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IMPACTS OF ADVOCACY, ORGANIZING, AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN LOS ANGELES

by Lisa Ranghelli and Julia Craig

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Cover photos — Left: InnerCity Struggle youth and parents march for new schools in East L.A. Photo courtesy of ICS. Center: Housing L.A. coalition members rally for mixed income housing. Photo courtesy of L.A. Voice. Right: May Day March for immigrant rights. Photo courtesy of APALC.

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I. Executive Summary

When foundations and other institutional grantmakers invest in policy advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement by nonprofit organizations, does it make a difference for local residents?

This report describes, measures and, where possible, monetizes the policy impacts 15 community organizations in Los Angeles County achieved with foundation support. The National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy analyzed data on the organizing, advocacy and civic engagement these groups undertook during a five year period (2004–2008).

The research found impressive impacts. Collectively, the groups garnered more than $6.88 billion for marginalized communities and achieved many equally significant nonmonetary benefits.

L.A. County nonprofits and funders seeking long-term change for local communities face many obstacles because of the complex local and state political environments, sheer size of the region, incredibly diverse population and longstanding disparities. The innovative organizing and advocacy strategies that grassroots organizations have developed and impacts they have achieved thus are all the more impressive. In fact, L.A. community groups have pioneered many successful policy models, such as community benefits agreements, which ensure that development projects involving public subsidies benefit affected neighborhoods. They have led the country in organizing youth, engaging voters, building multiethnic organizations and creating broad coalitions that bring together lower-income communities, faith leaders, organized labor and environmental groups.

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

> For impacts that could be monetized, the aggregate benefit over five years was $6,886,534,758.

> For every dollar invested in their advocacy, organizing and civic engagement ($75.5 million total), the groups garnered $91 in benefits for L.A. communities.

> Nonmonetary impacts also benefited thousands of underserved Angelenos. Examples include cleaner air, better working conditions, more balanced immigration enforcement, greater student access to college-prep classes and more responsive services for LGBTQ and limited English proficient residents.

> Foundations and other institutional grantmakers provided critical monetary, capacity building and convening support to these efforts. Funders contributed $58 million, or 77 percent of all advocacy and organizing funding over five years.

The organizations creatively engaged affected constituencies across the county. This engagement was valuable in its own right, helping marginalized groups find a voice in the democratic process. It also marshaled the people power needed to make change happen. Data from 13 groups demonstrated the depth and breath of engagement: collectively, they trained more than 14,000 leaders, grew their membership by almost 40,000 individuals and turned out close to 55,000 people at public actions.

NCRP found that both the quantity and the quality of civic commitment were distinctive. Designing tailored leadership development programs; organizing across race, ethnicity and language; using participatory research to organize youth; coordinating nonpartisan voter outreach and strategically responding to ballot initiatives were some of the innovative strategies the groups employed.

NCRP also learned that coalitions were central to many of the advocacy and organizing impacts. Building effective coalitions often is necessary but not easy to do. The groups in the research sample shared what works for them: building from organic and trusting relationships, developing clearly articulated goals and strategies, fostering inclusive leadership and a process for handling disagreement and identifying clear roles for each member of the coalition.

Grantmakers were critical to the success of these organizations, helping them build their capacity over many years to get to the point where they could work on the geographically dispersed local level, as well as statewide and even nationally. A small proportion of local philanthropies supported these groups, as well as many national and state level funders.

The findings suggest that if more local foundations were to support advocacy and organizing, communities could achieve even greater impact. The region continues to face many urgent issues in areas such as immigrant rights, education, health, housing, low-wage work, LGBTQ rights and environmental justice. There is much to be done. NCRP encourages nonprofits and funders to use this report to educate others about the ways philanthropists can leverage their grant dollars for significant community benefit.

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

1. **Increase the percentage of grant dollars devoted to advocacy, organizing and civic engagement.** Some funders already recognize the significant return offered by investing in policy advocacy and organizing, and devote a substantial percentage of their grant dollars to this work. If other funders increase the proportion of their grant dollars devoted to these strategies, they will increase the capacity of underserved communities to engage in participatory democracy and contribute to solving the region's pressing problems.

2. **Engage the board and donors in dialogue about how advocacy and organizing can help achieve long-term goals.** Sharing concrete examples from this report with trustees and/or major donors can help demystify advocacy and organizing, and encourage discussion of how these strategies can be among a variety of approaches needed to achieve change on the issues funders care about.

3. **Support collaboration that strengthens advocacy and organizing.** Exemplary grantmakers can help build the case for policy change by lending their expertise and resources to collaboration that strengthens the advocacy and organizing work of their nonprofit partners.

4. **Work together to foster philanthropic cooperation and shared learning.** Los Angeles-based funders will see better results if they communicate with each other and with statewide and national funders to leverage their resources effectively to address the pressing issues facing L.A. County.

5. **Invest in organizational capacity and a nonprofit advocacy infrastructure for Southern California.** This report features a cross-section of highly sophisticated advocacy and grassroots groups in L.A. County. None of the groups in the sample achieved their current size and scope overnight; it took time, experience and investments in organizational capacity. L.A. County is home to many nascent organizations with great potential, and foundations would be wise to help develop those organizations by investing in their capacity and in a nonprofit advocacy infrastructure for Southern California.

6. **Provide general operating support and multi-year grants.** As nonprofits balance the immediate basic needs of their constituents with their advocacy and organizing work, their funding partners can be of greatest help by investing in a way that enables them to achieve the highest possible impact.

II. Definition of Terms

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

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

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING: Community organizing is a process of building relationships, leadership and power, typically among disenfranchised communities, and bringing that power and collective voice to bear on the issues that affect those communities by engaging with relevant decision-makers. The issues raised, solutions identified and strategies developed to achieve those solutions all are defined and acted on by the leaders themselves, usually with help from professional organizers. Community organizing can be one part of an overall advocacy or public policy campaign strategy, but it is distinguished by the fact that affected constituencies are the agents of change, rather than paid advocates or lobbyists who represent the interests of such constituencies.

IMPACT:[1] Impact refers to long-term or aggregate change, a desired end result. For example: *Low-wage workers' incomes were raised as a result of a minimum wage increase.* An outcome is the short-term change or result that a program or initiative produces. Several outcomes can contribute to an impact. For example: *Minimum wage legislation was passed in the legislature.* An output is the tangible product that results from a program's activities. For example: *Twenty organizations endorsed the minimum wage proposal; the minimum wage proposal was introduced in the Senate; a key legislator received 500 calls and letters from constituents favoring this proposal.*

LOBBYING: Lobbying generally is defined as an attempt to influence, directly or indirectly, the passage or defeat of government legislation. Lobbying can be one part of an advocacy strategy, but advocacy does not necessarily have to involve lobbying. This is a critical distinction. Nonprofits can lobby legally. Federal laws determine how much lobbying a nonprofit organization can undertake, but there are no limits on how much non-lobbying advocacy (described above) a nonprofit can engage in. NCRP maintains on its web site a resource list including legal rules and definitions for nonprofit lobbying (see www.ncrp.org/campaigns-research-policy/communities/gcip/gcip-resources). Alliance for Justice has compiled web-based state law resources on campaign finance and ballot measures, lobbying and voter registration issues. These resources

are available for free to nonprofit organizations at http://www.afj.org/for-nonprofits-foundations/state-resources.

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

III. Research Overview

NCRP used a methodology developed specifically for the Grantmaking for Community Impact Project to measure the impacts of advocacy, organizing and civic engagement among a sample of 15 organizations in Los Angeles County over a five-year timeframe from 2004–2008.

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

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

While many new or short-lived groups may engage in advocacy or organizing campaigns, the five-year threshold acknowledges the long-term nature of systems change and the time horizon for being able to show measurable impact. Likewise, many nonprofits produce heroic results with very limited staff, but cannot advance sustainable social change without adequate resources. This project aims to drive more resources to the necessary and impactful strategies of advocacy, organizing and civic engagement, rather than romanticize scarcity. Finally, a focus on marginalized groups reflects NCRP's mission to promote philanthropy that serves the public good, supports nonprofit effectiveness and responds to those in our society with the least wealth, opportunity and power.

Through this process, NCRP research staff developed a sample that reflects the diverse constituencies in the county, a broad range of issues, and a mix of approaches to advocacy and organizing. The following 15 organizations participated in the project:

1. Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC)
2. Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA)
3. Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment
4. Communities for a Better Environment (CBE)
5. InnerCity Struggle (ICS)
6. Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)
7. Labor Community Strategy Center/Bus Riders Union (LCSC/BRU)
8. L.A. Voice PICO
9. Los Angeles ACORN
10. Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE)
11. Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Community Service Center
12. Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches (LAM)
13. People Organized for Westside Renewal (POWER)
14. South Asian Network (SAN)
15. Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE)

A brief description of each organization and contact information is included in Appendix A. Many other organizations, working with similar or other marginalized communities, also met the research criteria,

engaging in advocacy, organizing and civic engagement throughout the county and achieving significant impacts as well. This report is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive in its scope.

NCRP researchers collected data from all 15 organizations by interviewing senior staff from each group in person (one by telephone) and then collecting written responses to a detailed questionnaire. Several organizations also provided supplemental materials, such as news clippings, brochures, campaign materials, budgets and grant reports. NCRP gathered data from the five-year period 2004–2008 for the following measures:

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

NCRP research staff verified the impacts to ensure that the dollar amounts and number of beneficiaries estimated by groups, as well as the groups' role in the wins, were accurate. NCRP consulted with public officials, researchers and other experts, and examined source materials such as newspaper articles and state budget documents.[3]

Examples of monetary impact include one-time or multi-year state appropriations for a program, the value of a programmatic budget cut that was averted and increased wages to workers through a minimum wage increase. For wins that have a verifiable ongoing economic impact into the future (such as recurring appropriations or a wage increase), the value was calculated through 2011. This method gives organizations credit for impacts that extend well beyond the five-year study period. Also, impacts or wins for which the work was done in the study period are included, even if the impact was implemented after 2008. For example, if a coalition of groups worked on an issue through 2008 but the benefit was seen in 2009 and beyond, it is included. No work initiated after 2008 is included in the ROI analysis, although in a few cases they are mentioned in the report.

These data were aggregated to determine the total monetary benefits of all the wins that could be quantified. Financial data were aggregated to determine the total amount invested by foundations and other sources to support advocacy and organizing across the groups.

A **return on investment** (ROI) calculation was made using the following formula:

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

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

The ROI is not intended to be a precise figure but to provide a solid basis for understanding the extent of substantial benefit for communities in L.A. County from investments in nonprofits that use advocacy and organizing to achieve long-term, systemic change. It does not capture every input that contributed to these successes. For example, there were many coalition efforts in which groups not featured in this report participated, and their financial information is not reflected in the ROI. However, for the impacts that are included, one or more of the 15 sample groups played a *significant or lead role* in achieving the victory. Often, even small local groups working in broad coalitions can make the difference because of their strategic relationship to legislators, knowledge about and connection to those most affected by a public policy and ability to mobilize constituents to influence decision makers. Additionally, a large proportion of the impacts were not quantifiable, making the ROI an *underestimate* of the benefits actually achieved. Appendix C

contains a detailed listing of these equally important nonquantified impacts.

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

IV. Los Angeles Socioeconomic Conditions and Philanthropic Giving

In many ways, Los Angeles County is unique. Its demographic diversity, vast geography, layered political environment and atypical economy combine to make L.A. a place of opportunity as well as challenge. The vibrant and growing nonprofit and philanthropic sectors have been at the cutting edge of many innovative strategies that respond to issues the rest of the country is just starting to address. L.A. County offers rich learning opportunities for other metropolitan areas that are grappling with economic shifts, new migration, global warming and other twenty-first century issues. This brief overview provides important context for understanding the environment in which philanthropic giving and nonprofit advocacy and civic engagement happen, and what it takes for them to succeed.

A. DEMOGRAPHICS

L.A. County is large, sprawling and diverse. Made up of 88 cities and numerous unincorporated areas, L.A. County is approximately the size of Connecticut.[4] The most populous county in California, it is home to 9.9 million people, according to the 2008 Census. If the county were a state, its population would make it the eighth largest state in the country, just behind Ohio and ahead of Michigan.[5]

Notably, the county is divided geographically by racial and ethnic makeup. In *A Tale of Two Cities*, the United Way of Greater Los Angeles reports that ethnic enclaves run the risk of becoming "isolated cultural and linguistic islands, resistant to interaction with other groups."[9] The UCLA School of Public Affairs' 2008 report, *The State of South LA*, found that a majority of the white population lives in coastal neighborhoods and wealthier inland communities, such as Beverly Hills and the San Fernando Valley. Latinos make up a majority of eastern South L.A. and live in and east of downtown L.A., as well as in the north, near Van Nuys. The African American population comprises a majority of the western portion of South L.A. and the part of the county just south of South L.A.[10] L.A. County's sheer geographic scale, segregation and juxtaposition of sprawling suburbs with dense urban neighborhoods makes organizing communities and advocating for policy change more challenging than in most metro regions across the country.

The regional economy benefits from tourism, hospitals, universities and, of course, the one industry that the world most associates with L.A.: film and entertainment.[11] L.A. County also is the largest manufacturing

Demographic Snapshot

- 47.3 percent of the county is Latino, 29.1 percent white, 13.2 percent Asian, and 9.5 percent African American.
- 36.2 percent of the county's population is foreign-born.[6]
- 54.1 percent of county residents speak a language other than English at home, more than 35 percentage points higher than the national average.[7]
- Roughly one million undocumented immigrants live in the L.A. metropolitan area, almost twice the number living in any other metropolitan area in the country.
- Two-thirds of the county's children have immigrant parents, 19 percent of whom have parents that are undocumented, although a majority are themselves American citizens.[8]

center in the U.S., employing more than 375,000 workers in 2007.[12] With numerous ports that dot the county's coast and an international airport, international trade is flourishing in L.A. County. The county's most recent industrial boom has been driven by technology — digital information technology, environmental technology and biotechnology research.[13] This variety of economic engines is a boon for the region.

B. DISPARITIES

As community leaders seek to address the poor wages and environmental impact often associated with trade and some local industries, many wonder if these engines equally benefit all residents of Los Angeles County. L.A. is home to significant disparities—in wealth and income, education, housing and exposure to environmental toxins. These various disparities have been a central focus of many nonprofits and funders in the region, as this report demonstrates.

While L.A. County is home to the largest number of millionaires in the United States, it also is one of the most poverty-stricken counties in the nation: 14.6 percent of the population[14] and 21 percent of the county's children live below the poverty line.[15] Mark Vallianatos, the policy director of the Urban and Environmental Policy Institute, estimated "the wealthiest 50 individuals in L.A. County have approximately twice the net worth of the bottom 60 percent of the population."[16]

Parents and students are fighting the large education disparity in the county. Said one leader, "Look at South Central [L.A.], African American and Latino students are receiving a poor education. You go to Beverly Hills [and see] predominantly white schools where 90 percent of their class is going to college and 99 percent is graduating. Out here it's like 50 percent — and not even, sometimes — is graduating, [and] not even half of that is going to college."[17] School districts in lower-income areas struggle to find and keep credentialed teachers, supply students with textbooks and even provide adequate classrooms. Students also lack necessary college preparatory classes.[18] The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD), the largest district in the county and second largest in the nation, spends $4,370 per pupil each year,[19] about half the national average.[20] Twenty-seven percent of seniors in the LAUSD Class of 2008 did not graduate with their class.[21]

Population growth in L.A. County, government budget cuts and the high demand for luxury housing have contributed to an affordable housing crisis. According to *L.A. Weekly*, L.A. now ranks 49th out of America's 50 largest cities for affordable housing.[22] In fact, the cost of renting in the county is now 43 percent higher than it was eight years ago. Of the 10,000–14,000 housing units being built each year, only about 330 are affordable options. Additionally, the county is rapidly losing what little affordable housing it still has. In three years, 7,369 affordable housing units were converted into luxury housing and 13,713 rent controlled units were lost between 2001 and 2007. In the face of this growing emergency, the city of L.A. received a 78 percent budget cut to its Affordable Housing Trust Fund.[23]

Lower-income populations and people of color are more negatively affected by what a recent report calls "the climate gap."[24] Despite gradual improvements, L.A. County remains the most smog-polluted region in the country. The county's ports and adjacent neighborhoods are the site of heavy vehicle traffic, including freight movement by diesel trucks. The county's population growth and its historic lack of adequate public transportation have caused an explosion of vehicles on the road.[25] Lower-income communities living in close proximity to ports and industrial sites are overly exposed to pollution and suffer its health effects disproportionately.[26] This has not gone unnoticed by advocates and government officials who for years have been dedicated to reducing pollution and diminishing its impact on affected residents. Los Angeles mayor Antonio Villaraigosa has pledged to make L.A. a green city.[27] Nonprofits often adopt advocacy, organizing and civic engagement strategies as ways to counter persistent disparities like those highlighted here.

C. GOVERNANCE AND POLICY ENVIRONMENT

It is important to understand the unique local and state government structures that can make policy advocacy harder to undertake than in other places. At the local level, advocates and organizers may have to navigate the bureaucracies and legislative bodies for up to 88 different cities as well as the countywide government. The L.A. city police department and L.A. County sheriff's department each have their own law enforcement responsibilities. The ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach adjoin each other but are governed by separate authorities. Some regional entities have jurisdiction over a broader area of southern California. The South Coast Air Quality Management District (AQMD) is the air pollution control agency for all of Orange County and the

urban portions of Los Angeles, Riverside and San Bernardino counties. One advocate observed that in this fractious political environment, no one government entity or individual takes a region-wide view of issues.

Despite these challenges, or perhaps because of them, based on our sample, local advocates appear to be more involved in nonpartisan voter activities than in other study sites. Community leaders concluded that to effect policy change they needed elected officials who shared their vision for the region and were accountable to marginalized constituencies. The degree of coordination and sophistication on nonpartisan electoral work is notable and has paid off, with the election of more diverse leadership from grassroots communities to major positions of power. Karen Bass, founding executive director of the Community Coalition, was elected to the California State Assembly in 2004. In 2008, Bass made history as the first African American woman in the country to serve as speaker of a state assembly when she assumed that position in California. In 2005, Mexican American city councilman and former union organizer Antonio Villaraigosa, who also has served as state assembly speaker, became the first Latino mayor of L.A. since 1872. He was reelected in 2009.

Despite some supportive local political allies, organizers often are hamstrung by state politics, which affects access to resources locally. Many of the challenges that groups in L.A. County are struggling to address, such as underfunding of education and human service programs, can be linked to the state's budget rules, which have been shaped by voters through ballot initiatives. Under California's ballot system, the state's constitution and/or state laws can be changed, added to, or undone by the electorate.[28] Since the early twentieth century, the state has operated under a budget rule that requires a two-thirds majority of legislators to adopt the state budget. In 1979, Proposition 13 restricted property tax increases and set a requirement of two-thirds majority in both houses to raise taxes as well, making it nearly impossible to increase tax revenue despite increased spending needs.[29] This voter initiative dealt a low blow to California's underfunded education system, which traditionally is financed by property taxes. In addition, Proposition 13 often is cited as the cause of the state's budget deficit, which climbed to $26.3 billion in 2009. Efforts to reduce the deficit have meant substantial cuts to already tight public spending, including safety net programs that target lower-income populations.[30]

According to community leaders, another state ballot initiative with consequences for L.A. is Proposition 140, which introduced strict term limits in 1990. Assembly members may serve a maximum of six years in office and senators may serve a maximum of eight. Community leaders have observed the impact of these limits on their ability to engage in state-level policy work. It is difficult to build relationships with lawmakers and their staff; and, once relationships are built, they don't last. Assembly members often are looking toward their next job, and they do not have time to learn and invest significant energy in detailed policy issues.

Meanwhile, the California political system remains more gridlocked than that of almost any other state because of its structure. Either legislation doesn't move at all or laws flip-flop as those in power change frequently. The state repeatedly came to the brink of disaster in 2009 because the legislature and governor could not agree on a budget that would address massive deficits. Meanwhile, money, often from outside the state, pours in to sway the electorate on ballot questions, with real repercussions for people's lives. For example, more than $75 million was spent to support or oppose Proposition 8, which overturned marriage equality.[31] In response to what is perceived as a broken political system, community and philanthropic leaders are seeking major reform. For example, California Forward is a coalition of nonprofits, foundations and academics working to amend term limits and the two-thirds majority requirement for increasing taxes.

D. LOS ANGELES COUNTY'S NONPROFIT SECTOR

There are about 41,500 nonprofits registered in L.A. County, and the vast majority operate with very small budgets. According to a UCLA report, only 29 percent of registered 501(c)(3) organizations (9,641) filed an IRS Form 990 in 2007, i.e., had income of $25,000 or more. Of the filers, 42 percent (4,031) had revenues of less than $100,000. Overall, the sector has grown 77 percent since 1995, but this growth has slowed recently and the median and average size of nonprofits has declined. Six percent of L.A. County's workforce is employed by the nonprofit sector, totaling 238,000 people.[32]

L.A. County's nonprofit sector strives to improve the quality of life for the county's residents by providing crucial social services, defending the rights of community members and encouraging civic engagement. Some of the most innovative program and policy ideas

and constituent engagement techniques in the country have come from L.A. advocacy and organizing groups. One pivotal event, the 1992 civil unrest,[33] is most frequently given credit for the revolution that took place in the local nonprofit sector. Several community organizations were founded as a result of the unrest and have built tremendous capacity over the last two decades. The civil disturbance also made groups realize they needed to do a better job of working together, organizing across race and ethnicity, and building broad coalitions to effect change at the policy level.[34] This report includes many examples of such strategies leading to significant impacts.

Surveys conducted by the UCLA Center for Civil Society indicate that the nonprofit sector is strained as a result of increased demand and decreased revenue. In addition to the economic downturn, nonprofits cite the state's budget crisis as a cause of lost revenue and the worsened conditions facing county residents. However, L.A. County's nonprofit sector has proven to be resilient, responding by increasing fundraising, controlling and cutting costs and increasing visibility. Consequently, organizations have been able to respond to the needs of their constituents; about one-third of survey respondents actually have increased program expenditure.[35] However, ongoing state budget crises and projected declines in foundation giving in the region likely will strain nonprofits further.[36]

In response to the current economic situation, UCLA authors recommended that nonprofits focus more on program evaluation, collaborate to increase efficiencies and engage in more widespread advocacy. "Nonprofits must move beyond the misperceptions around advocacy and the legal rules that limit lobbying activities. All nonprofits can engage in advocacy without penalty, although the scope and extent of activities vary according to the tax exempt status of the organization." The authors added, "Depleted public coffers should not dissuade nonprofits from engaging with elected officials and other lawmakers. Nonprofit voices need to infiltrate the debates around health care reform, economic recovery and other social issues."[37]

E. THE PHILANTHROPIC LANDSCAPE

In 2007, the area's 2,930 active private and community grantmaking foundations held assets of $42.7 billion and made grants of $2.1 billion.[38] A youthful sector, about half of the county's foundations were founded within the past twenty years. Southern California Grantmakers predicts that in the near future foundations will grow substantially in size, scope, and institutionalization.[39]

As summarized by James M. Ferris, "[Southern California] Grantmaking is fragmented, decentralized and dispersed. At the same time, it tends to be dynamic, adaptive and innovative."[40] The sector's assets are fairly concentrated; the top ten foundations account for 42 percent of giving. And yet, L.A. County foundations account for only 44 percent of the total grant dollars received by local nonprofits.[41] Much of philanthropic giving coming from L.A. County grantmakers leaves the area. Local giving from the entertainment industry also has dwindled, as corporations based in Hollywood begin to expand their scope globally.[42] Thus the role of non-local foundations has been critical in supporting philanthropic endeavors in the region. Among the top 20 funders giving grants in metro L.A. in 2007, several came from outside California, including the Bill & Melinda Gates, Skirball, Andrew W. Mellon, Robert Wood Johnson and Ford Foundations.[43]

L.A. County philanthropies have responded adeptly to the area's changing landscape. After the 1992 civil unrest, a group of local foundations came together to create L.A. Urban Funders, which sought to address the economic disparities made visible by the protests. A collaborative of more than 30 funders at its peak, LAUF provided more than $30 million over its lifespan in both pooled and categorical grants in the Pacoima, Hyde Park and Vermont/Manchester neighborhoods of Los Angeles. Seeing results around substance abuse, standardized test scores and land use, among other issues, LAUF became a national model for funder collaboratives.

In 2000, another successful collaboration emerged locally when the Ford Foundation launched its Fund for Community Organizing (FCO). FCO partnered with a local grantmaker in each of five sites across the country to increase the success of organizing by fostering greater capacity, networking and philanthropic resources. Los Angeles was an FCO site, and the Liberty Hill Foundation was able to leverage support from Ford and several California funders through its Fund for a New Los Angeles to support more than 20 organizations over at least five years. The project evaluation demonstrated that these philanthropic investments in organizing yielded significant policy reforms benefiting lower-income communities.[44]

In 2008, the state's largest foundations responded to concerns among state legislators about the amount of

foundation resources going to organizations led by and serving people of color and other disadvantaged populations. Ten California foundations formed the Foundation Coalition to "develop a new set of grantmaking activities that would focus on the needs of minority-led and other small grassroots nonprofits that serve minority populations and other low-income communities."[45] The Liberty Hill Foundation is partnering with The California Endowment, Weingart Foundation and California Wellness Foundation to assist in regranting and capacity building for minority-led organizations in L.A.

L.A. County grantmakers have the immense potential to become national leaders in advocacy-related giving. L.A. communities benefit from the policy leadership of statewide foundations, as well. A 2008 report on public policy funding, commissioned by the James Irvine Foundation, said that "achieving large-scale and lasting results for individuals or communities – a goal linked to many foundation missions – typically cannot be accomplished with private resources alone. Often, it requires public investments and government directives."[46] The report recognized The California Endowment and the David and Lucile Packard Foundation for their leadership in advocacy-related grantmaking.

The previous discussion on the social, political, nonprofit, philanthropic and policy landscape of Los Angeles County provides valuable context for this report. The impacts described in the following sections are all the more impressive given the challenging environment in which funders and nonprofits must operate.

V. Findings

A. RETURN ON INVESTMENT AND AGGREGATE BENEFITS

The research shows that nonprofits engaged in advocacy, organizing and civic engagement have contributed significant benefits to Los Angeles County communities. Groups were asked to list their top five most impactful accomplishments. At least 45 separate impacts were verified, of which at least 25 were able to be monetized. These impacts directly benefit tens of thousands of workers, families, public school students, immigrants, transit users, LGBTQ residents and other historically vulnerable groups. Major impacts were found across numerous issues, including economic security, housing, transit, health care, education and civil rights.

Overall, the numbers show that:

- The total amount spent on advocacy and organizing across the 15 groups from 2004 to 2008 was $75.5 million
- Of that amount, $58 million was contributed by foundations, comprising 77 percent of all support for advocacy and organizing.
- The total dollar amount of quantifiable benefits achieved during the five-year period was **$6,886,534,758.**
- The return on investment, which is total dollar value of impacts divided by total spent for advocacy and organizing, is 91.

Thus, for every dollar invested in the advocacy, organizing and civic engagement activities of 15 groups collectively, there was $91 in benefits to Los Angeles County communities.

The ROI is intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive. It does not capture all possible inputs, such as the funds spent by coalition partners not in the survey sample. On the other hand, many significant impacts simply could not be quantified, making this ROI a conservative figure. For example, it is impossible to quantify the benefit to society of engaging constituents, particularly those previously disenfranchised, in the life of their community, or the payoff for children who fulfill their potential by gaining access to high-quality educational and other opportunities. Further, the ROI does not capture economic ripple effects of impacts. For example, increases in wages likely have a multiplier effect as those earnings are recirculated in the local economy. Also, NCRP conservatively estimated the value of one impact, the statewide minimum wage increase, by valuing only the proportion benefiting workers in L.A. County. Had the full value been included, the ROI would have been $90 higher, or almost doubled.

NCRP conservatively estimated long-term benefits for recurring or ongoing impacts through 2011, three years beyond the time period studied. Several of the victories will benefit communities well beyond that year. Thus, the ROI would be significantly higher if those estimates were longer term. Finally, most of the groups are in the midst of long-term efforts still being fought. They may have had partial victories and made interim progress in measurable ways. The investments made by foundations between 2004 and 2008 will reap future rewards that cannot be quantified at present. If more foundations invest resources in advocacy, organizing and civic engagement, no doubt the benefits to Los Angeles will be even greater.

B. IMPACTS BY ISSUE

The 15 featured organizations focused their organizing and advocacy efforts on a range of issues at the local, state and national levels. This section and the next two on civic engagement and coalitions together offer a rich sense of what it took for the groups to make change. Unlike any other site studied for this project, L.A. County has unique circumstances that demanded innovative approaches and significant scale. The 15 groups adapted to these local and state challenges to achieve impressive impacts – some easily monetized and others not – all of which are important for the vulnerable communities they engage and represent. They used a variety of effective strategies, such as direct action, town hall meetings, relationship-building with legislators, lawsuits, media campaigns and research. Following are many of the highlights of these successful efforts. Appendices B and C summarize all of the verified victories the community groups reported. The groups surely define their own impact well beyond a policy win – to the civic engagement and leadership development of marginalized constituencies. Examples of these achievements are in the subsequent section, and throughout the next few sections, one innovative or distinctive aspect of each organization's work is highlighted in a text box.

Community members voice their support for the Construction Careers Policy at a Community Redevelopment Authority hearing. Photo courtesy of LAANE.

1. Economic Security

Living Wages – Nationally, ACORN has been a leader on living wage policies, and its Living Wage Resource Center has provided strategic advice to dozens of campaigns across the country. L.A. ACORN helped build a labor-community coalition to increase the California minimum wage by $1.25 to $8 per hour, effective January 2008. California now is one of only 14 states whose minimum wage exceeds the federal level. According to the University of California, Berkeley, Institute of Industrial Relations, this wage increase benefits 1.65 million California workers directly and another 700,000 workers indirectly. The additional wages going to L.A. County workers are estimated at **$2.64 billion** over four years. L.A. ACORN organized a large labor–community march in support of the bill, which Governor Schwarzenegger signed into law surrounded by members of ACORN and local unions, at the Mercado la Paloma building, where ACORN's office was located.

In 2008, the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) united with civil rights organizations such as the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of L.A. to win improved wages and benefits totaling **$96,600,000** for **4,000 security guards**, most of whom are African American. The same year, LAANE's campaign with faith and ex-offender groups won its first Construction Careers Policy through the Community Redevelopment Agency, which will target **$49 million** in construction jobs for disadvantaged workers. Previously, in 2006, LAANE formed the Coalition for a New Century and won passage of the LAX Enhancement Zone Living Wage Ordinance, which requires hotels near Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) to provide living wages and both compensated and uncompensated days off for hotel workers. Also, the coalition helped negotiate collective bargaining agreements for workers at four hotels. Because of litigation by hotel owners, the ordinance was not implemented until July 2008. As many as **3,000 workers** are covered by the living wage ordinance and new union contracts, which have generated at least **$18.5 million** in added direct wages and benefits. The ripple effects of the agreement could add $4.5 million to the local economy.

Taxi Workers – Over the last three decades, L.A. taxi workers have tried repeatedly to organize for better wages and working conditions, without success. However, since 2005, they have achieved several victories against very tough odds, in large part because of the organizing support they got from the South Asian Network (SAN) and legal support from public interest attorneys, including Julie Su at the Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC) and Betty Hung at the Inner City Law Center. In the last five years, SAN, APALC and their partners have worked closely with taxi workers themselves to create the L.A. Taxi Workers Alliance (LATWA), which today has the signed support of 1,400 cabbies from as many as 47 different countries. LATWA has secured three meter fare increases and won a minimum airport fare of $15 for short trips to nearby hotels and beach cities. Public interest lawyers surveyed cab drivers in 2006 and determined that the changes added at least **$19 million per year** in income for thousands of taxi workers.[47] LATWA has taken on the abysmal conditions at the Los Angeles International Airport taxi holding facilities, where drivers frequently are denied due process by the contractor and denied access to working at the airport without an opportunity to defend themselves. LATWA has won better adherence to due process rights and less harassment of workers, clean bathrooms, benches in shaded areas and a water fountain away from the restroom. LATWA also persuaded the city council to demand that the airport improve holding lot conditions or else end the current contract and seek competitive bids. LATWA has connected with taxi worker organizing efforts in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco to achieve even broader policy changes that will address the common challenges of taxi workers nationwide.

Supermarket Workers – KIWA took on Assi Market, owned by the Rhee Brothers' transnational food corporation, and helped 100 workers in its L.A. store undertake a long campaign to improve working conditions.

Members of the L.A. Taxi Workers Alliance during a demonstration. Photo courtesy of APALC

KIWA found that many Korean American and Latino workers were not paid overtime, were denied rest breaks, yelled at and mistreated by management. KIWA tried to organize the workers into a union, and when they lost by a slim margin in 2002, Assi retaliated by firing half the workers. A law firm filed a class-action suit on behalf of the workers, and KIWA began a community-wide boycott of the market, drawing thousands of supporters to picket lines over the course of the campaign. In 2007, a judge ruled in favor of the workers and awarded them **$1.475 million** in damages. Simultaneously, KIWA organized workers in a number of supermarket chains, resulting in living wage agreements with five supermarkets, benefiting hundreds of workers. The HK and Galleria Supermarkets agreed to raise wages and also give raises annually according to the consumer price index. California Supermarket agreed to pay at least one dollar per hour above the minimum wage in a landmark case in which a living wage was tied to a land-use permit and one of the few instances in which a living wage was negotiated with a strictly private sector entity with no public subsidies involved. According to KIWA's executive director, Danny Park, "These are not mom-and-pop stores. Assi is the largest wholesaler and retailer of

KOREATOWN IMMIGRANT WORKERS ALLIANCE (KIWA) has united Korean, Mexican and Central American workers to fight for their rights in several sectors of the local economy. First, KIWA tackled conditions at Korean restaurants, which were ignoring federal and state labor laws in their treatment of workers, including failing to pay the minimum and overtime wages. Through a worker organizing and public education campaign that targeted several restaurants and raised awareness among the Korean American community, KIWA shifted practice, raising the percentage of Koreatown restaurants abiding by labor laws from 3 percent to 50 percent by the end of the campaign.

Asian foods on the continent, employs over a thousand people nationwide and makes hundreds of millions annually in gross revenues. The very least they can do is pay living wages to the workers. Some of that money should circulate within Koreatown."

Green Jobs – Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE), formerly Action for Grassroots Empowerment and Neighborhood Development Alternatives (AGENDA), has a long history of building coalitions that shape workforce and economic development in Los Angeles. During the late 1990s, SCOPE led successful efforts to channel entertainment industry investments and welfare-to-work dollars toward jobs and training for lower-income residents. In 2006, SCOPE convened the Los Angeles Apollo Alliance, a broad coalition of 25 environmental and economic justice organizations, labor unions and businesses to help shape an equitable green economy in L.A. The coalition includes other organizations featured in this report, such as the Community Coalition, Communities for a Better Environment, and LAANE. The alliance worked with City Councilmember Herb J. Wesson Jr. to introduce and pass the Municipal Green Building Retrofit and Workforce Development Ordinance. Over three years, SCOPE galvanized community support for green jobs, with grassroots members going door to door, engaging residents about the need for green jobs as a way to address both the environment and poverty, collecting thousands of surveys, sending postcards and making phone calls to elected officials. The ordinance, adopted in April 2009, committed the city to retrofit all city-owned buildings larger than 7,500 square feet or built before 1978 to be more energy efficient. The priority will be buildings that are located in or benefit lower-income communities, such as libraries and recreation centers. The ordinance established an advisory council and task force to create new green jobs and training opportunities. In 2010, SCOPE and the alliance will ensure that the ordinance is implemented and benefits low-income communities. SCOPE will monitor and provide oversight in the development of a green Career Ladder Training Program that offers a pipeline for entry level workers into green careers. The city has garnered federal and state resources for implementation, including nearly **$6 million for job training and $16 million for construction.**

SCOPE members rally support for their green jobs plan. Photo courtesy of SCOPE

Ex-Offender Employment – Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches (LAM) has worked with ex-offender groups such as Ex-Offender Action Network (EAN), Mums the Word Legal Services and Friends Outside-L.A., employers and political leaders at all levels of government to address a looming crisis – the increasing numbers of state prisoners being released with inadequate services and few jobs waiting for them when they return to their communities. In 2007, LAM Executive Director Cheryl Branch led a team of community organizers and faith-based leaders in partnership with the City of L.A. to win a **$1.2 million** grant from the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation for the Re-Entry Employment Options Demonstration project. During the 29-month program, the faith and public/private partnership integrated employment services, substance abuse and mental health treatment services, legal education, financial literacy, counseling and housing services within South L.A. to reduce recidivism. The program resulted in **43 ex-offenders** finding long-term jobs, enrolling in college or trade school or actively seeking employment. This was the first step toward the city creating a formal mechanism to support returning ex-offenders with employment and other services. The program helped inform the City of L.A. Workforce Development System and its WorkSource centers parolee services. Susan Quigly of the L.A. Community Development Department Ex-Offender Program emphasized LAM's role in creating the bridge that allowed Workforce Development to begin to serve ex-offenders: "Being a community-based organization, they had the connection to the ex-offender population and brought their expertise to the partnership, allowing us to extend and expand our ex-offender work." Workforce Development now has an Internet-based training module for staff working with

ex-offenders in order to expand its ability to provide services for this population. Said Jaime Pacheco-Orozco of Workforce Development: "We have not traditionally served the ex-offender population. The partnership with LAM has been instrumental to serving that population, and it has helped lend legitimacy to the agency, that we are responding to community needs."

Housing and Homelessness – L.A. Voice is part of the PICO National Network (People Improving Communities Through Organizing), a faith-based organizing network that has developed community leaders in 150 cities and 18 states, engaging more than 1,000 religious congregations, schools and neighborhood organizations. According to L.A. Voice, Hollywood has the second-largest concentration of homeless persons in L.A. In March 2006, L.A. Voice held a town hall meeting with 200 residents and members of the city council to seek solutions, and secured the Community Redevelopment Agency's commitment to acquire land for development of a permanent supportive housing facility in Hollywood. In October 2006, the CRA purchased a site for **$1.5 million** and dedicated it to this development, which has an annual operating budget of **$4.5 million** and provides services for **14,000 homeless individuals** annually and permanent housing with supportive services for at least 50 people. Janet Kelly at People Assisting the Homeless (PATH) Partners, which runs the facility, noted that L.A. Voice "was very instrumental in getting CRA to purchase the land. They performed the groundwork to meet with key stakeholders, organize a town hall meeting, and initiated a conversation about securing a location for affordable housing."

In the face of gentrification and the development of new luxury condominiums, People Organized for West Side Renewal (POWER) used the state's Mello Act[48] to secure affordable housing set-asides in Marina Del Rey. POWER spearheaded a campaign that resulted in a new affordable housing policy by the L.A. County Board of Supervisors in 2008. The ordinance requires all developers to set aside 15 percent of total units for affordable housing – 5 percent of units for very low-income families, 5 percent for low-income families and 5 percent for moderate income families. The ordinance covers both new development and the redevelopment of existing buildings. Beginning in 2005, POWER sought enforcement of the Mello Act in other coastal areas regulated by the law, where developers routinely tried to appeal their affordable housing requirements. The organization created "Team America," which was a small group of POWER leaders and key staff from the offices of Councilmen Bill Rosendahl and Ed Reyes. Team America met bimonthly for three years to review upcoming developments that would be subject to Mello Act requirements and ensure that developers would not try to skirt their affordable housing obligation under the act. This meant POWER leaders needed to organize on a development-by-development basis to ensure that the community received its fair share of affordable housing under the interim guidance for Mello Act enforcement in the City of Los Angeles. This diligent work paid off. In both L.A. and Marina Del Rey, POWER has worked with public interest attorneys to ensure that 134 units of affordable housing were built through Mello Act compliance, a victory valued at **$53.6 million**.

LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN CHURCHES (LAM), a network of African American churches formed after the 1992 civil unrest, has long fought for improved services for ex-offenders returning to the community. Many receive no support, resulting in a high recidivism rate. Said LAM Executive Director Cheryl Branch, "At LAM, we believe that even without explicit forms of discrimination based on race or criminal record, today the structures of employment, personal networks, housing and incarceration lead to social isolation and lack of access to jobs." LAM has worked closely with the City of Los Angeles and the State Corrections Department to develop plans to support returning ex-offenders and improve community safety.

PEOPLE ORGANIZED FOR WEST SIDE RENEWAL (POWER), an organizing group affiliated with National People's Action (NPA) whose membership includes individual community members, community agencies and tenant associations, has worked extensively on affordable housing issues in Venice as well as the City and County of Los Angeles. With assistance from the Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles and Western Center on Law and Poverty, POWER has both crafted new policy and effectively targeted enforcement of underutilized laws already on the books to both preserve existing affordable housing and seek set-asides for affordable units as part of new market rate construction and redevelopment.

2. Land Use, Environment and Transportation

Community Benefits – In 2004, LAANE and more than 20 community, faith-based, labor and environmental organizations and schools formed the LAX Coalition for Economic, Environmental and Educational Justice. The coalition sought to influence an $11 billion modernization plan for Los Angeles International Airport, to ensure that this massive public investment would translate into real community benefits related to job training, residential and school soundproofing and air quality mitigations. In one of LAANE's first efforts helping to coordinate a "green-blue" alliance, it was aided by the clout of the labor movement, evidenced by the appointment of the late Miguel Contreras, then head of the L.A. County Federation of Labor, to the Airport Commission. LAANE's executive director, Madeline Janis, noted, "The muscle of the labor movement was the linchpin. It convinced the environmental movement – the Environmental Defense Fund, the Coalition for Clean Air, the NRDC – to switch its approach from suing at the back end to helping come up with solutions at the front end."[50] The coalition spent eight months negotiating the community benefits agreement (CBA) with the L.A. city council, which passed the agreement in December 2004. The value of the CBA components totaled **$500 million, benefiting roughly 100,000 residents** in communities east of the airport such as Inglewood and Lennox through noise abatement improvements in the schools near the airport and air-quality improvements throughout the area.

Transit – For the last several years, the Bus Riders Union (BRU) has worked on implementation of the consent decree and making sure the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) fulfilled its pledge to replace 1,800 diesel buses with new ones that run on cleaner compressed natural gas (CNG). In 2005, the BRU convinced the MTA to streamline the application process for students to obtain discounted bus passes. The process previously required a paper application signed by the school and mailed to MTA, a photograph, and a minimum three-week waiting period. According to Tammy Bang Luu, senior organizer at the Labor Community Strategy Center (LCSC), "This cumbersome application process deterred thousands of students from getting their passes – studies showed that only 25,000 out of almost one million eligible students actually had the pass." Students had been forced to pay as much as $30 to $70 more each month to get to school. With easier access to the low-cost pass for all 700,000 students in the LAUSD, as well as other school districts in the county and vocational colleges, this policy change is conservatively estimated to be generating **$58.75 million** in savings per year for at least 25,000 more families.

Environmental Justice – For years, Communities for a Better Environment (CBE) has fought for monitor-

During the 1990s, the LOS ANGELES ALLIANCE FOR A NEW ECONOMY (LAANE) pioneered the concept of community benefits agreements (CBAs). CBAs are agreements negotiated to ensure that commercial development projects involving public subsidies benefit affected communities in myriad ways, such as access to jobs. According to *The American Prospect*, "[LAANE's] successes have inspired unions and community organizations across the nation to their own campaigns linking growth to justice … CBAs – which now may require developers not merely to provide decent jobs to local residents, but to build affordable housing, parks, health clinics and other social amenities – have been implemented on at least 48 major projects from Seattle to Miami."[49]

For almost two decades, the LABOR COMMUNITY STRATEGY CENTER has been organizing bus riders to improve public transit in Los Angeles. When it formed the Bus Riders Union (BRU) in 1992, organizing transit riders was unheard of. The ripple effect of BRU's successes reaches beyond individual local victories. The BRU has contributed to a national movement, as seen in the national Transit Riders for Public Transit movement and transit riders unions in many major cities, including Tucson, Boston and Atlanta. In October of 1996, the BRU won a landmark civil rights consent decree, following the class action civil rights lawsuit brought against the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) in 1994. The case, *Labor Community Strategy Center and Bus Riders Union et al. v. Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority*, was brought by the BRU and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund to challenge racial discrimination in the transportation policies of the MTA. The consent decree resulted in fare reductions, the reduction of bus overcrowding and new service to major centers of employment, education and health care throughout the county – valued at $2.7 billion.

ing, regulation and reduction of emissions in the oil refineries. Julia May, a scientist at CBE, said, "Flares are a large source of [toxic] emissions, but they are also symbolic of the upset of daily life near a refinery with the flames going up into the air." CBE found high rates of asthma in communities such as Wilmington that are near refineries. In 2005, CBE got the South Coast Air Quality Management District (AQMD) to amend Rule 1118, which will reduce emissions from flaring by 75 percent at seven refineries, one sulfur recovery plant and one hydrogen production plant. The tighter rule went into effect in 2007, and CBE projects sulfur-oxide emissions will go from 2 to 0.5 tons per day by 2012. CBE is seeking to have this standard adopted nationally as well.

CBE's success in this campaign, which established a national precedent for these regulations, can be attributed in part to its three-pronged approach to advocacy. Technical information frequently is inaccessible to community members, so CBE has researchers and scientists, who identify specific sources of pollution and ways to clean up; lawyers, who identify points of intervention in the legal process; and community organizers, who help residents engage in the policy process. May explained that it is rare to have an environmental group with the technical skills to know what the rules should be and the capacity to do organizing to get people to come to meetings. She observed that, as a scientist, "I can talk until I'm blue in the face, but the way to influence the process is having community members there to push for changes. And lawyers are there to enforce the people's rights to clean air." This strategy embodies CBE's "trickle up" theory: you can get a lot done at the local level where you have control and influence; then it can expand to other communities.

Communities for a Better Environment's Youth for Environmental Justice take their message to the streets. Photo courtesy of CBE.

Through the Coalition for Clean & Safe Ports (CCSP), LAANE developed and won a Clean Trucks Programs (CTP) for the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach. The CTP was designed to reduce the environmental footprint of port trucking, reduce the impact of the industry on local communities and improve conditions for the trucking workforce. The different policies were passed by the Harbor Commissions of the respective cities, and in the case of Los Angeles, affirmed by the City Council. LAANE estimates the value of the CTP, in terms of reduced negative health impacts, at **$2.2 billion** in the first five years of the program.[51] The Port of Long Beach estimated that the program will reduce trucking emissions 80 percent by 2012. Financed through a fee on loaded shipping containers, CTP is progressively replacing and retrofitting older truck engines to meet 2007 emissions standards.[52] The reduced pollution will contribute to a higher quality of life in primarily lower-income communities near the ports.

Even while L.A. ACORN tackled big issues like living wages and inclusionary housing policies, the "bread and butter" of its organizing was helping residents win infrastructure improvements at the neighborhood level. This work involved close engagement of city council members. Improvements included new traffic lights, a public swimming pool, street repaving, stop signs and other traffic safety measures, such as getting a street reconfigured in Watts with a new bike lane. These improvements likely are worth hundreds of thousands of dollars and benefit as many as 250,000 residents. Thanks to the persistence of parent Martha Sanchez and others, ACORN was close to winning the closure and relocation of a metal plating factory located across from a South L.A elementary school, one of the largest in the nation, where teachers and parents have complained for years of ill health effects.[53] Already, the group has secured approval for the removal of several contaminated industrial facilities, an extensive environmental cleanup and construction of the first phase of a planned 450 unit affordable housing development. The development plans include space for a publicly accessible park and other services.

3. Civil and Human Rights

Many organizations working on basic rights have faced an uphill slog, as concerns such as marriage equality and immigration reform have become hot-button issues. Yet, these groups have made gradual progress while they continue to fight for major systemic changes. In doing so, they have used innovative strategies that include combining service delivery with organizing, using legal advocacy and mobilizing through social networking. These strategies bring the wisdom of those who provide and receive services to decisionmakers, public interest lawyers and the broader public to generate action that leads to change.

Same Sex Domestic Violence Survivors – The L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center has been a pioneer in developing programs and services for victims of domestic violence (DV) in same-sex relationships. A 2004 restructuring within state health agencies resulted in all state DV funds being directed entirely to shelter-based programs, contributing to a severe shortfall in services to the LGBTQ community because shelters have been shown to not be an effective solution to this particular problem. The center and Community United Against Violence in northern California approached Equality California, a statewide advocacy organization, for advice and help to restore funding. Ultimately, they were able to secure funding through the budget process, with help from a legislator in the LGBTQ caucus on the budget committee. The state approved a one-time augmentation of **$300,000** in 2007 and **$400,000** in 2008. The 2009 budget situation was too challenging to secure any funding. However, the groups helped legislators develop "clean-up" legislation that enables LGBTQ providers to compete for funds alongside DV groups. They are looking into the possibility of tapping federal funding in the future.

Alice Kessler, government affairs director at Equality California, commented on the value of local organizations collaborating with state level advocates: "The Gay & Lesbian Center and Community United Against Violence were our main community partners in legislative efforts to assist LGBTQ domestic violence survivors in California. Equality California sponsored the bills and did the day-to-day lobbying, but we relied on these organizations for technical assistance and expertise, and to help us tell legislators the stories of why these services are so important by testifying at hearings, identifying survivors willing to come forward, meeting with key lawmakers and writing support letters and fact sheets. We would not have been successful in our advocacy without these very effective partnerships."

Volunteers with the L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center's Vote for Equality campaign in a makeshift "war room" to defeat Proposition 8. Photo by Jim Key.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Questioning/ Queer (LGBTQ) Rights – Along with others internationally, the L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center has waged a campaign during the last three years – including on social networking web sites – to hold entertainment venues and promotional companies accountable for the booking of reggae entertainers whose music and lyrics advocate harassment, violence and murder of LGBTQ people. To date, the center has been successful in organizing to shut down concerts in Los Angeles and nationally by the clubs and promoters of these performers and now is working directly with the artists' representatives.

As the largest nonprofit LGBTQ organization in the world, the L.A. GAY & LESBIAN CENTER often is called upon to help build the capacity of LGBTQ movements internationally. The center's staff first learned of the homophobic music issue when the lead LGBTQ activist from Jamaica (whose name is withheld for his/her own safety) came to the U.S. to learn how to be a better leader for the movement back home. In China, there is a project to identify young leaders who come to L.A. for intensive training, conducted in English. The center has trained three groups of Chinese activists so far. Back in China, the leaders have formed a national umbrella for LGBTQ community centers, so they do not have to reinvent the wheel. Those who have completed training mentor the next class.

Workplace Immigration Raids – After the federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency raided the Micro Solutions workplace in February 2008, the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) staff were on-site within hours to provide support and access to legal assistance for more than 150 arrested workers. CHIRLA leaders contacted workers' family members, raised funds to help them, and identified lawyers who could represent them. Subsequently, CHIRLA helped set up the Raid Response Network of attorneys and participated in a lawsuit that challenged ICE practices in the raid, resulting in the dismissal of at least five cases and the settling of several others. Ahilan Arulanantham, director of immigrants' rights and national security for the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California (ACLU/SC), co-led the Raid Response Network. He noted that none of the workers' cases have been lost to date. If pending government appeals fail, the cases could set an important legal precedent regarding how ICE handles workplace raids. For CHIRLA and ACLU/SC, the rulings highlighted how ineffective workplace raids are, causing the federal government's leaders to rethink their approach to immigration enforcement. "The U.S. government spent endless hours and an untold amount of taxpayer dollars to arrest hard-working people, almost all who had no criminal history … The Van Nuys work site raid is one more example of how a zealous focus on deportation-only measures can run amok," said Xiomara Corpeño, director of community organizing at CHIRLA.[54]

Federal-Local Immigration Enforcement – The ACLU also supported CHIRLA and the South Asian Network (SAN) in their efforts to preserve the L.A. Police Department's use of Special Order 40 – a 1979 policy prohibiting officers from using immigration status to initiate investigations. The policy was instituted to encourage immigrants to cooperate with police and develop trust between police and immigrant communities. In 2006, a local resident sought to bar the use of city money to enforce the order, but community groups protested that victims of domestic violence, day laborers, and other vulnerable immigrants would be harmed if Special Order 40 were overturned. In June 2009, a three-judge panel upheld the LAPD's use of the policy. Outgoing LAPD Chief William J. Bratton defended Special Order 40 in an *L.A. Times* opinion piece: "The philosophy that underlies that policy is simple: Criminals are the biggest benefactors when immigrants fear the police. We can't solve crimes that aren't reported because the victims are afraid to come forward to the police."[55]

May Day March for immigrant rights. Photo courtesy of APALC.

In contrast, the L.A. County Board of Supervisors did enter into a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with ICE in 2005 that allows county sheriff's custody assistants to engage in immigration enforcement by questioning immigrants who serve time in jail, prior to their release. Advocates fought the plan and then worked successfully to ensure the MOU would be narrowly construed so that immigrants arrested and then released or acquitted would not be subject to ICE enforcement. At a pivotal meeting of the Board of Supervisors in January 2005, a constituent of SAN who was a survivor of eight years of domestic violence testified movingly that she never would have gone to the police for help if they had engaged in immigration enforcement. Hamid Khan of SAN recalled her telling the supervisors that this policy would be "putting a knife in the hand of batterers."

Immigrant Access to Services – The Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC) and CHIRLA, along with other organizations, helped found and are key partners in the California Immigrant Policy Center (CIPC).[56] For more than a decade, the groups and CIPC have taken a lead role to protect access to state health and human services programs serving immigrants. Immediately after 1996 welfare reform, APALC and its partners fought for state-funded benefits to replace lost federal benefits for legal immigrants, making California a leader in this regard. Since then, they have fought to protect health, nutrition and cash benefits for immigrants, including fending off proposed budget cuts on a nearly annual basis. APALC also worked on services access issues at the local level, advocating for many years for improved language services in L.A. County

health facilities and welfare offices. Most recently, in 2007, APALC helped secure nine full-time medical interpreters from the L.A. County Board of Supervisors and the L.A. County Department of Health Services to serve public hospitals and health facilities where most lower-income immigrants receive health care.

Voting Rights – APALC leaders were concerned that key provisions of the federal Voting Rights Act were set to expire in 2007. They advocated at all levels of government to ensure that provisions related to race, language and minority voting rights were renewed by Congress. In February 2006, APALC cosponsored a statewide Voting Rights Act conference in Los Angeles. Attended by 200 community leaders, the event created a broad network of advocates supporting the law's reauthorization. APALC provided testimony to state and federal legislatures and commissions about the barriers to voting faced by Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) communities. The broad national coalition succeeded, and three key provisions were renewed, including Section 203, which requires states and counties to provide language assistance to voters.

Police Brutality – As part of the Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Workers Organizing Network (MIWON), the Koreantown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), a cofounder of the network with CHIRLA, Pilipino Worker's Center and Garment Worker Center have been organizing a May Day rally every year since 2000. They cosponsored a May Day rally in 2007 along with many other groups in support of immigrants' rights. L.A. police attempted to disperse the mostly peaceful MacArthur Park event with little warning, shooting rubber bullets and beating people with batons as they attempted to flee. The National Lawyers Guild-L.A. and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) filed a class action lawsuit on behalf of MIWON, CHIRLA, KIWA and other community groups involved in the rally and more than 200 individuals injured by the police. In February 2009, the L.A. City Council unanimously agreed to pay **$13 million** in damages to the plaintiffs and approved judicial oversight of the LAPD's crowd control procedures.

4. Health

Environmental Health – Several of the impacts described elsewhere in this report will result in healthier outcomes for residents of L.A. County. The Los Angeles International Airport community benefits agreement, Air Quality Management District rule reducing flare emissions at oil refineries and the clean trucks program at regional ports all are examples of policy changes that will reduce toxins in the air, bring down health care costs and improve respiratory health for thousands of Angelenos.

Student Nutrition – People Organized for Westside Renewal (POWER) and L.A. ACORN united to tackle the poor quality of food that students and staff have access to in their school's cafeteria. As a result of the effort, the L.A. Unified School District passed a new requirement that: 1) reduces the amount of sugar, salt and trans fat in cafeteria food served at all LAUSD schools, 2) strengthens food inspection and handling processes, and 3) creates a parent-led Cafeteria Reform Committee that oversees implementation of the provisions. POWER and ACORN leaders participated on the committee during the first few years of implementation.

Affordable Prescription Drugs – The L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center has worked in coalition with other organizations across California as part of the California HIV Alliance to ensure adequate resources for the AIDS Drug Assistance Program (ADAP), which combines state and federal resources as well as pharmaceutical rebates to make HIV/AIDS medicines afford-

Health policy has been a central issue for L.A. VOICE AND PEOPLE IMPROVING COMMUNITIES THROUGH ORGANIZING (PICO). L.A. Voice and the other California PICO affiliates worked on children's health care at a statewide level. They pushed a tobacco tax initiative three years ago that would have created a new tax on tobacco to fund universal health care for children in the state. The referendum system made it very challenging because two-thirds approval, rather than a simple majority, is required for any new tax. Despite the defeat, the experience was positive for L.A. Voice, which grew as an organization and raised its profile among funders, and the national PICO network became engaged on health care issues in a coordinated way. The network made federal reauthorization of the state children's health insurance program (SCHIP) a top priority. PICO clearly helped lay the groundwork, and SCHIP renewal was one of the first things President Barack Obama signed.

able. ADAP primarily serves lower-income, uninsured clients, most of whom are nonwhite. California has the highest budget and ADAP client enrollment level in the country. The alliance fought off $7 million in proposed cuts to the FY 2008 ADAP budget, which was $356.3 million, of which $96 million came from the state's general fund. The governor's proposed budget for FY 2009 would have made steep cuts to state ADAP funding, which would have meant a loss of federal matching funds and private funding as well. General fund cuts of $25 million ultimately were replaced by funds from the ADAP Special Rebate Reserve Fund, ensuring the program would continue operating at full capacity.

Substance Abuse – The Gay & Lesbian Center realized a few years ago that the rise of crystal methamphetamine use among gay men was causing them to engage in riskier behaviors, resulting in many of them becoming infected with HIV. Working with the California HIV Alliance, the center won a line item in the state budget for an **$11 million** public education campaign targeted to gay men. The California Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs launched the "Me Not Meth" campaign in March 2008. Lake Research Associates evaluated the campaign and reported that a survey among gay/bisexual/MSM (men who have sex with men) in the summer of 2008 "already showed strong indicators of a highly successful campaign … In comparison to previous campaigns, data suggest Me Not Meth had more reach to key at-risk audiences such as those under 30, those without a college degree, and the unemployed. In the few months after the launch, analysis showed that those with exposure to the campaign were more likely than others to perceive crystal meth as a very serious problem; they were more likely to say crystal meth is addictive (a key message), and they were more likely to say they will not try meth in the future, even if 'it's just once to try it.'"[57]

5. Education and Youth

New Schools – In 2004, InnerCity Struggle (ICS) campaigned for and won the construction of a new high school and a new elementary school for the East Los Angeles community. Esteban E. Torres High School will open in fall of 2010 and will be the first high school to open in unincorporated East Los Angeles in more than 80 years. The new school will relieve overcrowding at Garfield High School and allow Garfield

InnerCity Struggle youth and parents march for new schools in East L.A. Photo courtesy of ICS.

to return to a traditional 180-day schedule. The combined cost of the high school and elementary school is more than **$299 million.**

College Preparation – Collaboration among community organizations has contributed to a series of groundbreaking changes to the education system. The Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment and ICS joined forces to achieve several significant education reforms. In coalition with other organizations, including the United Way, they formed Communities for Educational Equity (CEE) and secured passage of the so-called *A-G Resolution Life-Prep* by the Los Angeles Unified School District in 2005. The historic resolution guarantees all students access to college preparatory ("A-G") classes, which previously were not available in many schools attended by students from lower-income and minority families, putting them at a disadvantage when applying for college entrance or making them ineligible to apply. Thousands of students and their allies attended the school board vote on the resolution. Former board

president and city councilman José Huizar said, "The students were saying 'Set higher expectations for us and I'll meet them.' It was a huge deal, probably one of the most important policy shifts in the district."[58] Since 2005, the organizations have kept up pressure on LAUSD to fully implement the resolution in their local schools.

Education Funding – In 2007, the Community Coalition and ICS again worked together to persuade the LAUSD to unanimously agree to place all South L.A. and East L.A. high and middle schools and some elementary schools atop the list for one-time special funding. The Quality Education Investment Act (QEIA) is a state law that sets aside funding to be targeted to low-performing schools across the state. Knowing that there would be insufficient QEIA funds to help all such schools, the two organizations sought to ensure that South L.A. and East L.A. schools would be able to tap the funding locally. The total amount going to South and East L.A. schools is estimated at **$326.8 million** through 2011 and will benefit tens of thousands of students. Also in 2007, several organizations came together to stop midyear teacher reductions, referred to as "renorming." As part of a broader effort to shape state budget reforms and accountability on the spending of QEIA funds, ACORN, InnerCity Struggle, One L.A., POWER, CADRE, a community-based membership organization, and the United Teachers Los Angeles (UTLA) preserved **$18 million per year** so that class size reduction efforts would not be undermined, benefiting 100,000 students. Turning out their members at a key public hearing and strategic media work aided their success.

Youth Probation Camps – L.A. County runs 19 probation camps that provide an alternative to imprisonment for thousands of youth each year. ACORN worked with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 685 to prevent complete elimination of the camps in 2004. The closure of the probation camps would have negatively affected communities of color, according to AFSCME staff, as a majority of kids in camps are African American and Latino. The youths would have been released into the community without gang prevention services to support them, or they would have been sent to adult prisons to serve longer terms under harsher conditions, at a cost five times greater per youth, possibly making rehabilitation harder. AFSCME reached out to ACORN to mobilize affected communities around this issue. ACORN hosted numerous events, including a town hall, and it used community organizing to raise awareness about the issue. Together, AFSCME and ACORN helped avert **$201 million dollars** in budget cuts to the probation camps and gang intervention programs. These cuts would have eliminated jobs for **2,700 probation officers** and other staff and negatively affected **4,500 juveniles** in camps and 890 juvenile gang members. A lobbyist involved with the campaign credited ACORN's involvement with helping pave the way for a more permanent budgetary fix; in 2009, probation funding was taken out of the State General Fund and funded instead through revenues from the vehicle license fee.

Foster Care – As drug addiction took its toll in South L.A. during the 1990s, the Community Coalition realized that many of its members were becoming caregivers for grandchildren, nieces and nephews. Yet, the foster care system was not responsive to their unique needs. The coalition worked with its former executive director, California Assembly Speaker Karen Bass, Casey Family Programs and kinship care advocates to secure state funding and legal reforms in 2006. They succeeded in getting **$70.8 million** allocated specifically for kinship families in the foster care budget, and the law was changed to no longer mandate adoption by relative caregivers. According to Gail Gronert in Speaker Bass' office, "The Community Coalition brought groups of kin caregivers to hearings multiple times and was effective at getting out information on the value of relative caregivers. They convinced legislators that kin adoption is not a productive option and to provide for kin foster care instead." This story and others in the report show the effectiveness of combining services with advocacy, enabling experienced service providers to bring the voice of those needing services to policy makers. They demonstrate the synergies between direct services that intentionally target vulnerable communities and advocacy, organizing and civic engagement done by or on behalf of marginalized groups.

C. CONSTITUENT ENGAGEMENT

As the impact highlights showed, each organization featured in this report engages its constituencies in advocacy and organizing on the issues that matter most to them. This engagement of underrepresented communities is valuable in its own right, as it brings

people who have been left out of civic life into the democratic process. It also helps expand social capital – the networks and connections that bind people together in a broader social fabric. Strong social capital has been correlated with positive child outcomes, low crime rates, economic prosperity, physical and mental health, policy innovations and responsive government. And civic engagement builds the "people power" that is needed to bring meaningful change to the institutions and systems that these communities relate to and depend on. It is notable that while California is one of the least civically-engaged states in the country, this subset of community groups is bucking that trend. The National Conference on Citizenship reported that the state is 45th in volunteering and working on community problems.[59] Yet, these 15 organizations alone are connecting thousands of residents to public life.

The breadth and depth of constituent involvement among the organizations studied is captured here with numbers. Collectively, 13 groups reported engaging thousands of marginalized constituents during the five-year period 2004–2008:

Number of new individual members	39,804
Number of trainings	6,219
Number of individuals trained (non-duplicate)	14,412
Number of core leaders[60] developed (non-duplicate)	2,787
Number who attended public actions	54,826
Number who communicated with policy makers	18,867
Number educated on issues	445,460

The groups reported engaging constituents in a variety of training, developing leaders' skills in areas such as:

> **The nuts and bolts of organizing** – Across the board, organizing groups include a core set of skills in their leadership development. L.A. Voice uses the PICO training model, which teaches leaders the power of relationship building. Organizers guide residents through the analysis and understanding of power structures, strategy development, and issue research. Leaders learn how to organize local town hall meetings and work with city officials to advocate for resources in their neighborhoods. The Community Coalition includes communications strategies, media relations and using effective props for public presentations in its organizing training as well.

> **Government and elections** – Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE) holds a civic participation camp for social justice groups to prepare them for organizing in their local campaigns and elections. SCOPE also conducts educational forums on Proposition 13 and the need for tax and fiscal reform. POWER helps leaders analyze politicians and who finances them, teaching them how to "follow the money."

> **Issue analysis** – Leaders and members often learn a great deal about the issues they seek to address, so that they can understand how the problem arose and develop potential solutions. KIWA focuses on workers' rights (wage and hour, health and safety,

Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches conducts a training on advocacy and social change for its members. Photo courtesy of LAM.

For more than two decades, COALITION FOR HUMANE IMMIGRANT RIGHTS OF LOS ANGELES (CHIRLA) has been organizing constituencies that no one else thought could or should be organized. One of the first groups in the country to organize day laborers, CHIRLA has since organized immigrant students to fight for access to higher education, household workers to push for state labor protections and most recently, street vendors to combat police harassment and gain legitimacy. The organization has evolved a highly sophisticated structure as it has grown. Currently, CHIRLA has a statewide chapter of immigrant youth clubs on 33 college and university campuses, and clubs at nine high school campuses in L.A. county. Each committee – students, day laborers, domestic workers, street vendors – meets independently, but they also come together once a month to advance common projects.

labor unions, living wage), the immigration debate, tenants' rights and affordable housing and the peace movement. ACORN leaders were immersed in the basics of state and federal education law. Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches helps pastors and congregants understand the complex web of issues that affect the formerly incarcerated.

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

1. Organizing Across Race and Ethnicity

Perhaps in response to the sheer diversity of languages and cultures represented in the region, some community organizations in Los Angeles have led the way nationally in developing innovative approaches to organizing among multiethnic and multilingual populations. The 1992 civil unrest after the Rodney King verdict also was a wake-up call for area nonprofits that racial and ethnic divisions ran deep and that groups needed to build bridges if they were to overcome pressing issues of poverty and economic distress.

KIWA was founded in 1992 and its first campaign, to improve working conditions in Koreatown restaurants, caused it to reexamine its identity. Executive director Danny Park explained, "KIWA started as a very Korean, ethnic-specific organization that gave voice to the needs of Korean workers, as opposed to just business owners, in response to the L.A. crisis. The restaurant workers' campaign transformed our organization. The workers in Koreatown restaurants were not just Korean but also Mexican and Central American. Latino workers were on the bottom rung of the workforce and the whole restaurant industry. Korean workers sometimes had a loyalty to Korean employers; Latinos were sometimes even discriminated against by Korean workers. Organizing in this industry meant organizing multiracially." KIWA kept its initials but eventually changed its name from Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates to Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance, signaling its support for all immigrant workers in the neighborhood.

In taking this step to be multiracial, the organization experienced a backlash. "We were organizing for the rights of all workers in Koreatown. The Korean American business owners attempted to present us as anti-Korean, claiming that KIWA was a 'traitor to our race,' asking 'how can you organize Latinos against your own people?'" recalled Park. "But we were never anti-Korean – we are just anti-exploitation." When KIWA was getting attacked by the Korean business community and newspapers, the organization put out the message that bringing justice to Koreatown is the best way to serve the Korean community: "Stepping up to address injustices to all our neighbors and coworkers is the way to avoid more civil disturbances like in 1992." By the end of the restaurant campaign, KIWA's insistent message finally took hold. According to Park, on every anniversary of the 1992 unrest, the community asks itself how it is doing in terms of community race relations. Local ethnic media that used to attack KIWA now do a month-long radio show presenting the histories of other communities of color to Korean-speaking audiences.

Organizing among a multiethnic and multilingual base requires added resources and use of creative strategies. One way KIWA builds relationships and trust is sharing Korean and Latino forms of cultural resistance, such as Korean drumming, calligraphy and painting among its members. Meetings take place in two or three languages, which requires having interpreters at every event and enough headsets for everyone who needs one. But the payoff is tremendous. Describing KIWA's ongoing affordable housing campaign, Park

THE COMMUNITY COALITION FOR SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT historically has challenged the proliferation of local liquor stores and motels that attract illegal behaviors. Because business owners come from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, the organization's leaders have taken pains to avoid racial divisions. In 2009, executive director Marqueece Harris-Dawson made clear that the group's effort to crack down on a Korean-owned liquor store was not racially motivated. In an opinion piece in the *Korea Times* on the 17th anniversary of the civil unrest, Harris-Dawson reminded readers that African American and Korean American communities came together in1992 to find common ground, and today they should as well. "In the end, I do not believe that what we seek in our community is different from what Korean Americans, Latinos or whites want for their own families and communities: safe parks and streets, good schools and opportunities for the next generation. I believe if we work together for these things in all our communities we can share much more than the painful memories of 1992."[61]

observed, "Ordinarily residents may just wave to each other on the street, but through the Koreatown Neighborhood Organizing Committee (KNOCK) they can talk about what each faces in terms of housing. Working together on a shared fight is a leap to a whole new level in terms of relationship building." Park commented that this work is very time consuming and resource intensive, something funders that are supportive of multiethnic organizing often don't appreciate.

The South Asian Network (SAN), founded in 1990, unites extremely diverse constituencies. According to its web site, "The board, staff and volunteers are the most diverse and representative of any South Asian organization. Composed of a majority of women, the team includes persons of Bangladeshi, Indian, Nepalese, Pakistani and Sri Lankan origin from Buddhist, Hindu, Jain, Christian, Muslim and Sikh traditions; first generation immigrants and first generation U.S. born; speakers of Bengali, Fiji Hindi, Gujarati, Hindi, Nepali, Punjabi, Singhalese, Tamil and Urdu; and gay and straight members."

SAN has used a number of approaches to bring these disparate constituencies together. Recently, SAN began using headsets to translate simultaneously at meetings where as many as 15 languages are spoken. Before, meetings were held in Hindi with informal translation, or SAN would conduct monolingual town hall meetings within specific neighborhoods in the language spoken by that community. The organization spent its first several years doing broad community outreach, door-knocking and holding town hall meetings to surface issues, as well as giving a lot of thought to what kind of organization it wanted to be. At that time, SAN decided to be identity-based and to leave religion and homeland politics out of it. Now, as part of its larger analysis, SAN does examine the roles of faith and politics in the violation of human dignity and rights in the homeland. The group also embraced the concept of service as an organizing tool and a way to build trust. SAN executive director Hamid Khan noted, "Service sometimes has a negative connotation in organizing in the United States, but in South Asia it is a bringing together of community. Serving each other is key to building trust. Our concept of membership is also different. It's not about paid membership per se but about the lived experience of the community. We are all members of the community. SAN is a part of the community, not vice versa."

Building on the importance of service, SAN uses a case management structure that allows staff and volunteers to build one-on-one relationships and identify systemic issues that community members face, which facilitates organizing and informs SAN's policy advocacy agenda. One example is the Community Health Advocacy Initiative (CHAI), which SAN launched in 2003 to help residents organize activities and policies that promote community health, such as nutrition workshops and clubs. These social interactions and relationships of trust give residents who were oppressed in their home country the courage to speak up publicly. After one 74-year old woman testified at an Artesia city council meeting to ask for funds for a nutrition club, she said, "It felt really good, like telling my father-in-law off!"

SAN's role in organizing taxi workers also speaks to the power of this relational model in uniting diverse constituents. The L.A. Taxi Workers Alliance (LATWA) includes immigrant drivers from as many as 47 different countries, including many from Africa who have never been organized before in L.A. Betty Hung of the Inner City Law Center observed, "SAN has organized the drivers in a culturally appropriate and effective way. Hamid Khan was approached by childhood friends who were taxi workers, so this broke down the organizer-leader dichotomy, and building LATWA was a very organic process. SAN and LATWA are like family because a strong sense of community comes from SAN's approach." The integration of service with organizing also occurs in LATWA, which is led entirely by taxi workers. Recently, SAN helped LATWA plan a health fair so

Changing attitudes is as important as changing policies, but often this accomplishment is much harder to measure. In 2002, the SOUTH ASIAN NETWORK initiated a process for the whole organization to be educated on LGBTQ issues. SAN built its LGBTQ leadership, held a board/staff retreat, formed a queer advisory committee and co-released a report on South Asian LGBTQ needs with Satrang, a South-Asian LGBTQ group. They released the report on October 11, 2007 – National Coming Out Day.[62] SAN director Hamid Khan said, "It was very transformative; we confronted our own biases." Since 2007, on October 11, SAN has had an annual procession down Pioneer Boulevard in Artesia, chanting "We are queer! We are here! We are out on Pioneer!" Khan reflected on the long-term nature of overcoming prejudice, "Our constant engagement with the community involves planting seeds and stepping back, then repeating the process."

that taxi workers and their families who lack health benefits could receive a range of health screenings. Modeled on the CHAI program, the fair also was an opportunity to sign up new LATWA members. Khan has worked hard to develop a set of shared values both at SAN and at LATWA, including challenging each organization to examine its biases against LGBTQ individuals.

2. Youth Organizing and Leadership Development

"Youth organizing has grown tremendously over the last decade and groups like ICS in L.A. are leading the way in more sophisticated styles of organizing as well as broader based wins. They have really shaped important legislation that's being held up as the shining example for others in different parts of the country. And youth organizing results in some amazingly skilled leaders. No social justice movement can achieve its vision without the central leadership of youth – particularly those from the most affected communities."

—Surpriya Pillai, Executive Director,
Funders Committee for Youth Organizing

Vibrant and engaged youth are another hallmark of advocacy and organizing in L.A. There are many local community organizations with primarily youth constituencies, such as Youth Justice Coalition, CADRE and Khmer Girls in Action. Among the research sample, several organizations specifically mentioned youth as part of their core constituency, including InnerCity Struggle (ICS), APALC, CHIRLA, Communities for a Better Environment and the Labor Community Strategy Center. And many of these groups are connected to broader youth networks, including SoCal4Youth and California Fund for Youth Organizing.

United Students rally for a new high school in East L.A. Photo courtesy of ICS.

In order to organize youth in East L.A., ICS first formed a school club in Roosevelt High School in 2000. Students organized their peers, then demanded and won changes on campus, such as Mexican American studies classes and additional guidance counselors. Other schools got wind of the victories and wanted to form their own clubs. Today, ICS coordinates campus-based clubs, called United Students (US), at four high schools and at two middle schools, called US Junior. The clubs each have more than 50 members with a teacher sponsor and meet weekly at lunchtime to train and involve members in the work. As executive director Maria Brenes stressed, "The goal is for the students to educate their peers to build student power for educational justice. United Students represents a vehicle for youth-led research, education and base-building efforts in high schools where such opportunities for low-income Latino youth did not exist before."

One aspect of ICS' success with United Students has been the use of peer and parent surveys. ICS trained youth to conduct their own research, which provided an

INNERCITY STRUGGLE (ICS) has evolved into a powerful intergenerational organizing structure that consists of two groups, one of students and one of families, that come together through coordinating committees to develop and implement shared goals. This organizing strategy, including the campus clubs described above, helped ICS grow its base from 100 to 1,300 youth and adults in eight years, develop 250 core leaders and achieve significant impacts such as new schools, passage of the A-G resolution to increase college prep curriculum access, and targeting of millions in state education funds for East L.A. schools.

COMMUNITIES FOR A BETTER ENVIRONMENT creatively engages youth, including many lower-income students from Southeast Los Angeles who are affected directly by environmental disparities. CBE youth organizers conduct workshops and information outreach events at colleges, high schools and elementary schools, teaching students and staff about recycling and environmental justice issues. CBE conducts toxic tours throughout the year for college and high school students, as well as church groups, reporters, foundation staff, donors, attorneys and allied organizations.

CBE's Youth-EJ group rallies against the proposed Vernon Power Plant. Photo courtesy of CBE.

important empowerment and advocacy tool. This process fueled an interest and capacity in survey methodology and data analysis among members. It also generated important information to enlighten education practices in East L.A. and engage the media and policy makers. For example, the *L.A. Times* covered the 2007 release of ICS' report, "A Student and Parent Vision for Educational Justice in the Eastside." The report drew on student and parent survey data and highlighted the educational and resource inequities that lead to students dropping out of Eastside schools and low college enrollment rates. City leaders joined ICS to unveil the policy report with a call to action. The report recommended resources to increase parent engagement at local schools, alternatives to suspensions, preparation for A-G classes in middle school and opportunities for a quality career and technical education. ICS and its youth leaders have the ear of decision makers and media outlets as they continue to fight for equity in East L.A. schools.

In 2005, Communities for a Better Environment's Youth for Environmental Justice (Youth-EJ) engaged its members in a video project to document the impacts of the I-710 freeway expansion on the local community. Youth-EJ members learned how to edit and shoot video as well as interviewing and lighting techniques. Members from two high schools started a recycling campaign to raise community awareness about waste and the environment and to raise funds for the group's activities. Thirteen CBE youth members participated in several trainings on how to research, compile and map information about governmental agencies, polluters in the neighborhood and health impacts. CBE youth were key in organizing against the Nueva Azalea Power Plant and the Vernon Power Plant proposals while promoting the use of clean renewable energy in Southeast L.A. The extraordinary organizing work of youth in defeating the Nueva Azalea project is documented extensively in a recent book, *Power Politics*, written by UCLA anthropologist Karen Brodkin.

In 2005, CBE sponsored a field trip for South Gate High School in which students received a tour of the South Coast Air Quality Management District (AQMD), learned about the decision making process at the agency and voiced their support for a rule that would limit the environmental impact of new facilities within 500 feet of a school. CBE adult and youth members also attended the AQMD Board meeting urging the Board to approve the rule.

Darrel Cummings at the Gay & Lesbian Center argued that his agency's work with junior high school aged students is "controversial and in some ways, revolutionary." A disproportionate number of LGBTQ youth drop out because they fear going to school. They have never been taught about LGBTQ history, provided role models or given emotional support. "So when we advocate for changes in school policy or programs to bring young LGBTQ people together, we do so because their families, schools, religious organizations and government have knowingly failed them and placed them at dramatically increased risk of drop out, depression, substance abuse, hate crimes, HIV/AIDS and suicide." Recently, the Gay & Lesbian Center acted quickly to fill a gap in services for LGBTQ foster youth after a group home was forced to close. The agency is working with county leaders to develop a new program to provide extensive services that staff hope will become a national model. Organizing youth to improve their schools and communities is not only effective for changing policies but also for saving lives.

3. Non-partisan Voter Engagement

More than any other site studied to date for this project, Los Angeles organizations engaged in a high level of nonpartisan voter engagement. At least 13 of the 15 groups in the sample reported conducting voter registration and/or get-out-the-vote (GOTV) drives sometime during the five-year study period. Combined, their voter engagement numbers are impressive:

Total voters registered	103,499
Direct GOTV contacts	238,528
Indirect GOTV contacts	1,120,774
Volunteers recruited	5,523
Voters further engaged in organization	1,540

Housing L.A. coalition members rally for mixed income housing. Photo courtesy of L.A. Voice.

As reported by the groups, these efforts resulted in increased turnout by voters in districts that were targeted to boost the voice of lower-income and underrepresented residents in the democratic process:

> In 2005, ICS experienced increased voter turnout of 5 percent in the city council race in Boyle Heights. In the 2006 school board race, there was a 12 percent increase in three targeted districts and an 18 percent increase in voter turnout in unincorporated East Los Angeles in the 2006 general election.

> In 2006, the precincts where CHIRLA worked had an increase in voter turnout from a level of 13 percent to 37 percent on average.

> In 2006, LA Voice's phone banking efforts at St. Odilia's Catholic Church resulted in a 10 percent increase in voter turnout among targeted congregants in several precincts in south L.A.

> ACORN also reported increased voter turnout of 10 percent in target precincts, 80 percent overall turnout in precincts targeted in key elections (2005 state special election, 2008 presidential election), as well as increased Latino participation in 2004–2006 voter projects.

> Researchers hired with support from the Irvine Foundation concluded that SCOPE efforts raised voter turnout by 6.6 percent in targeted precincts in November 2008.

> In the 2005 race for the open Los Angeles city council seat in District 11, POWER held a candidates forum with the three top candidates attended by more than 500 residents.

> In 2008, APALC partnered with community organizations to increase Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) voter turnout by 17 percent and conducted poll monitoring at more than 160 sites to ensure proper implementation of the Voting Rights Act with respect to access to translated voting materials and interpreters for voters with limited English proficiency.

The Community Coalition does some voter engagement but also sees the value of political education. In 2008, it established a Civic Engagement Department to formalize its commitment to increase the leadership and civic participation of South L.A. residents. According to staff, "The Civic Engagement Department regularly convenes political education classes, conducts focus groups to determine what issues voters are most concerned about and what type of messaging would get them to vote, leads legislative visits to key elected officials and mobilizes our non-partisan precinct walk and voter education program." The Department's Civic Leadership School seeks to methodically cultivate the civic leadership capacity of a critical mass of informed residents. SAN made an intentional decision in 2004 not to do voter registration or turnout

SCOPE AND THE CALIFORNIA ALLIANCE ARE PART OF THE PUSHBACK NETWORK, a multistate collaboration of grassroots organizations that seeks to deepen civic participation by people of color, poor and working class communities, women, immigrants and young people. Formed in 2005 by SCOPE and core groups in four other states, PBN is now in eight states: Alabama, California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico and New York. SCOPE served as fiscal sponsor for PBN through mid-2009. PBN members believe that voter engagement by indigenous, bottom-up organizations is more effective than by entities that "parachute in" to communities just at election time and then leave. SCOPE staff has traveled to Boston to train Neighbor to Neighbor leaders in political education and power analysis.

but to focus on political education first. Hamid Khan explained, "Our priorities and goals are political education and looking at civic engagement at a broader level – not limiting it to just voter registration."

SCOPE has made voter outreach central to its core mission. Despite its success in forging local alliances to win jobs programs, SCOPE's leaders decided in 2001 that in order to have a more responsive government, they needed to activate lower-income communities of color more systematically through the political process. Since that realization, SCOPE has embarked on an ambitious strategy that stimulates voter engagement locally, statewide, and even at a multistate level.[63]

> Locally, SCOPE has integrated voter engagement into its overall work, such that the community organizing and voter outreach are done by the same staff, members and volunteers who mutually reinforce one another. Door knocking by street action teams to talk to voters also helps identify potential new leaders for the organization. A recent intensive electoral organizing program successfully contacted 29,000 registered voters with "social values" framing and messaging around tax and fiscal policy reform toward building a mass base of green jobs supporters.

> To facilitate coordination on non-partisan voter outreach strategies, SCOPE launched a regional 501(c)4 coalition of community organizations, churches and unions called ALLERT, or Alliance of Local Leaders for Education Registration and Turnout. In 2006, ALLERT members made direct contact with voters in more than 300 precincts.

> SCOPE is the convener and one of the anchor organizations of the California Alliance – a coalition of 16 organizations in six strategic areas of the state. L.A. based members include Community Coalition, Inner City Struggle, SCOPE and ACORN. SCOPE codified three years of social values and civic engagement best practices into a series of training curricula and organizing strategies for building grassroots power. SCOPE also helped reorganize the California Alliance to focus on winning systemic tax and fiscal reform and helped it engage 110,000 individuals statewide on these issues. The Alliance developed a four-year strategy – California 2012 – that aims to build progressive power throughout the state. SCOPE developed strategic communication strategies for the alliance to reach key constituencies better and move their values and worldview in progressive directions.

4. Ballot Initiatives

As Jared Rivera at L.A. Voice observed, California's proposition process poses frequent dilemmas for grassroots organizations. "If you want to go on the offensive, you need money to pay signature gatherers and conduct a media campaign. If you're on the defensive, you

ACORN leaders rally against foreclosures and urge residents to get out the vote. Photo courtesy of L.A. ACORN

need money to launch and fight your opposition campaign. There is no way to keep up." Groups often are forced to pick and choose their battles, given that there are often two or more ballot initiatives that directly affect their particular constituency.

Despite these challenges, organizations in this study chose to mobilize their constituencies around specific ballot measures. They decided that the proposition process offered them opportunities to train leadership, organize their base and educate voters –opportunities that were worth it regardless of the outcome. APALC has worked on several redistricting measures. ICS, the Strategy Center, Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches, CHIRLA, Youth Justice Coalition and others worked to defeat Proposition 6, a 2008 initiative that would have redirected close to $1 billion of education and human service funding for prison and probation spending, imposed stricter penalties for some crimes and tried juveniles as adults in gang related offenses.

A more highly-publicized initiative in 2008 was Proposition 8, which overturned the legality of marriage equality in California. Leading up to it and since the measure passed, several groups have been invested heavily in creating a different outcome. The L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center was part of the executive committee of the campaign against Prop 8. Even though the initiative passed, Darrel Cummings sees the tremendous value of the process and what has happened since. It has energized the center's organizing efforts and its LGBTQ base, taught leaders valuable voter mobilization skills, and caused them to reach out to other communities. "We are organizing directly in communities that voted against us, talking one on one with voters and forging coalitions with people of color organizations in this effort. We are documenting the messages that move these constituencies to neutral or pro marriage," reported Cummings. "And folks are being trained in political work; our leaders are gaining skills they didn't have before. This is a big win for us, not just yet at the ballot box but in the leadership development of our community."

Cummings shared the story of a young transgender man who had lived in relative anonymity and worked in a somewhat hostile corporate environment until he was recruited to be involved in the center's Vote for Equality program. He became a regular volunteer and worked on many efforts for the "No on 8" campaign. After the campaign, he became a key volunteer leader, offering nearly 35 hours per week of his time to the effort. He is now a member of the Vote for Equality staff and says that this work has had a profound and positive effect on his life.

For the last five years, APALC has provided significant support to a coalition effort to move the AAPI community to be more supportive of marriage equality. APALC and other supporters of civil and LGBTQ rights were shocked when the mainstream media covered two demonstrations against marriage equality

Members of the South Asian Network marching in support of LGBTQ rights and against Proposition 8. Photo courtesy of SAN.

organized by Chinese American churches in 2004, after the City of San Francisco issued marriage licenses for same-sex couples. Community leaders organized two coalitions, API Equality in the Bay Area and API Equality-LA in southern California. APALC helped found and support the coalition, which conducted one-on-one outreach at ethnic festivals, embarked on a mass media campaign among the Asian language press, and built a strong alliance of more than 50 AAPI groups supporting marriage equality. They recruited AAPI opinion leaders to speak out, including state legislators, nonprofit directors, faith leaders, activists and celebrities. The state Supreme Court granted same-sex marriage rights in May 2008 and the ballot measure overturned them six months later, yet Karin Wang at APALC is pleased with their progress. "We polled Asian American voters between 2000 and 2008 on this issue and saw a clear trajectory of change. In eight years, Asian Americans moved more toward marriage equality than the general public did."

D. EFFECTIVE COALITIONS

"The knock on community organizing is that we all act in silos … L.A. is a very exciting example because we have three of the major organizing networks [ACORN, PICO and NPA] working jointly and there aren't many cases of this around the country. What we learned is that we have remarkable power. We really revived a policy issue that was politically dead. And now we're talking about what our next campaign is because we learned about how to move votes in the city. When we collaborate, we can really become greater than the sum of our parts."

—Jared Rivera, L.A. Voice - PICO

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LEGAL CENTER used the opportunity to file an amicus brief with the California Supreme Court in support of marriage equality as an innovative organizing tool.[64] Aware that an amicus brief can have marginal influence on a court case at best, APALC and other community leaders saw an opening to use the process of assembling the brief to marshal the AAPI community's support for marriage equality. According to Karin Wang at APALC, "The brief also served several specific goals: to draw parallels between struggles for racial justice and LGBT rights; to educate the Asian American community about a key social justice issue; and to build a strong coalition of Asian American voices that included both LGBT and allied members of our community."[65] The effort succeeded in bringing together very diverse Asian American communities that had not worked together previously on a common agenda or publicly supported LGBTQ issues.

The achievements described in this report often involved organizations working together to attain their goals. All of the groups in the sample listed local, regional and national partners when describing their successes. Indeed, the diverse geography and population in L.A. County make collaboration for advocacy and organizing essential.

Many organizations in L.A. contribute their power to statewide and national efforts. For example, CHIRLA works closely with the National Immigrant Labor Coalition and the Center for Community Change on national immigration reform. CHIRLA also helped create and sustain the local Multi-ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON), statewide California Immigrant Policy Center and National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON).

Community-labor alliances have been key to several of the groups' wins, and LAANE has gone beyond local community-labor partnerships to multistate efforts. LAANE understood that for its proposed Clean Trucks Program (CTP) to be successful, it would need to be implemented not just at Southern California ports but nationwide, to prevent any one port from having a competitive advantage over any other. The Coalition for Clean and Safe Ports has coordinated with sister coalitions in other major port cities, including Newark, New York, Oakland, Seattle and Miami.

Several Los Angeles organizations, including KIWA, SAN and Strategic Alliance for a Just Economy (SAJE), participate in the national Right to the City (RTTC) network. RTTC emerged in 2007 as a unified response to gentrification and a call to halt the displacement of lower-income people, LGBTQ and youth of color from their historic urban neighborhoods. RTTC members have developed a common theory of change and seek regional and national impact in housing, human rights, urban land, community development, civic engagement, criminal justice and environmental justice.

With the state and local budgets in crisis, some groups have come together to open dialogue about community priorities. In 2009, South Asian Network, Labor Community Strategy Center, Community Coalition, L.A. Community Action Network, Youth

Justice Coalition and Homies Unidos formed the L.A. Coalition against State Violence. The coalition has opened discussions about what creates true community safety and challenges state and police violence.

1. Forging Common Ground: Grassroots and Legal Strategies

Combining community organizing with litigation can strengthen efforts to change public policy. While many grassroots organizations in other GCIP sites have found power in partnering with lawyers, the extent and depth of these partnerships in L.A. was notable. The L.A. Taxi Workers Alliance has accomplished much to improve working conditions and wages for cabbies, with help from SAN and public interest lawyers. Unfortunately, L.A. cab companies have tried to silence the taxi workers through frivolous lawsuits. In October 2008, APALC and a private law firm defended LATWA, SAN and SAN director Hamid Khan against a lawsuit brought by seven cab companies, alleging that their organizing activities violated restrictions on nonprofits. APALC successfully argued that "the ability to speak out against injustice, to petition the government for redress, and to demand change from oppressive corporate practices are essential to the work of nonprofits."[69]

The Bus Riders Union often partners with the Natural Resources Defense Council to bring litigation

Housing L.A.: Building Power, Achieving Change

In the late 1990s, several organizations in Los Angeles concerned about the area's dwindling supply of affordable housing came together to form Housing L.A. The original purpose of the coalition was to establish the city housing trust fund, which succeeded in 2002. As then-executive director of the Southern California Association for Nonprofit Housing (SCANPH) Jan Breidenbach described it in *Shelterforce*, Housing L.A. was "a three-year campaign so broad and inclusive that opposing its demand for a trust fund of this magnitude was simply not an option."[66] Working with SCANPH, organizing groups including L.A. Voice, L.A. ACORN and POWER continued the work of the coalition beyond its initial victory to push for a citywide mixed income housing ordinance (MIHO). Their initial attempt on the heels of the housing trust fund victory failed, but about three years ago the coalition revived its efforts to pass inclusionary zoning in the city.[67]

Since then, L.A. Voice, L.A. ACORN, POWER and SCANPH have together carried out much of the coalition's work, while Housing L.A. has many additional members that lend their power and constituencies for actions and meetings with decision makers. The coalition leaders feel that they have developed effective methods for working together and making decisions about strategy.

As for dealing with conflicts, one leader said, "The positive aspect of it is you see so many different ways of approaching the problem, it helps you think of strategy in a more robust way because there are different minds approaching it from different perspectives. You appreciate those perspectives because you have to argue through them. We've maintained a good working relationship." The process of facing differences and setting policy and strategy priorities brought the four core groups closer and established ground rules for working together. One leader attributed the success to historical trusting relationships among the core groups, and said that the process helped establish a strategy for the coalition that all could sign on to. Those that didn't agree left the coalition. "But what we ended up with at the end was a much stronger group committed to working together on an effective collaboration." Another leader noted that Housing L.A. developed out of a shared desire to ensure access to affordable housing in the county, rather than as a result of a funder offering financial support for the work. "There are fundamental disagreements about strategy at times, but it was significant that we chose ourselves to be part of this and there was no financial obligation holding it together."

At the beginning of the coalition's work, there were questions about how to define victory. Some groups felt that passing any inclusionary zoning ordinance would be a success, even if it didn't address all of the coalition's concerns. The ordinance could serve as a structure on which to build future campaigns. Others felt that it was important to push for an ordinance that addressed the needs of all members' constituents. Ultimately, the alliance decided to push for an initial ordinance that could be amended in the future. The coalition also grappled with how to address members' varying comfort levels with diverse strategies. One way the coalition dealt with these differences was to coordinate work across organiza-

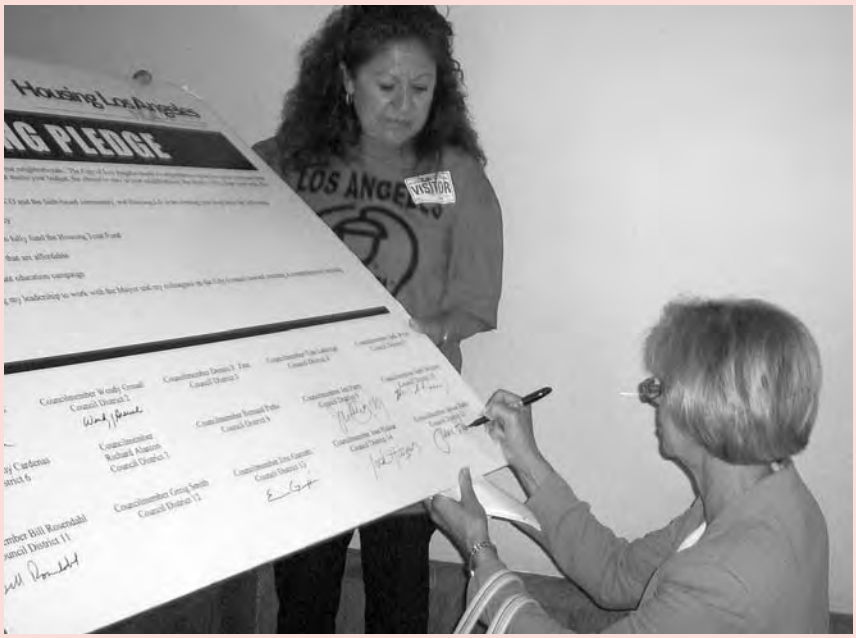
supporting its grassroots efforts. In 2007, the MTA proposed substantially increasing fares. BRU turned out 1,500 people to the MTA board meeting, and NRDC joined the effort by suing MTA for violating California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) statutes. Tammy Bang Luu of BRU said, "The strengths of a grassroots movement can leverage the power of science or legal tactics, which really enhances our ability to win victories in a political fight. There is a role for law in enhancing people's access to civil rights and in that way our fight enhances the ability for others to struggle."

The Southern California ACLU has helped immigrant and ethnic groups locally. After 9/11, the FBI stepped up its interrogations of South Asians in L.A. According to Hamid Khan at SAN, FBI agents would come to individuals' homes to engage in "friendly interviews," with no lawyer present, but then would use any inconsistencies in a person's responses to pursue legal charges. The ACLU/SC has provided legal counsel for many South Asians whose cases were referred by SAN. The very presence of an attorney would discourage FBI agents from going on a "fishing expedition" that could result in charges unrelated to national security.

Collaboration between public interest lawyers and grassroots organizations in L.A. has been symbiotic, benefiting both sets of partners. An example of this is the Micro Solutions raid. The ACLU fought ICE detentions while each group worked in its own way. For example, one group could hold actions to build organizing in its member congregations and other groups could hold direct actions or letter-writing campaigns. Said one leader, "Sometimes, coalitions can get bogged down in tactical things where everyone has to agree. This allowed people to organize in the way that they already do."

The coalition has had success: in 2007, it secured public pledges of commitment from nine out of fifteen city council members. The coalition also has a stronger relationship with the mayor's office in part as a result of its work on the pledge campaign. The ordinance was close to passage, but there was a legal challenge on the rental portion of the ordinance because of a statewide law that could have categorized the rental units as illegally rent-controlled. Housing L.A. is now talking with the city about moving forward with an ordinance that covers for-sale units, with a trigger built in so that if the statewide law is reversed, the ordinance also would cover rental units.[68]

Housing L.A. has just begun seeking funding for its work, which includes addressing complicated questions such as which organization will be the fiscal sponsor and how the money will be distributed among the members. Another challenge is communicating the value of the work to funders. One leader said, "If you go out and ask key political leaders about our coalition, they will say that we were very effective, determined and smart with strategy." But because the campaign is still underway and hasn't yet achieved its ultimate goal, it is difficult to explain the value of the coalition's work in a way that resonates with funders. Nevertheless, members of the coalition continue to devote significant time and resources to this issue, which they believe has enormous potential payoff for lower-income residents and renters.



LA Councilmember Janice Hahn signing the Housing L.A. pledge. Photo courtesy of L.A. ACORN

Korean War veterans who were defrauded by a cemetery that falsely promised them a dedicated memorial resting place. The Asian Pacific American Legal Center won the lawsuit on behalf of these veterans. Photo courtesy of APALC.

tion and won electronic monitoring for workers instead. Lawyers thought this was a huge victory, since the workers would have freedom of movement and not be detained indefinitely. However, the community groups said this was a disaster. There was the visual stigma of the electronic ankle collars, plus ICE staff had to do home visits – no one wanted ICE poking around their residence, so some people were getting kicked out of their homes, and the collars had to be recharged daily, requiring workers to sit in one place near an electrical outlet for hours every day. So, the ACLU sued and got the electronic collars removed. The ruling was overturned on appeal, but ICE did not put the collars back on the workers. Since workers did not run away, ICE realized there was no need for the monitoring system.

Southern California ACLU director of Immigrants' Rights and National Security Litigation Ahilan Arulanantham noted, "The community organizations act as the eyes and ears of the legal organizations and influence our priorities. This collaboration makes the best of both community lawyering and legal activism. The community activists in these groups are empowered by legal knowledge and backed by our legal resources. In turn, our legal strategies are informed and shaped by the priorities of these community organizations."

2. Challenges for Organizations and Funders

As the Housing L.A. and legal-grassroots partnerships demonstrate, it can be challenging for coalitions to build trust and to reach agreement on strategy and agenda. Housing L.A. members approached conflicts directly and have developed ways to work through disagreement. The members value different strategies and allow each other to work in ways that are comfortable. However, leaders discussed coalitions that they felt had not yet reached that level of discourse as well as the difficulties of accomplishing goals without that trusting space for dissent and compromise.

The groups identified some key challenges they encountered in coalitions that they felt were not effective at achieving stated goals:

a. Agreeing on a common strategy

Organizations have differing philosophies regarding policy advocacy and community organizing. The organizations included in this report employed a variety of strategies, from direct action and confrontational tactics to lobbying and legal work. Coalitions bring organizations together that may diverge in strategy, so in order for the collaboration to work, the coalition must develop a process for determining strategy and dealing with tactical disagreements. Trust must be built over time through relationships, intentionality and successes on which to build. Several leaders indicated that coalitions formed because of funding rather than a shared concern for a given issue often struggled to build trust among member organizations.

One leader described an experience in a funder-driven coalition that struggled to gain traction; individual organizations had small successes, but the coalition did not achieve its stated goals. "It wasn't greater than the sum of its parts." Learning from this experience, the funder is now embarking on a new coalition strategy in which it is letting the collaboration develop naturally rather than selecting specific organizations for membership.

b. Addressing variable goals

Leaders stated that the most effective coalitions they'd been part of focused on a concrete achievement, such

as passing the inclusionary zoning policy. In the cases of coalitions with ambitious goals such as health care reform, leaders felt that these coalitions could be effective only if they took the internal time to develop concrete steps to achieving their goals.

Leaders identified the need to agree on a common definition of victory for the coalition as one important step toward developing group cohesion. Said one leader in the Housing L.A. coalition, "Is a victory what will directly impact our membership and the membership of the organizations around the table?" Carving out the time to agree on this question is part of what has led to a successful coalition.

c. The role of the funder

Leaders both lauded and critiqued the role of funders in coalitions. Some leaders felt that a funder-initiated coalition runs the risk of attracting members due to the funding available rather than shared values and goals, which can lead to conflict and resentment within the coalition. However, leaders also emphasized that funders can have a positive impact on the development of a nascent coalition, as in the case of the GREEN LA Coalition and Liberty Hill Foundation.

One leader noted that because many funders are inexperienced when it comes to supporting advocacy and organizing, grantees are expected to put proposals, workplans and reports into a model that is funder-designed rather than community organizing-based. "It takes away from our ability to be effective. It would be great to have more of a 'meet me halfway' approach." The key is for funders to engage in coalition-building with trusted nonprofit partners as coalition leaders, listen to their nonprofit partners' needs and concerns, and be flexible in their approach.

3. Supporting Effective Collaboration

Funders passionate about a particular issue may think it necessary to create a new coalition by gathering together nonprofits working on that issue. However, this does not necessarily result in effective collaboration. Coalition-building is a process that involves fostering trust among members, crafting objectives, strategies and tactics that everyone can support, and coming to agreement on how to deal with conflict.

The GREEN LA Coalition formed shortly after Mayor Villaraigosa was elected on a platform of turning Los Angeles into the greenest major city in the country. Mainstream environmental groups partnered with

Students speak out in support of an Architecture, Construction and Engineering (ACE) Academy in South L.A., which combines college prep curriculum with career technical education. Photo courtesy of Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment.

environmental justice groups to pioneer a new model of assisting government in the development and implementation of cutting-edge green policies. The Liberty Hill Foundation played a critical role in supporting this new collaboration by convening early meetings, providing staff time and furnishing office space. Bill Gallegos of Communities for a Better Environment called the partnership "unique" – The Sierra Club, Heal the Bay, Tree People, the Environmental Defense Fund and other environmental groups are working closely with environmental justice organizations like CBE, Pacoima Beautiful and East Yard Communities for Environmental Justice to address the city's environmental problems. Michele Prichard of Liberty Hill explained, "The GREEN LA experience has produced significant gains in such areas as prioritizing funding for parks in low-income areas; increasing water conservation and recycling; expanding bicycle, bus and pedestrian projects; and establishing the city's new green business certification and purchasing programs. The coalition's model is to work with municipal government to identify priorities and solve real problems, even while 'pushing the envelope' for the most ambitious reforms possible."

The coalition has several working groups, one of which focuses on environmental justice. Bill Gallegos described the process of setting priorities for the coalition: "From the beginning, when we were defining principles and priorities, the environmental justice community insisted that environmental justice be at the center of all GREEN LA's work. It was very important to not just subsume environmental justice as one of a dozen points that the coalition wanted to work on; it is a very central piece to all that we have to do. The worst water problems are in communities of color in the city and communities of color are the majority in the city. We wanted all of GREEN LA to commit to environmental justice as a priority and they have."

Funders can support coalition work effectively through multi-year investments in their nonprofit partners and lending their convening, research and leveraging power to support the formation of new coalitions. In addition to its convening and staff support role in GREEN LA, Liberty Hill introduced the coalition to its grantmaking peers to leverage funding.

In L.A. County, collaboration among groups is essential for achieving change. A strong coalition can achieve remarkable results, building community trust and strengthening participatory democracy in the process of improving conditions for its constituents.

Community Leaders' Keys to Successful Collaboration

- Time and resources to create the "glue" of the coalition
- Building off of organic and trusting relationships
- Clearly articulated goals and strategies
- Inclusive leadership that allows members to voice their opinions
- Transparent and accountable decision-making processes that manage and minimize disagreement
- Clear roles for members of the coalition

VI. Considerations and Recommendations for Funders

As this report shows, institutional funders play a vital role in supporting nonprofits in Los Angeles County to solve the region's pressing problems. Among the 15 groups in NCRP's sample, foundation support for their advocacy, organizing and civic engagement work totaled more than $58 million, representing 77 percent of their total advocacy and organizing budgets between 2004 and 2008.

A. EFFECTIVE FUNDING STRATEGIES

L.A. County offers many examples of philanthropic best practices to support advocacy, organizing and civic engagement. Important tools include providing general operating support grants and multi-year funding, soliciting input from nonprofit partners and helping to enhance their capacity, supporting effective collaboration, contributing to a strong nonprofit infrastructure and encouraging their philanthropic peers to support these strategies.

The sample groups reported that receiving substantial, unrestricted and consistent funding allowed them to be responsive to opportunities and plan for the future – essential elements of effective advocacy and organizing. Several nonprofit leaders expressed a desire for funders to take the long view; advocacy and organizing address systemic problems that will not change in a one or two year time period. Organizations felt that funders must make an effort to understand the scale of Los Angeles and the complexity of the problems facing communities there. One leader said, "L.A. has been dealing with so many issues that the rest of the country is just starting to focus on; here all the issues are at the breaking point." Following are examples of ways in which funders have served as partners to nonprofits in support of their advocacy, organizing and community engagement work in L.A. County.

1. Summary of Foundation Support for Advocacy and Organizing in L.A. County

The chart below highlights the types of foundation support provided to organizations in the sample for their advocacy, organizing and civic engagement work between 2004 and 2008.

Foundation support to the 15 sample groups for these strategies totaled $58,108,260 from 2004 to 2008. The median amount received per group was $531,620 per year. Commendably, the organizations

TYPE OF FOUNDATION FUNDING RECEIVED
Over 5 Years (2004–2008) by 15 Sample Groups for Advocacy, Organizing and Civic Engagement

Type of Funding	Aggregate Amount Received	As Percent of Total Foundation Funding	Median Amount Received
General operating support	$ 24,076,700	41	$ 1,115,000
Multiyear funding[70]	$ 19,520,478	35	$ 590,489
Capacity-building	$ 4,977,143	9	$ 40,000

in the sample received 41 percent of their funding from institutional grantmakers as unrestricted support. In the aggregate nationwide, less than 20 percent of grant dollars are provided as general operating support and less than 16 percent of grantmakers provided 50 percent of their grant dollars this way.

2. Advocacy and Organizing Funding Partners

This project asked organizations in the sample to list all funders who supported their advocacy, organizing, and civic engagement work. The following Los Angeles area funders appeared on respondents' lists:

> Aaroe Associates Charitable Foundation
> Ahmanson Foundation
> The Annenberg Foundation
> Asian Pacific Community Fund
> David Bohnett Foundation
> The California Community Foundation
> Community Health Council
> Crail-Johnson Foundation
> Carry Estelle Doheny Foundation
> Entertainment Industry Foundation
> The Rosalinde & Arthur Gilbert Foundation
> The John Randolph Haynes Foundation
> Jewish Community Foundation
> Liberty Hill Foundation
> L.A. County Human Relations Commission
> Los Angeles Urban Funders
> L.A. Immigrant Funders Collaborative
> L.A. United Methodist Urban Foundation
> Los Angeles Women's Foundation
> Northern Trust Bank
> Parsons Foundation
> QueensCare
> San Gennaro Foundation
> South Asian Bar Association Foundation
> Dwight Stuart Youth Foundation
> S. Mark Taper Foundation
> United Latino Fund
> United Way of Greater Los Angeles
> Washington Mutual Bank
> Weingart Foundation
> Wells Fargo Foundation

The following California-based funders appeared on respondents' lists:

> Akonadi Foundation
> Angelica Foundation
> Asian-Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP)
> Blue Shield of California Foundation
> The California Consumer Protection Foundation
> The California Endowment
> California Wellness Foundation
> Community Technology Foundation of California
> East Bay Community Foundation
> Evelyn & Walter Haas Jr. Fund
> The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
> Impact Fund
> The James Irvine Foundation
> Marisla Foundation
> The McKay Foundation
> Diane Middleton Foundation
> Panta Rhea Foundation
> Rosenberg Foundation
> San Francisco Foundation
> Sawchuk Family Foundation
> Tides Foundation
> Union Bank of California
> The Women's Foundation of California

The following national funders appeared on respondents' lists:

> 21st Century Foundation
> Abelard Foundation
> Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice
> Bank of America
> Bauman Family Foundation
> The Beldon Fund
> Ben & Jerry's
> Butler Family Fund
> Carnegie Corporation
> Catholic Campaign for Human Development
> Nathan Cummings Foundation
> Marguerite Casey Foundation
> The Discount Foundation
> EMD Serono, Inc.
> The Ford Foundation
> Four Freedoms Fund
> Freddie Mac Foundation
> French American Charitable Trust (FACT)
> Funding Exchange
> The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
> Gill Foundation
> Edward W. Hazen Foundation
> Hewlett Packard Foundation

> Hill-Snowdon Foundation
> The Jett Foundation
> Jewish Funds for Justice
> Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
> Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation
> Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
> National Association for Public Interest Law
> National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, Community Impact Fund
> NCCJ September 11th Fund
> The Needmor Fund
> New Voices Fellowship
> New World Foundation
> Norman Foundation
> Open Society Institute
> Penney Family Fund
> Presbyterian Hunger Program
> Presbyterian Self-Development
> Progressive Technology Project
> Public Interest Projects
> Public Welfare Fund
> Racial Justice Collaborative
> Rhino Entertainment
> Rockefeller Foundation
> Sociological Initiatives Foundation
> Solidago Foundation
> Sterling Foundation
> Surdna Foundation
> Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock
> Wallace Global Fund

Los Angeles County has ample philanthropic wealth. Close to 3,000 active foundations in the area gave $2.1 billion in 2007. However, only a small proportion of those foundations give to advocacy, organizing and civic engagement work. Fifty-five percent of the 98 foundations listed above as funding partners are national; 32 percent are based in the Los Angeles area. Organizations in the sample frequently noted their reliance on out-of-state support.

The L.A area and California foundations recognized most frequently for being *effective partners with nonprofits in their advocacy, community organizing and civic engagement efforts* were: the California Community Foundation, the California Endowment, the California Wellness Foundation, the James Irvine Foundation, the Liberty Hill Foundation, United Way of Greater Los Angeles, and the Women's Foundation of California.

3. Practices of Exemplary Funding Partners

a. Exemplary funding partners provide flexible, multi-year funding, reflecting the time horizon for impact

Advocacy and organizing campaigns can take years to achieve their stated outcomes. Along the way, organizations must respond to changes in the political landscape, adapt to unforeseen economic or natural events, forge partnerships with other nonprofits and relationships with public leaders, and organize constituents. These efforts take time and resources. By investing in the mission and work of their nonprofit partners, funders are showing that they trust their grantees to do what they say they will and are investing in their long-term ability to do so. In addition to providing stability, core support and multi-year funding also increase agility and allow organizations "wiggle-room" to respond to an unexpected opportunity or prevent harmful policies from passing.

Madeline Janis of LAANE expressed her views on exemplary funders frankly: "A really good funder gives general operating support grants of significant size, consistent multi-year grants, has regular conversations with grantees, but does not have onerous reporting requirements." She named the French American Charitable Trust (FACT)[71] as a funder that exemplifies these principles and provides additional technical assistance funding for urgent needs.

FACT is spending down its endowment and plans to close its doors in 2012. The foundation is leveraging its small resources to be as strategic as possible and prepare its grantees for success beyond its spend-down date. According to FACT director Diane Feeney, "We can maximize our impact most effectively by making sure our grantees have the stable, general support (flexible) resources and capacity they need to thrive even when FACT is no longer around. Our capacity building program is a central part of our grant making and ensures that as we support our grantees financially, we also help strengthen their internal infrastructure." FACT makes general support grants for community based organizing and intermediary groups (nonprofit technical assistance providers), makes three-year organizational development grants to two of its grantees and small discretionary grants for grantee (capacity building) needs of limited duration and scope, and also funds a pool of consultants that work with grantees on management and governance issues over a longer time horizon.

b. Exemplary funding partners value intermediate outcomes

The process of advocacy and organizing builds organizational capacity. When a group doesn't achieve its goal, there often are intermediate outcomes that bring the organization closer to its target. By recognizing the importance of these interim gains, funders can better understand what their nonprofit partners need to get to the next level in their work. Funders also can help their nonprofit partners identify appropriate interim benchmarks.

Even for ongoing campaigns that have not yet met their goals, capacity building is an important component of success. Supporting capacity building is a way for funders to go beyond the grant and deepen their commitment to their nonprofit partners.

The Housing L.A. coalition held several public actions to build organizing and public support for inclusionary zoning. One July 2007 action drew 1,000 people to a member congregation where Council President Eric Garcetti and the deputy mayor both publicly committed to passing a mixed income housing ordinance (MIHO). Next, the coalition worked to secure more public pledges, winning commitment from nine out of fifteen city council members. Housing L.A. has a strong relationship with Mayor Villaraigosa's office as a result of its public commitments campaign. If an ordinance passes next year, the campaign will have taken three years to achieve "success." However, all of its activities within those years have contributed to the coalition's ability to accomplish its goals. It is essential that funders comprehend this process so that they can be flexible and supportive of their nonprofit partners.

c. Exemplary funders support the coalition work of their nonprofit partners

L.A. County has a scale that all but requires organizations to work in coalition. Many organizations expressed frustration that funders do not support existing effective collaboration, opting instead to seed new coalitions around issues or geographic areas of importance to the funder. One leader said, "Nonprofits have a mission and either you support it or don't, rather than trying to intervene and control that mission. Funders may see low-capacity groups that could benefit from partnering with other groups." However, this leader felt that funders making grants available for existing coalitions would be more helpful than foundation staff initiating a new coalition.

Foundations can contribute positively to the birth of a new coalition when they work in solidarity with their nonprofit partners. Bill Gallegos of Communities for a Better Environment (CBE) described the ways in which the Liberty Hill Foundation nurtured GREEN LA through its early stages, helping it grow to the strong, cohesive coalition that it is today. Liberty Hill played an active role in convening the early meetings of the coalition and reached out to fellow funders including the California Endowment, Nathan Cummings Foundation, and the Annenberg Foundation to help increase foundation support for the coalition. Liberty Hill has furnished offices for the coalition's staff; before the coalition had staff, Liberty Hill did much of the legwork for the coalition and provided administrative support. Leveraging funding, convening and foundation staff time are just some of the ways foundations can help nascent coalitions reach their full potential.

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

Throughout this report, there are many examples of the ways in which groups built their capacity in order to achieve impressive impacts. Even for ongoing campaigns that have not yet met their goals, capacity building is an important component of success. Supporting capacity building is a way for funders to go beyond the grant and deepen their commitment to their nonprofit partners.

Liberty Hill and the James Irvine Foundation stood out in the region as funders the groups named time and again as exemplary partners when it came to funding appropriate, individualized capacity building. Some of the ways in which these foundations distinguished

themselves as true partners with grantees include:

- Providing L.A. Voice PICO, POWER and SCOPE with customized workshops from the Grassroots Institute for Fundraising Training (GIFT) to help build their individual donor base (Liberty Hill).
- Providing tailored executive director leadership training and other technical assistance to Communities for a Better Environment (Irvine).
- Helping new and emerging efforts, including helping identify fiscal sponsors, as for the L.A. Taxi Workers Alliance (Liberty Hill).
- Providing strategic planning and communications development support for LAANE (Irvine).

Latonya Slack of the James Irvine Foundation said that the foundation is committed to providing support to its grantees beyond just project funding. "Capacity building can help an organization become better at achieving its mission. Advocacy organizations need to be responsive and agile and capacity-building can help them to reach that goal."

Cheryl Branch of Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches (LAM) praised Marguerite Casey as "a 21st century funder." LAM wanted to host a Sunday morning radio talk show to provide a community forum to address important issues. As Cheryl said, "I can get 1,000 people in the room, but I can't get 8,000 people in the room." Marguerite Casey provided funding to LAM as part of its Equal Voices for America's Families Campaign, which allowed the organization to purchase double the amount of airtime it was originally able to afford.

In the current economic crisis, nonprofits are facing difficult strategic choices. Fred Ali, president and CEO of the Weingart Foundation expressed concern about the impact of the financial downturn on nonprofit capacity. Because nonprofits are under immense pressure to meet the needs of more of their community members using fewer resources, some may opt to cut back on capacity-building activities such as professional development. Funders can provide a cushion and encourage their nonprofit partners to continue their capacity building efforts by investing in ways that support them doing so.

e. Exemplary funding partners take calculated risks.

For many of the reasons discussed above, funders often are wary of supporting advocacy, organizing and community engagement groups out of fear that they are too risky. However, as this report demonstrates, thoughtful and strategic risk-taking is an essential element of success and a strategy that can have enormous payoff for funders and their nonprofit partners. Particularly in Los Angeles County with its multilayered challenges that cut across issue, ethnic and class lines, funders can and should do more to leverage the power of advocacy and organizing to address systemic problems.

Stewart Kwoh at APALC described funders joining forces to support California Forward, a bipartisan effort to restructure state budgeting and governance policies. California Forward is seeking to change the current two-thirds vote rule for budgets and reform term limits in the state. The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Parsons Foundation, the James Irvine Foundation and the California Endowment all came together to support California Forward. These foundations recognize that a functional state is critical to the success of their nonprofit partners, and they have joined forces with other funders to push for governance reform in the state. This is a long-term effort, but the funders recognized the harm of inaction: without reform, lower-income communities will see resources continue to dwindle and will have fewer options for improving their quality of life. In this case, the risk of settling for the status quo represented a threat to the communities the foundations care about most. California Forward also showcases the value of funders coordinating and collaborating in their advocacy efforts, rather than simply "co-funding."

Many leaders in L.A. County described their campaigns in a variety of issue areas as potentially "landmark" and able to serve as a model for other communities in the country. This includes work on affordable housing, transit, education and environmental justice. However, there are many unpredictable twists and turns on the road to policy change. One leader lamented that "very few foundations can accurately assess the value of advocacy and organizing … Funders do not understand the policy process." One funder noted, "Advocacy is intangible to a lot of funders because of the 10–15 year time horizon for change." It is difficult for advocacy and organizing groups to fit their goals and strategies into a typical one- or two-year grant cycle. In the case of the LAX Enhancement Zone Living Wage Ordinance, LAANE and its allies could not have predicted the litigation that prevented the ordinance from being implemented until two years after its passage. Policy engagement and community organizing is a long-term commitment to a cause. By including their

grantees in the decision-making process and supporting advocacy, organizing and community engagement, funders can truly be bold in addressing the challenges facing L.A. County.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUNDERS

As this report demonstrates, when nonprofits advocate on behalf of and organize their constituents, communities in L.A. County reap concrete lasting benefits. Yet, as many advocates and foundation leaders emphasized, the region faces a host of intractable problems. A lack of affordable housing, inadequate public education, a limited public transit infrastructure, uneven economic development, anti-immigrant sentiment and the recent anti-LGBTQ ballot initiative all present enormous challenges to nonprofit advocates and their foundation partners. These problems are exacerbated by the current financial crisis that is squeezing local government's ability to meet residents' basic needs. Nevertheless, foundations in Los Angeles County also have an opportunity to respond to these problems in a powerful way by supporting advocacy, organizing and civic engagement strategies that elevate those with the least power in the region to work toward a more just society.

More funders can take additional steps to better support advocacy and organizing work. These steps include streamlining the grant process so that the administrative burden on the grantee is commensurate with the size of the grant, providing general operating support and multi-year commitments, and working with their nonprofit partners to meet capacity needs and help their partners realize their full potential as advocates. Anthony Paranese of ACORN identified the Solidago Foundation staff as making an effort to understand the organization's work outside of the dichotomy of funder-grantee. "Their program officers actually engage you in conversation outside the bureaucratic details to talk about your theory of change," he said. Funders also can tap into existing grantees as resources to identify other effective organizations, and indeed some of the groups in the sample helped each other gain legitimacy with funders.

Based on the input of nonprofits and funders, and consistent with *Criteria for Philanthropy at its Best*, NCRP recommends the following next steps to foundation leaders:

1. Increase the percentage of grant dollars devoted to advocacy, organizing and civic engagement

Some funders recognize the significant return offered by investing in policy advocacy and community organizing and devote a substantial percentage of their grant dollars to this kind of work. Others may want to re-evaluate and raise their levels of investment in these strategies, given their potential for tremendous impact.

For a previous publication, NCRP analyzed data from the Foundation Center on 809 large national foundations over a three-year time period and found that only 7 percent of those foundations give 25 percent or more of their grant dollars to support social justice.[72] California foundations meeting this benchmark were:

> Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund
> The John M. Lloyd Foundation
> The California Endowment
> Compton Foundation, Inc.
> Wallace Alexander Gerbode Foundation
> The California Wellness Foundation
> Levi Strauss Foundation
> The San Diego Foundation
> The James Irvine Foundation
> S.H. Cowell Foundation

These funders recognize the significant benefits to communities that advocacy and organizing bring. If other funders increase the proportion of their grant dollars devoted to these strategies, they will increase the capacity of underserved communities to engage in participatory democracy and contribute to solving the region's pressing problems. Further, L.A. County is home to many new, smaller organizations not featured in this report. Funders that increase their financial support for advocacy and organizing have the opportunity to invest in the future success of these emerging groups as well as in more established organizations.

Exemplary grantmakers provide more than their own financial support; they also leverage their relationships with other funders and potential policy allies. Many of the groups in the sample described the ways in which Liberty Hill Foundation has supported their ability to expand their donor base. Marqueece Harris-Dawson of Community Coalition said, "Liberty Hill Foundation has helped organize the philanthropic community and bring Community

Coalition to funders' attention. Thirty percent of our individual donors and funders can probably be traced back to Liberty Hill."

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

Trustees may not know much about advocacy and organizing and may mistakenly believe that foundations cannot legally fund such strategies. Sharing concrete examples from this report with trustees or major donors can help demystify advocacy and organizing and encourage discussion of how these strategies can be among a variety of approaches needed to achieve change on the issues funders care about. In addition to funding advocacy and organizing, foundations can advance public policy priorities by leveraging their political capital, educating their peers and informing public leaders and the media about critical issues and potential solutions.

> "It comes down to fear, either of violating legal restrictions or of entering into an activity with inherent uncertainties and risks"
>
> – Latonya Slack of the James Irvine Foundation on why many funders do not support advocacy and organizing

Latonya Slack of the Irvine Foundation offered a perspective on why many funders do not support advocacy and organizing: "It comes down to fear, either of violating legal restrictions or of entering into an activity with inherent uncertainties and risks." The Irvine Foundation has educated staff and board on the legal constraints related to funding advocacy and, by commissioning a paper on public policy grantmaking,[73] has deepened its understanding of effective public policy and advocacy grantmaking strategies. For funders just embarking on exploring these strategies, education of trustees is key.

At times, leadership change can present the chance for a foundation to explore new ways of achieving its mission. In 2004, Antonia Hernandez, then president and general counsel of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), became president and CEO of the California Community Foundation (CCF). Under new leadership, CCF created a new strategic plan with a significant civic engagement component, now including activities around the 2010 Census, immigration integration and preschool advocacy. Twenty-two percent of CCF's grantmaking is for advocacy, organizing and civic engagement, and, as a community foundation, CCF is well positioned to fund and engage in advocacy work itself and maintains guidelines for its own participation in policy issues. According to Hernandez, "CCF's ten-year strategic plan serves as the foundation for our board of directors' commitment to undertake policy and advocacy work in Los Angeles County. Building and mobilizing the public will be necessary to create systemic change in the areas of interest to the foundation. The foundation's board embraces advocacy and civic engagement as a central tenet of our work." She further noted, "Over the past four years, CCF's incremental levels of success in enabling the nonprofit, public and philanthropic sectors to develop solutions to critical issues such as affordable housing, early childhood education and accessible health care continue to inspire the board about the significance of our catalytic role in public policy."

Participating in a campaign also can build funder knowledge. As part of the campaign to increase access to college preparatory courses in L.A. public schools ("A-G" courses), InnerCity Struggle, Community Coalition, Alliance for a Better Community and the United Way worked together to pass the resolution. Through the campaign, the United Way saw the importance of advocacy and organizing and began funding ICS for its community organizing work. Additionally, both Community Coalition and ICS noted the role of the United Way in helping organizing groups gain entrée into the business community, educating donors about the work and identifying potential funding sources for the groups. As a result of their involvement in Communities for Education Equity, the United Way is

now seeking to integrate advocacy into programs beyond its education work. Elise Buik, CEO, United Way of Greater L.A. observed, "Once we adopted 'creating pathways out of poverty' as our mantra, we saw we couldn't fund our way out of poverty. Focusing on real, long-term change meant new strategies beyond grantmaking – research, convening and mobilizing our various partners into new alliances that advocate for policy reform. The pivot for us was thinking long-term, thinking change not just charity and thinking about putting our brand in service of big-scale change. Our board and key volunteers are excited to be forging this new path – I think the boldness of the challenge inspires them to step up."

Nonprofit partners are often the resident experts on a topic and can educate foundation leaders. Communities for a Better Environment (CBE) hosts "Toxic Tours" to inform community leaders about the targeting of lower-income and ethnic minority communities for toxic waste sites, power plants, and other high-pollution activities. Bill Gallegos explained that many funders do not understand how environmental racism affects their constituents. "It's a term; they do not know what it means or how it plays out in reality. All [foundation] board members should get out and see these sites."

"Focusing on real, long-term change meant new strategies beyond grantmaking – research, convening and mobilizing our various partners into new alliances that advocate for policy reform."

– Elise Buik, CEO, United Way of Greater L.A.

Funders also are seeking ways to determine which organizations are operating in an effective way and building power in the community. Said one nonprofit leader, "As a field in community organizing, we have not built an effective tool to measure [effectiveness]." Another said, "A lot of the major funders don't get organizing, so they force you to put things into terms their board can understand instead of figuring how to accomplish policy changes through community organizing. It would be great to have more of a 'meet me halfway' approach where [funders] make an effort to understand our work and value it for its potential to make change." This report offers concrete examples of successes and can guide funders in discussing with their boards the value of advocacy and organizing.

3. Support collaboration that strengthens advocacy and organizing

Exemplary grantmakers can help build the case for policy change by lending their expertise and resources to collaboration that strengthens the advocacy and organizing work of their nonprofit partners. As Housing L.A. demonstrates, organic collaboration has tremendous potential, and philanthropic leaders often can best support this type of collaboration with minimal strategy intervention. Funders also can play a constructive role in the early stages of collaboration, as Liberty Hill Foundation did when it supported the convening of the GREEN LA coalition, donating staff time and taking on much of the heavy logistical lifting. However, funders also must be willing to trust their nonprofit partners to identify goals and strategies for the coalition as part of an inclusive planning process.

One nonprofit leader suggested that funders interested in supporting coalition work create a designated pot of funding with an expedited process for disbursement. Sometimes coalitions are responding to an opportunistic moment; by the time the funder is able to disburse the money, the members of the coalition have moved on or the window of opportunity for policy change has closed. Another challenge is the typically short-term nature of funding cycles. Investing in coalition work can be a long-term commitment. One leader involved with Housing L.A. said, "If [a mixed income housing ordinance] passes next summer, it will have been a three year campaign. It is very difficult to predict when a policy will pass. We could not have predicted the legal challenge [that defeated the original ordinance] or the economic collapse." Funders should consider making multi-year investments in coalitions and

work with their partners to develop interim benchmarks to measure progress.

Another way funders can better support coalition work is by helping build the capacity of individual organizations within the coalition. Liberty Hill Foundation has supported L.A. Voice in developing its individual donor strategy, increasing internal capacity and by extension its ability to contribute to coalition work. Community Coalition has partnered with other organizations in the state to address the lack of funding for nonprofits led by ethnic minorities. The coalition organized a funders' panel for 32 organizations led by African Americans and Latinos to help develop their readiness to apply for funding. By supporting minority-led organizations, funders can develop these groups' ability to sit at the table with white-led policy and organizing groups. In light of the demographics of L.A. County, it is particularly relevant that funders be cognizant of the need for increased funding of nonwhite-led nonprofits.

4. Work together to foster philanthropic cooperation and shared learning

The issues the 15 organizations tackle on a daily basis are daunting. Just as no one organization can make progress on these issues alone, funders too should work together to not only co-fund but cooperate and plan. For example, L.A. County remains largely racially segregated, with much of the white population occupying the coast and wealthy communities. L.A. has a history of racial tension, and following the 1992 riots, L.A. Urban Funders emerged committed to healing the racial fissures in the community that the riots had exposed and supporting equitable economic development in the city. While L.A. Urban Funders has closed its doors, it represented a historic partnership between foundations and nonprofits dedicated to addressing the disparities that the 1992 civil unrest highlighted. It also represented an unprecedented philanthropic collaborative effort. California Forward represents one contemporary collaborative effort.

Los Angeles-based funders will see better results if they communicate with each other and with statewide and national funders to effectively leverage their resources in addressing the pressing issues facing L.A. County. Better communication among funders would benefit both foundations and their nonprofit partners. To this end Southern California Grantmakers is working to educate its membership, nurture philanthropic involvement in public policy and encourage collaboration in the field. "Southern California Grantmakers is increasing funder collaboration through convening peer learning groups and providing opportunities for focused conversations on issues such as place based grantmaking, improving communications between the public sector and grantmakers, strengthening nonprofit finances, and the intersection between public policy and philanthropy," said Sushma Raman, president of SCG.

Recently L.A. Mayor Villaraigosa established an Office of Strategic Partnerships (OSP), which serves as the designated liaison between the city's executive branch and the nonprofit and foundation community. OSP is a public-private partnership within government with three foundations – Ahmanson, Annenberg, and Weingart – funding half the cost. Aileen Adams, Deputy Mayor for the Office of Strategic Partnerships, explained, "The role of this new office is to give a strong voice to the philanthropic community and nonprofits within government, to search together for creative solutions, and to form strong partnerships among diverse sectors that address common problems – and achieve common dreams. Strategic partnerships enable all sectors to enhance their services and magnify their impact." Some of OSP's major projects include: forging successful place-based strategies; overseeing the city's effort to ensure an accurate 2010 census count; facilitating the work of nonprofits through a nonprofit advisory group; expanding the City's Gang Reduction and Youth Development Program; enhancing city–county government cooperation; and helping the mayor's Partnership for L.A. Schools improve low-performing schools.

5. Invest in organizational capacity and a nonprofit advocacy infrastructure for Southern California

This report features a cross-section of highly sophisticated advocacy and grassroots groups in L.A. County. Some of the groups, such as Community Coalition and the L.A. Gay and Lesbian Center, began as service organizations and evolved to include advocacy among their strategies for serving their communities. None of the groups in the sample achieved their current size and scope overnight; it took time, experience and investments in organi-

zational capacity. The current recession has led to many funders propping up service organizations in the face of declining public funds for much-needed social services. If those social service groups were able to advocate for their needs and address systemic problems, the impact of the current crisis perhaps could be mitigated. L.A. County is home to many nascent organizations with great potential, and foundations would be wise to help develop those organizations by investing in their capacity and in a nonprofit advocacy infrastructure for Southern California.

Funders also can contribute to strategy through investments in research and program assessment. Jared Rivera of L.A. Voice PICO described the way in which a funder research project changed the way the organization engages voters. In 2006, the James Irvine Foundation launched the California Votes Initiative, which combined extensive voter outreach efforts with research design to understand better the effects of various outreach strategies.[74] Irvine paired several organizations, including SCOPE, APALC and L.A. Voice PICO, with a researcher from Yale University who helped the groups conduct experiments to study the efficacy of their get out the vote efforts. As a result, L.A. Voice PICO eliminated any voter engagement work that doesn't involve face-to-face contact and has dramatically improved their get out the vote strategy. "That's something we never would have been able to do on our own," said Rivera.

In 2009, The California Endowment released *What Makes an Effective Advocacy Organization? A Framework for Determining Advocacy Capacity*, prepared by TCC Group. The purpose of the report is to help funders assess and enhance the advocacy capacity and readiness of their grantees, addressing capacity at the organizational rather than individual leadership level. Included is a detailed logic model to help foundations determine the advocacy capacity of their nonprofit partners and identify points of intervention to better support their growth. By utilizing this and other resources, funders can make positive contributions to the ability of their grantees to effectively organize and advocate on behalf of constituents.

Even established organizations have capacity needs. KIWA organizes Korean Americans and Latinos. Executive director Danny Park noted that funders are interested in supporting their work, but don't always appreciate the amount of effort it takes to provide simultaneous translation and work across differences in national history and culture in multiple communities. "A lot of foundations are excited about cross-ethnic organizing and the work. But a small project requires two to three times the effort to accomplish because of the challenges of multiethnic organizing, and foundations sometimes don't fully realize this."

A lot of foundations are excited about cross-ethnic organizing and the work. But a small project requires two to three times the effort to accomplish because of the challenges of multiethnic organizing, and foundations sometimes don't fully realize this."

– Danny Park, Executive Director, Koreantown Immigrant Workers

In addition to fostering philanthropic collaboration to strengthen their own work, foundations can invest in the nonprofit advocacy infrastructure of Southern California. This would facilitate further collaboration among nonprofit groups, provide space for technical assistance and professional development activities, and importantly, build the capacity of area nonprofits to engage in public policy, organizing and civic engagement. Several local stakeholders expressed concern that funders are very good at supporting the capacity of their own grantees, but few are looking at the capacity needs of emerging advocacy and organizing groups or of the nonprofit sector more broadly. As noted earlier in this report, UCLA experts recommended nonprofits engage in more widespread advocacy, but many will need new skills and guidance to do so. Funders

have an interest in supporting capacity beyond that of their own grantees; marginalized communities benefit when the sector as a whole has the capacity to engage in advocacy, organizing and civic engagement. Specifically, foundations can work with existing management support organizations (MSOs) in the region to improve coordination of services and enhance their capacity to provide training to nonprofits on how to add these strategies to their mission and activities.

6. Provide general operating support and multi-year grants

Effective funders maximize their grantees' flexibility and stability by providing multi-year and general operating support. According to NCRP's previous analysis of Foundation Center data on 809 foundations, 11 California foundations provided more than 50 percent of their grant dollars for general operating support:

> William K. Bowes, Jr. Foundation
> The California Wellness Foundation
> D & DF Foundation
> Grousbeck Family Foundation
> The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
> The Larry L. Hillblom Foundation, Inc.
> Jaqueline Hume Foundation
> Thomas and Dorothy Leavy Foundation
> Dan Murphy Foundation
> Mary Stuart Rogers Foundation
> The Thomas and Stacey Siebel Foundation

Twenty-two California Funders provided at least 50 percent of grant dollars as multi-year funding:

> The Ahmanson Foundation
> Bella Vista Foundation
> The Bolthouse Foundation
> The Bothin Foundation
> The California Endowment
> The California Wellness Foundation
> The Cleo Foundation
> Community Foundation Silicon Valley
> Energy Foundation
> The Gamble Foundation
> Wallace Alexander Gerbode Foundation
> Richard and Rhoda Goldman Fund
> Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund
> The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
> The James Irvine Foundation
> The Kimball Foundation
> The John M. Lloyd Foundation
> Peninsula Community Foundation
> The San Diego Foundation
> The San Francisco Foundation
> Santa Barbara Foundation
> The Thomas and Stacey Siebel Foundation

As nonprofits make strategic decisions about advocacy campaigns, capacity needs and how to balance the immediate basic needs of their constituents with their advocacy and organizing work, their funding partners can be of greatest help by investing in a way that enables grantees to achieve the highest possible impact. In addition to increasing the proportion of grant dollars designated for advocacy and organizing, funders can aid their nonprofit partners by providing flexible and stable resources to support their strategic efforts. The current economic crisis has led many funders to cut back grantmaking in order to preserve their own long-term viability. Particularly in Los Angeles County, it is essential that funders instead consider maintaining or increasing flexible, ongoing support for advocacy and organizing.

NCRP and Southern California Grantmakers are available to help L.A. County funders and nonprofit leaders discuss next steps for supporting effective advocacy, organizing and civic engagement to strengthen their communities. A list of resource materials is available at www.ncrp.org.

VII. Conclusion

As this report demonstrates, analyzing a small sample of diverse and effective organizations in Los Angeles County revealed substantial benefits for vulnerable communities, including more than $6.88 billion in monetary gains as well as many non-monetized impacts. The organizations included in this report utilized a range of advocacy, organizing and civic engagement strategies to accomplish their impressive wins. Sophisticated and savvy in their methods, the organizations have managed to achieve success in the face of what is often a highly challenging policy environment. Yet, as this report also demonstrates, the challenges facing L.A. County are tremendous. While not insurmountable, they nonetheless demand long-term commitment in order to address limited public investments and deeply entrenched inequalities in the region.

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

Notes

1. Impact, Outcome, and Output definitions are from *Glossary: Useful Evaluation Terms, Tools & Resources*, prepared by Susie Quern Pratt, Marianne Philbin and Jenny Ellis Richards for the Association of Small Foundations, October 2007. The examples of each were provided by the author.
2. NCRP used "snowball sampling," a purposive sampling technique used in research. Simply described, the researchers kept asking groups and funders for names of groups until we generated a list and no new names emerged.
3. Detailed verification and quantification methodology is available upon request.
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5. Ibid.
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19. Ibid.
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22. Rankings determined by Sustainlane; see http://www.sustainlane.com/us-city-rankings/categories/housing-affordability.
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26. Morello-Frosch et al., op cit.
27. Abram, op cit.
28. California Secretary of State, "A History of California Initiatives," Sacramento, CA: California Secretary of State, 2002, http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/init_history.pdf.
29. *The Economist*, "The Trouble with California," The Economist Free Exchange Blog, posted June 10, 2009, http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2009/06/the_trouble_with_california.
30. Shane Goldmacher and Evan Halper, "Budget Accord Reached," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 2009, Local Section.
31. Tony Semerad, "Utah money helped push Prop 8 spending to historic levels ," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 2009.
32. David B. Howard and Hyeon Jong Kil, *Resilience & Vulnerability: The State of the Nonprofit Sector in Los Angeles*, ed. Jocelyn Guihama, UCLA Center for Civil Society (Los Angeles: 2009).
33. In 1992, a jury in Los Angeles acquitted four white police officers who had been caught on videotape repeatedly beating Rodney King, whom they had pursued in a prolonged car chase. The verdict outraged county residents and sparked ethnic tensions, causing violent riots to erupt. After three days, 55 people had died, 2,300 were injured, and 1,100 buildings had been destroyed. This disastrous event brought national attention to the poverty, racial tensions and inequality within the county.
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APPENDIX A
Organizational Profiles

Organization/Contact Information	Mission Statement/Description
Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC) Stewart Kwoh, Executive Director skwoh@apalc.org 1145 Wilshire Boulevard, Second Floor Los Angeles, CA 90017 www.apalc.org	The mission of APALC is to advocate for civil rights, provide legal services and education and build coalitions to positively influence and impact Asian Pacific Americans and to create a more equitable and harmonious society.
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) Angelica Salas, Executive Director asalas@chirla.org 2533 W. Third Street, Suite 101 Los Angeles, CA 90057 www.chirla.org	CHIRLA was formed in 1986 to advance the human and civil rights of immigrants and refugees in Los Angeles; promote harmonious multiethnic and multiracial human relations; and through coalition-building, advocacy, community education and organizing, empower immigrants and their allies to build a more just society.
Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment Marqueece Harris-Dawson, Executive Director marqueece@cocosouthla.org 8101 S. Vermont Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90044 www.cocosouthla.org	To help transform the social and economic conditions in South LA that foster addiction, crime, violence and poverty by building a community institution that involves thousands in creating, influencing and changing public policy.
Communities for a Better Environment (CBE) Bill Gallegos, Executive Director bgallegos@cbecal.org 5610 Pacific Boulevard, Suite 203 Huntington Park, CA 90255 www.cbecal.org	The mission of Communities for a Better Environment is to achieve environmental health and justice by building grassroots power in and with communities of color and working-class communities.

Organization/Contact Information	Mission Statement/Description
InnerCity Struggle (ICS) Maria Brenes, Executive Director maria@innercitystruggle.org 2811 Whittier Boulevard Los Angeles, CA 90023 www.InnerCityStruggle.org	InnerCity Struggle promotes safe, healthy and nonviolent communities by organizing youth and families in Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles to work toward economic, educational and social justice.
Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA) Danny Park, Executive Director dannypark@kiwa.org 3465 West 8th Street, Second Floor Los Angeles, CA 90005 www.kiwa.org	To empower Koreatown's low-wage immigrant workers and to develop a progressive constituency and leadership in the Koreatown community that can struggle in solidarity with other underrepresented communities in and beyond Koreatown.
Labor Community Strategy Center/Bus Riders Union (LCSC/BRU) Tammy Bang Luu, Senior Organizer tammy@thestrategycenter.org 3780 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 1200 Los Angeles, CA 90010 www.thestrategycenter.org	The Strategy Center is a Think Tank/Act Tank for regional, national and international movement building, founded in 1989. Our campaigns, projects and publications are rooted in working class communities of color, and address the totality of urban life with a particular focus on civil rights, environmental justice, public health, global warming and the criminal legal system.
L.A. Voice PICO Jared Rivera, Executive Director jared@lavoicepico.org 760 South Westmoreland Avenue, Suite 336 Los Angeles, CA 90005 www.lavoicepico.org	Founded in 2000, LA Voice teaches people to speak, act, and engage in the public arena. Together, LA Voice leaders from different parts of Los Angeles are creating innovative solutions to the most pressing problems facing our neighborhoods. LA Voice has successfully worked to increase access to health care, make neighborhoods safer, improve public schools, build affordable housing and mobilize infrequent voters throughout Los Angeles. LA Voice is an interfaith, community organization that unites people from diverse backgrounds to improve the quality of life, especially for those in greatest need.

Organization/Contact Information	Mission Statement/Description
Los Angeles ACORN *Los Angeles ACORN ceased operations in early 2010.* **Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment** Peter Kuhns pkuhns@calorganize.org	The Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment (ACCE) is a new, independent, statewide nonprofit that was started by former members and staff of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), which will be closing many of its operations in California. To contact ACCE, please call Peter Kuhns at (213) 863-4548 ext. 210 or e-mail pkuhns@calorganize.org
Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) Madeline Janis, Executive Director mjanis@laane.org 464 Lucas Avenue, Suite 202 Los Angeles, CA 90017 www.laane.org	LAANE is a leading advocacy organization dedicated to building a new economy for all. Combining dynamic research, innovative public policy and the organizing of broad alliances, LAANE promotes a new economic approach based on good jobs, thriving communities and a healthy environment.
Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Community Service Center Darrel Cummings, Chief of Staff dcummings@lagaycenter.org 1625 North Schrader Boulevard Los Angeles, CA 90028 http://laglc.convio.net/	Since 1971, the L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center has been building the health, advocating for the rights and enriching the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people.
Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches Cheryl Branch, Executive Director cherylbranch@aol.com 7607 South Western Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90047 http://lametro.org	LAM is an association of 50 active member churches that work together to address hopelessness and despair by organizing around social justice issues related to poverty, education and health.

Organization/Contact Information	Mission Statement/Description
People Organized for Westside Renewal (POWER) Chris Gabriele, Executive Director chris@power-la.org 235 Hill Street Santa Monica, CA 90405 www.power-la.org	POWER is committed to working with community members to cultivate a network of relationships with other nonprofit organizations, child care providers, schools, small businesses and public and private institutions that serve as a vehicle for community improvement and involvement.
South Asian Network (SAN) Hamid Khan, Executive Director hamid@southasiannetwork.org 18173 South Pioneer Boulevard Suite I, Second Floor Artesia, CA 90701 www.southasiannetwork.org	South Asian Network was founded in 1990 to provide an open forum where individuals of South Asian origin could gather to discuss social, economic and political issues affecting the community, with the goal of raising awareness, active involvement and advocacy among community members leading to an informed and empowered community.
Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE) Marilyn Johnson, Executive Director mjohnson@scopela.org 1715 West Florence Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90047 www.scopela.org	Founded in 1993, Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE) builds grassroots power to eliminate the structural barriers to social and economic opportunities for poor and disenfranchised communities. SCOPE combines community organizing, leadership development, strategic alliance building, research, training and capacity building and policy advocacy to pursue its mission at the local, state and national levels.

APPENDIX B

Monetized Impacts and Return on Investment*

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: The LAX Enhancement Zone Living Wage Ordinance requires hotels in the region to provide living wages and days off for hotel workers; and it requires the city to invest in street improvements, explore development of a convention center and implement a joint recycling and waste management program. The coalition helped negotiate collective bargaining agreements for workers at four hotels. The living wage ordinance and new union contracts have generated at least $18.5 million in direct wages and benefits. **ORGANIZATIONS:** LAANE and the Coalition for a New Century, which includes clergy, labor, community groups and immigrant rights activists. For more information go to: http://www.newcenturycoalition.com/.		
$ 18,500,000	3,000 hotel workers	2006–2009
IMPACT: Security guards in L.A. area office buildings won significant improvements in wages, benefits and training totaling $96,600,000 in their first three year contract (2008–2011). **ORGANIZATIONS:** LAANE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Los Angeles; L.A. NAACP; SEIU Local 1877; CLUE (Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice) Los Angeles.		
$ 96,600,000	3,500 security officers	2002–2008
IMPACT: Won Construction Careers Policy through the Community Redevelopment Agency, which will target construction jobs for disadvantaged workers. **ORGANIZATIONS:** LAANE, faith-based leaders and ex-offender groups		
$ 49,652,417	15,000 construction jobs	2002–2005
IMPACT: State increased the California minimum wage by $1.25 to $8 per hour, effective January 2008. The portion benefiting LA County through 2011 is $2.646 billion. **ORGANIZATIONS:** ACORN, California Labor Federation, SEIU		
$ 2,646,000,000	445,500 L.A. workers directly and 189,000 indirectly	2005–2006
IMPACT: L.A. City Council passed the Municipal Green Building Retrofit and Workforce Development Ordinance, which will train and give jobs to disadvantaged workers to make public facilities more energy efficient. Dollar value includes $22 million secured to date for job training and construction. Likely savings to taxpayers from reduced energy costs down the road will be substantial. **ORGANIZATIONS:** SCOPE and Los Angeles Apollo Alliance, a coalition of environmental, economic justice, labor and business organizations, including Community Coalition and CBE. See http://apolloalliance.org/state-local/los-angeles/ for a complete list of members.		
$ 22,000,000	2,000 disadvantaged workers	2006–2009

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: Secured development of one-stop homelessness center that provides services for hundreds of homeless people and permanent supportive housing for at least 50. The impact is valued at $1.5 million for purchase of land, $4.5 million annually to operate the center for first five years (2007–2011). **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Voice-PICO, People Assisting the Homeless (PATH), Corporation for Supportive Housing		
$ 24,000,000	14,000 homeless individuals per year	2005–2007
IMPACT: Saved Holiday Venice, a 250-unit project based Section 8 housing development, from conversion to market rate housing **ORGANIZATIONS:** POWER, Locke, Lord Bissel & Liddel; Venice Community Housing Corporation; Public Counsel; LAFLA		
$ 73,800,000	1,100 residents	2007–2008
IMPACT: Saved 26 units at Venice Manor as affordable housing, valued at $300,000 each. **ORGANIZATIONS:** People Organized for Westside Renewal		
$ 7,800,000	39 low and moderate income people	2007–2008
IMPACT: Enforced state Mello Act in City of Los Angeles and Marina del Rey to protect and create affordable housing; ensured building of 134 units of affordable housing, valued at $400,000 per unit. **ORGANIZATIONS:** POWER, LAFLA, Western Center on Law and Poverty		
$ 53,600,000	134 lower-income households	2005–2009
IMPACT: Secured enforcement of central city west inclusionary zoning policy that resulted in 250 new affordable units and in-lieu fees totaling $5 million. **ORGANIZATIONS:** ACORN, SCANPH, ACLU, LAFLA, Western Center on Law & Poverty		
$ 5,000,000	250 households	2001–2007
IMPACT: Won lawsuit settlement for Assi Market workers. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)		
$ 1,475,000	50 current workers and dozens of future workers	2001–2007

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: Won $15 airport minimum fare, increase in meter per flag drop from $2 to $2.20 to $2.45, loosened uniform requirement. Also won from LAX airport contractor: stronger due process rights, clean bathrooms, benches in shaded areas, and water fountain away from restroom, and stopped police harassment. Based on survey of workers, fare changes estimated to increase fare revenues by $19 million per year, projected for five years (2007–2011). **ORGANIZATIONS:** Los Angeles Taxi Workers Alliance, SAN, APALC, Inner City Law Center and private attorneys		
$ 95,000,000	3700 drivers	2004–ongoing
IMPACT: Won two-year pilot Workforce Development program for ex-offenders, helping them reintegrate and obtain jobs and providing subsidies to employers that hire ex-offenders. **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Metropolitan Churches		
$ 1,200,000	43 ex-offenders	2004
IMPACT: Won L.A. City Council passage of the LAX Community Benefits Agreement, which includes settlement agreements with the Lennox and Inglewood School Districts to address air quality issues related to airport expansion. **ORGANIZATIONS:** LAANE and LAX Coalition for Economic, Environmental and Educational Justice: 23 community, faith-based, labor, schools, environmental and environmental justice organizations, including CBE, SCOPE and Community Coalition. See complete list at http://www.ourlax.org/commBenefits/pdf/LAX_Coalition_1208.pdf.		
$ 500,000,000	100,000 residents	2004
IMPACT: Won $1 million to clean up a five-acre, five-story-high toxic mountain of concrete rubble and cement debris, known as La Montaña, in Huntington Park. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Communities for a Better Environment		
$ 1,000,000	residents of Huntington Park	1993–2004
IMPACT: Increased access to student bus passes by securing streamlined procedures. Conservatively estimated, each student has saved $320 to $380 per year on bus fare, totaling $47 million from mid 2005 through 2011. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Labor Community Strategy Center/Bus Riders Union		
$ 47,000,000	at least 20,000 students	2001–2005
IMPACT: Secured MTA commitment to build and federal funding for bus-only lanes for Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Labor Community Strategy Center/Bus Riders Union		
$ 24,400,000	thousands of commuters	2008–ongoing

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: As part of Clean Trucks Campaign, won replacement of dirty diesel trucks estimated to benefit the health of residents and reduce deaths and need for medical services to treat respiratory ailments. **ORGANIZATIONS:** LAANE, Coalition for Safe and Clean Ports, composed of 39 community and labor organizations, including CHIRLA and CBE. See http://www.cleanandsafeports.org/ for a complete list of supporters.		
$ 2,200,000,000	thousands of port drivers, residents and businesses located near ports and along transport corridors	2006–ongoing
IMPACT: Won new state funding streams for victims of same-sex domestic violence. **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center, Community United Against Violence, Equality California, the legislative LGBT caucus, and the California Partnership Against Domestic Violence		
$ 700,000	Victims of same-sex domestic violence	2006–2009
IMPACT: Won settlement of police brutality case stemming from violent dispersal of peaceful marchers at immigrant rights rally in MacArthur Park in May 2007. Resulted in payment to victims as well as new police oversight mechanisms. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Workers Organizing Network (MIWON), including KIWA, CHIRLA, Institute of Popular Education of Southern California, Garment Worker Center, Pilipino Worker's Center		
$ 13,000,000	hundreds of victims	2007–2009
IMPACT: Prevented state funding cuts to the AIDS Drug Assistance Program (ADAP) **ORGANIZATIONS:** The California HIV Alliance, including L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center, San Francisco AIDS Foundation, Bienestar, Project Inform, AIDS Healthcare Foundation, AIDS Project Los Angeles, AIDS Services Foundation of Orange County, and Sacramento CARES		
$ 7,000,000	more than 31,000 lower-income people with HIV/AIDS	2008
IMPACT: State funded $11 million highly successful public education campaign regarding harms of crystal methamphetamine, targeted to young gay men. **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center, California HIV Alliance		
$ 11,000,000	thousands of young gay men	2006–2008
IMPACT: Secured state Quality Education Investment Act (QEIA) funds for underperforming schools in South and East Lost Angeles, totaling at least $326 million through 2011. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Community Coalition, ICS		
$ 326,787,737	Tens of thousands of LAUSD students	2007

DOLLAR VALUE	NO. OF DIRECT BENEFICIARIES	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: Secured $70.8 million in state budget for kinship care in the foster care system. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Community Coalition, California Assembly Speaker Karen Bass, Casey Family Programs, kinship groups across California		
$ 70,800,000	Tens of thousands of relative caregivers and kinship families	2000–2006
IMPACT: Worked with city of Santa Monica to establish three-year summer youth job-training internship program, providing $8 per hour for 20 hours per week over eight weeks for 40 youth each summer. **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Voice-PICO, Jewish Vocational Services, Mayor Richard Bloom, city officials of Santa Monica		
$ 153,600	120 at-risk youth in Santa Monica	2005–2006
IMPACT: Prevented elimination of all of L.A. county's 19 youth probation camps, which are alternatives to being imprisoned with incarcerated adults, and restored proposed state budget cuts. **ORGANIZATIONS:** ACORN, AFSCME Local 685		
$ 201,000,000	4,000 workers; thousands of youth annually	2004
IMPACT: Stopped mid-year "renorming" that would have resulted in teacher reductions and larger class sizes, valued at $18 million for each of 5 years **ORGANIZATIONS:** ACORN, Inner City Struggle, POWER, One LA, CADRE, United Teachers of L.A.		
$ 90,000,000	100,000 students	2007
IMPACT: Won the construction of a new high school ($206,707,370) and a new elementary school ($92,358,634) for the East Los Angeles community. Esteban E. Torres High School will be the first high school to open in unincorporated East Los Angeles in more than 80 years. **ORGANIZATIONS:** LICS, Boyle Heights Learning Collaborative		
$ 299,066,004	thousands of students	2004
$ 6,886,534,758 **$ 75,501,269.30** **$ 91.21**	**Total quantified benefits** **Total Funding for Advocacy and Organizing among 15 Organizations** **Return on Investment (ROI)**	
** NCRP independently verified each impact. Detailed calculation methods are available upon request. The "Organization" field is not intended to provide a complete list of every organization or individual involved in achieving an impact. Additional stakeholders may have participated.*		

APPENDIX C

Non-monetized Impacts and Beneficiaries*

CATEGORY AND/OR NO. OF PEOPLE DIRECTLY BENEFITING	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: Public officials agreed to formally link city job creation efforts to lower-income job seekers in South L.A. Public workforce development systems were retooled to provide better services to formerly incarcerated job seekers. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches, local employers, several ex-offender groups such as A New Way of Life, and Congresswoman Maxine Waters, former Mayor James Hahn, Councilwoman Jan Perry	
1,000 lower-income residents	2002–2004
IMPACT: Helped defeat Proposition 98, which would have eliminated rent control statewide. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Housing advocates, Coalition for Economic Survival, Coalition LA, KIWA	
all renters statewide	2008
IMPACT: Won living wage agreements at numerous Korean markets. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance	
5,000 workers	2001–2007
IMPACT: Secured Los Angeles City Council passage of Nuisance Abatement Ordinance to crack down on nuisance businesses that attract crime. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Community Coalition, United Coalition East, Los Angeles City Councilwoman Jan Perry	
Millions of Los Angeles residents	2001–2008
IMPACT: Prevented liquor-licensed building from development near Lincoln High School in Lincoln Heights. **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Voice-PICO, Sacred Heart Church, Fr. Mario Torres, Lincoln Heights Action Coalition	
Hundreds of students annually	2008
IMPACT: Secured neighborhood improvements from L.A. City Council, including two new traffic lights; opening of public swimming pool; traffic safety measures including stop signs, repaving; video surveillance cameras. Dollar value could not be estimated, but likely is hundreds of thousands of dollars. **ORGANIZATIONS:** ACORN, council members Janice Hahn, Jan Perry, Ed Reyes; Mayor Villaraigosa	
250,000 residents	2004–2008

CATEGORY AND/OR NO. OF PEOPLE DIRECTLY BENEFITING	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: Negotiated a Good Neighbor Agreement with Kinder Morgan Energy Partners on the expansion of their tank farm in the City of Carson, to reduce its emissions of toxic air pollution by 80%; install equipment to prevent groundwater and soil contamination; provide $50,000 to the Asthma and Allergy Foundation of America for the Breathmobile asthma van to visit public schools; provide funding to the Los Angeles Unified School District to replace two dirty diesel school buses with new CNG-powered buses; and provide funding for job training. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Communities for a Better Environment	
Thousands of residents and students	2005
IMPACT: South Coast Air Quality Management District adopted Rule 1118, to reduce emissions from flaring by 75% at nine facilities, resulting in reduction of sulfur-oxide emissions to 0.5 tons per day by 2012 (from two tons per day in 2003). **ORGANIZATIONS:** Communities for a Better Environment	
Thousands of area residents	2005–2006
IMPACT: In Vernon, a city in southeast Los Angeles, defeated proposed large 943-megawatt fossil fuel power plant that would have emitted 1.7 million pounds of local and regional pollution and millions of tons of the greenhouse gas carbon dioxide each year, thereby prevented aggravated asthma, chronic bronchitis, other respiratory illnesses and premature death of area residents. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Communities for a Better Environment	
40,000 people who live or work in Vernon	2006–2009
IMPACT: Held entertainment venues and promotional companies accountable for the booking of reggae entertainers who have made a living from music and lyrics that advocate harassment, violence and murder of LGBTQ people. Won cancellation of concerts in Los Angeles and nationally by the clubs and promoters of these performers. **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center, National Black Justice Coalition, Stop Murder Music Campaign (UK)	
Jamaican and other LGBTQ individuals	2006–2009
IMPACT: Engaged in legal advocacy and organized workers arrested during a raid at a Micro Solutions workplace that affected more than 350 workers. At least four cases have been dismissed, supporting the contention that ICE used illegal tactics. These cases have resulted in ICE refraining from such tactics and reducing workplace raids. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Coalition for Humane Immigrants' Rights of Los Angeles, Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law, National Immigration Law Center, Central American Resource Center, ACLU of Southern California, National Lawyers Guild, the American Immigration Lawyers' Association	
Up to 240 arrested and detained workers	2007–ongoing

CATEGORY AND/OR NO. OF PEOPLE DIRECTLY BENEFITING	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: Curbed local police role in federal immigration enforcement in two separate campaigns, (1) limiting terms of L.A. County agreement with Immigration Control and Enforcement (ICE) and (2) protecting City of L.A. Police Department Special Order 40 that prohibits officers to inquire about immigration status in routine matters. **ORGANIZATIONS:** SAN, CHIRLA, ACLU of Southern California, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)	
Undocumented immigrants in L.A. County	1996–ongoing
IMPACT: Defeated Proposition 6, which would have increased funding for prisons, imposed stricter penalties for some crimes and tried juveniles as adults in gang related offenses. **ORGANIZATIONS:** ICS, Labor Community Strategy Center, CADRE, LAM, FACTS, Youth Justice Coalition, A New Way of Life, CHIRLA, and Korean Resource Center	
L.A. County youth	2008
IMPACT: Achieved Congressional reauthorization of federal Voting Rights Act sections affecting race, language and minority voting rights. **ORGANIZATIONS:** APALC, Voting Rights Act Collaborative, including 20 state and national legal advocacy organizations. See http://www.civilrights.org/voting-rights/vra/2006/collaborative.html.	
All minority voters and voters with limited English proficiency in California	2006–2007
IMPACT: Won language-based consumer fraud case on behalf of Korean customers who were defrauded. Favorably settled lawsuit that forced a large cemetery in L.A. County to change its policies and practices. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Asian Pacific American Legal Center	
Limited English-speaking consumers	2007
IMPACT: Helped L.A. County Board of Supervisors and the L.A. County Department of Health Services agree to provide full-time interpreters to serve public hospitals where most lower-income immigrants receive health care. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Asian Pacific American Legal Center	
Immigrants in L.A. County	2001–2007
IMPACT: Successfully fought state budget cuts to health and welfare programs serving immigrants **ORGANIZATIONS:** APALC, CHIRLA, California Immigrant Policy Center	
Thousands of immigrants	1996–ongoing

CATEGORY AND/OR NO. OF PEOPLE DIRECTLY BENEFITING	LENGTH OF CAMPAIGN
IMPACT: Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) passed A-G resolution guaranteeing all high school students access to college-preparatory curriculum. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Community Coalition, ICS, Alliance for a Better Community, Families in Schools, United Way of Greater Los Angeles, Communities for Educational Equity, school board member Jose Huizar.	
Up to 150,000 LAUSD high school students	1999–2005
IMPACT: Won passage of LAUSD cafeteria reform motion that reduces the amount of sugar, salt and trans fat in cafeteria food served at all 700+ LAUSD schools, strengthens food inspection and handling processes and created a parent-lead Cafeteria Reform Committee that oversees implementation of the motion. **ORGANIZATIONS:** POWER, ACORN, Marlene Canter, The Healthy Schools Collaborative	
690,000 students	2004–2005
IMPACT: Secured establishment of Architecture, Construction & Engineering (ACE) academy at Locke High School in Watts. **ORGANIZATIONS:** Community Coalition, Green Dot Public Schools, Youth & Workforce Development Alliance	
At least 120 students per year	2006–2008
IMPACT: Mobilized public agencies to fill gaps in transition services and worked with the Department of Children and Family Services to develop a new program to provide extensive services to LGBTQ youth in the foster care program in Los Angeles County. **ORGANIZATIONS:** L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center	
LGBTQ foster children	2008–ongoing

** NCRP independently verified each impact. The "Organization" field is not intended to provide a complete list of every organization or individual involved in achieving an impact. Additional stakeholders may have participated.*

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STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY, INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES
Impacts of Advocacy, Organizing and Civic Engagement in Los Angeles

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

—Gara LaMarche, President and CEO
The Atlantic Philanthropies*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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