities. Supporting coalition-building helps to reinvigorate and build a strong and healthy movement.

For example, **Feminist Majority, NARAL, NOW, National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, Planned Parenthood, the ACLU** and the **Black Women’s Health Imperative** all worked together for the first time to deliver nearly 1.5 million voices at the March for Women’s Lives.

The connections forged during this mobilization inspired young reproductive rights activists to collaborate with one another on an Emergency Contraception campaign in the SouthWest

### Cross-Issue Collaborations

#### APOLLO ALLIANCE

The Apollo Alliance is a broad coalition within the labor, environmental, business, urban, and faith communities in support of good jobs and energy independence. This groundbreaking venture is creating a vision of industry that actually cleans the environment while it creates jobs and wealth. It has established a constructive partnership between unlikely allies in the environmental, labor, funding and social justice communities. It takes its name from the space program, which focused a nation's efforts on common goal: landing on the moon. The new goal for the 21st century: clean energy innovations and energy independence.

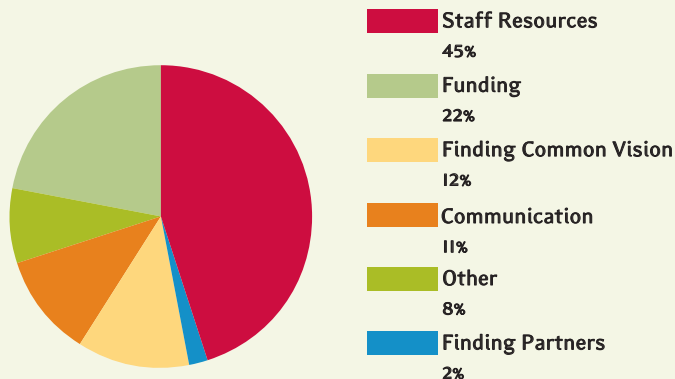
#### LAANE

A coalition of more than 20 community groups, environmental organizations, school districts and labor unions, formed and led by Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), won a landmark community benefits agreement that provides major environmental and economic improvements to communities affected by the planned modernization of Los Angeles International Airport (LAX).

*“Fundors of this project recognized that there are risks to be taken - it had bold components to it, involved sacrifice, commitment and solidarity among people that often distrust each other.”*

Madeleine Janis-Aparicio, LAANE

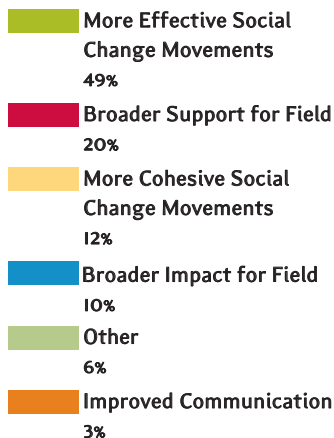
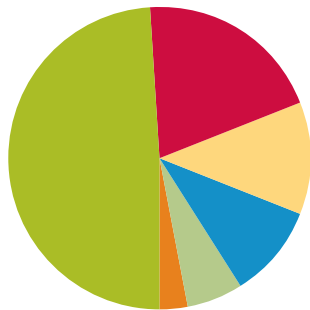
### What the Field is Saying: Greatest Challenge in Collaborating



# Framing, Vision and Values: Redefining the Movement

Electoral work, grassroots organizing and even broad coalition building are not new ideas, although we are approaching them differently today. Framing and values research, however, is still an emerging area in the progressive community.

## What the Field is Saying: What is the Greatest Value of Reframing Work



The work of the **Center for American Progress**, the **Frameworks Institute**, and George Lakoff of the **Rockridge Institute** have brought these ideas of vision, values and framing to the forefront of how the progressive movement can move forward. Framing is more than finding better words. It connects core values to the issues on which we work. Strategic framing, as studied by the Frameworks Institute, also analyzes and incorporates the public's deeply held worldviews and widely held assumptions into the frame.

When we speak of values, we are talking about why we do what we do—those ideas that connect us. George Lakoff proposes that a broad swath of the American public accepts the progressive values of:

- Caring & Responsibility, carried out with strength
- Freedom, opportunity, prosperity
- Community, service, cooperation

Reaching a broad consensus among the progressive community around a few simple messages such as this could prove immensely useful in developing consistent and powerful messages. What is needed are those willing to engage deeply in this process—the innovators.

## How do we bring new ideas into the movement?

### Provide Grassroots Activists with Access to Framing Research

There is division between funders that support organizing and those that support research. Research, defining the problems and solutions, arms the base to do its work and that work and research can inform policy that is movement building.

### Support Work that Connects Directly to the Field

There are think tanks, like the **Drum Major Institute**, that are providing policy makers with research on critical social justice issues in order to influence national policy. But in the last year we have seen an equally significant need in supporting research on state and local levels that are directly influenced by work in the field.

### Support Pilot Projects

We should be willing to support emerging “early adapter” groups that are taking a long-term view of the movement-groups willing to “unpack” our traditional assumptions about short-term policy goals and look toward broader outcomes. Employing value-based methods to assess the best vehicles for positive social change could prove to have a lasting benefit for progressives.

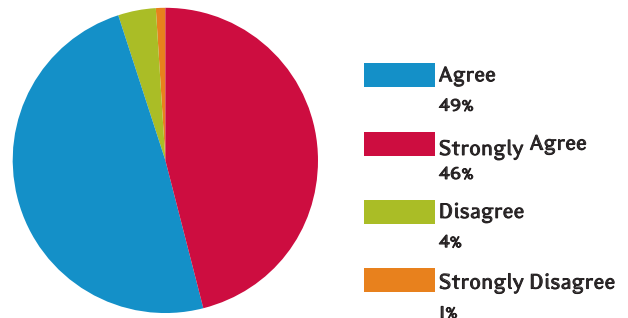
The **California Values Project** is a collaboration between more than 20 grassroots community organizations and The **Strategic Values Project**, looking to use innovative values research and mapping to forward a progressive fiscal agenda for the state of California over the next decade.

## What the Field Says: Looking Forward to Framing

95% of survey respondents believed that progressive movements would greatly benefit from a process of re-framing-moving towards a positive, constructive vision based on a broader set of values.

The significant caveat was that this work needs to be conducted on all levels-and not buried in national think tanks.

## What the Field is Saying: Progressive Movement Would Benefit From Reframing



# RESOURCES

## Electoral Participation

Pillsbury, George and Gibran Rivera (January 2004).

*A New Model for Urban Voter Mobilization: Getting Out the Vote...Changing How We Vote.*  
Boston: MassVote.

### Center for Community Change

[www.communitychange.org](http://www.communitychange.org)  
Washington, DC

### Democracy South

[www.democracysouth.org](http://www.democracysouth.org)  
Virginia Beach, VA

### MassVote

[www.massvote.net](http://www.massvote.net)  
Boston, MA

### National Voice

[www.nationalvoice.org](http://www.nationalvoice.org)  
Minneapolis, MN

### Voces de la Frontera

[www.vocesdelafrontera.8m.com](http://www.vocesdelafrontera.8m.com)  
Milwaukee, WI

## Grassroots Organizing

*Funding Social Movements: The New World Foundation Perspective* (2003).  
New York: The New World Foundation.

*Leadership for Policy Change* (2003).  
Oakland: PolicyLink.

### Dogwood Alliance

[www.dogwoodalliance.org](http://www.dogwoodalliance.org)

### Forest Ethics

[www.forestethics.org](http://www.forestethics.org)

### Miami Workers Center

[www.miamworkerscenter.org](http://www.miamworkerscenter.org)  
Miami, FL

## Grassroots Organizing continued

### Southern Echo

[www.southernecho.org](http://www.southernecho.org)  
Jackson, MS

### El Pueblo

[www.elpueblo.org](http://www.elpueblo.org)  
Raleigh, NC

### March for Women's Lives

[www.marchforwomen.org](http://www.marchforwomen.org)

### Rainforest Action Network

[www.ran.org](http://www.ran.org)

### Rockwood Leadership Program

[www.rockwoodleadership.org](http://www.rockwoodleadership.org)

## Collaboration and Coordination

Rose, Fred. (Spring 2003). Labor-Environmental Coalitions.

*WorkingUSA*, vol. 6, no. 4, 51-70.

Rosenblatt, Gideon (2004).

*Movement as Network: Connecting People and Organizations*

*in the Environmental Movement.*

### Apollo Alliance

[www.apolloalliance.org](http://www.apolloalliance.org)  
Washington, DC

### Enlaces America

[www.enlacesamerica.org](http://www.enlacesamerica.org)  
Chicago, IL

### Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy

[www.laane.org](http://www.laane.org)  
Los Angeles, CA

## Framing, Vision and Values

Lakoff, George (2004). *Don't Think of An Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate - The Essential Guide for Progressives.* [Vermont]: Chelsea Green Publishing Company.

Shellenberger, Michael and Ted Nordhaus (2004). *The Death of Environmentalism: Global Warming Politics in a Post-Environmental World.* Breakthrough Institute.

### Center for American Progress

[www.americanprogress.org](http://www.americanprogress.org)  
Washington, DC

### Drum Major Institute

[www.drummajorinstitute.org](http://www.drummajorinstitute.org)  
New York, NY

### Frameworks Institute

[www.frameworksinstitute.org](http://www.frameworksinstitute.org)  
Washington, DC

### Rockridge Institute

[www.rockridgeinstitute.org](http://www.rockridgeinstitute.org)  
Berkeley

# The Evolution of Social Change Tides Foundation

## The Make Change Fund

Join us as we explore these strategies to sustain the progressive momentum of the past 12 months. The Tides Make Change Fund is a new collaborative opportunity that will be shaped by participating donors to explore, develop and implement some of the giving strategies discussed in this guide.

For more information on the results from the Tides Foundation Nonprofit Survey highlighted in this guide, please visit [www.tidesfoundation.org](http://www.tidesfoundation.org).

## Capturing Momentum Through Collective Giving at Tides Foundation

### REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE FUND

Tides Foundation has been proud to support the energized reproductive justice movement through the Tides Reproductive Justice Fund. This collective grantmaking fund is supporting organizations working to ensure access to full reproductive health services in vulnerable states and deepen and diversify the reproductive health movement throughout the United States.

### HIV COLLABORATIVE FUND

The HIV Collaborative Fund is a groundbreaking international effort fighting against the spread of HIV/AIDS. This Tides managed collaborative is working with Community Review Panels in eight regions across the globe to distribute grants to community-based organizations, support regional networks, and provide technical support to grantees. Bringing communities together and convening activists and funders from around the world is integral to the collaborative's mission and success.

### BRIDGING THE ECONOMIC DIVIDE (BED)

The Bridging the Economic Divide collaborative has spearheaded living wage and economic justice funding for the past five years at Tides Foundation. The collaborative is about to release a commissioned report on the current and potential future of the living wage and economic justice movements. Please check our website at [www.tidesfoundation.org](http://www.tidesfoundation.org) for its release.

### CONNECT U.S.

Tides Foundation manages a collaborative project, Connect US, a partnership between funders and the field to advance positive and cooperative US global engagement. In its inaugural year, Connect US has worked to foster an emerging Network of over 150 organizations and a collaborative Fund to support individual projects that advance positive US global engagement.

For more information, visit us at [tidesfoundation.org](http://tidesfoundation.org), or contact us at 415.561.6400 or [whatsnext@tides.org](mailto:whatsnext@tides.org).

Tides Foundation is a nonpartisan, nonprofit corporation dedicated to positive social change since 1976. The Foundation does not support or oppose candidates for public office, and it does not support political parties or political party platforms.



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[www.tidesfoundation.org](http://www.tidesfoundation.org)