CENTER FOR
EVALUATION
INNOVATION

ADVOCACY THAT BUILDS POWER

TRANSFORMING POLICIES AND SYSTEMS FOR HEALTH AND RACIAL EQUITY

A REPORT FOR THE CALIFORNIA ENDOWMENT

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March 2021

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABOUT ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED BY THE CALIFORNIA ENDOWMENT'S FUNDS

This report describes a range of strategies and tactics that were used by grassroots organizing groups, policy advocates, and other partners to secure policy changes, system improvements, and other tangible benefits for communities in California over the past decade. Organizations participating in TCE's BHC initiative were involved in many of these strategies and activities. TCE conceived of the BHC approach and provided funding to support grantee partners in some of their activities, engaged other funders to support the initiative, and encouraged collaboration and action among local stakeholders using the BHC brand, though not necessarily with TCE funds, to advance health-promoting policies in the BHC locations. Participating stakeholders used non-TCE funds for lobbying and any other activities that could not be conducted with TCE funds.

> ## BHC success ultimately depends on whether power has been built.

Building Healthy Communities (BHC) is a 10-year, $1 billion initiative launched in 2010 to help transform 14 of California's communities most devastated by health inequities into places where all people have an opportunity to thrive. BHC's north star is the achievement of health equity through the advancement of health and justice for all.

Since power is a social determinant of health, one of BHC's four goals for reaching its aim is: "Historically excluded adults and youth residents have voice, agency, and power in public and private decision-making to create an inclusive democracy and close health equity gaps." This goal requires that BHC's success be measured on whether it has built the power of residents to achieve policy and systems changes that advance health equity in the 14 BHC communities.

> ## BHC communities used advocacy to achieve policy and systems wins.

Chronicling a decade of BHC learning about its impact, The California Endowment (TCE) reports that **BHC advocacy ultimately contributed to more than 1,200 policy changes, systems changes, and tangible benefits** for BHC communities.[1] These wins obviously are and will continue to be important to health equity progress. But achieving wins that sustain and equitably meet the needs of impacted communities—who are best positioned to continue advocating for wins after they are achieved—requires an orientation to advocacy that is focused on more than just what it takes to achieve a win. It requires advocacy that builds power.

> ## This evaluation examined how BHC advocacy built power (not just wins).

The Center for Evaluation Innovation (CEI) and Barsoum Policy Consulting used a multi-case, qualitative study design to examine in depth and in context how advocacy builds power in addition to achieving wins. Across eight BHC communities and statewide, we looked at advocacy anchored around specific wins that crossed five issue areas—school policy implementation, climate and water justice, youth justice, immigration, and elections/integrated voter engagement (the same design and data sources used for the Center for the Study of Social Policy's (CSSP) report, *An Ecosystem to Build Power and Advance Health and Racial Equity)*.

OUR EVALUATION QUESTIONS WERE:

1 How is **power built through advocacy** over time?

2 What distinguishes **advocacy that prioritizes building power** from advocacy that prioritizes achieving a "win"?

3 How did **power expand** or grow as a result of these advocacy campaigns?

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[1] By advocacy we mean the sustained actions taken to achieve wins. We use it synonymously with campaigns.

The power building framework guided our inquiry and analysis.

The power building framework[2] describes how power is built when impacted communities are centered in an ecosystem of actors that use advocacy to achieve policy, systems, and electoral wins that ultimately address long-term structural inequities and transform systems of oppression.

The framework holds that power building is cyclical. Each advocacy win (or loss) is conceived as a cycle around the framework that ultimately expands power if impacted communities are centered in the work. Actors use the power gained throughout the cycle to advocate for the next win. Over time, these actors may "cycle through" many times as they build toward the kind of transformation needed to achieve equity and justice.

THE POWER BUILDING FRAMEWORK
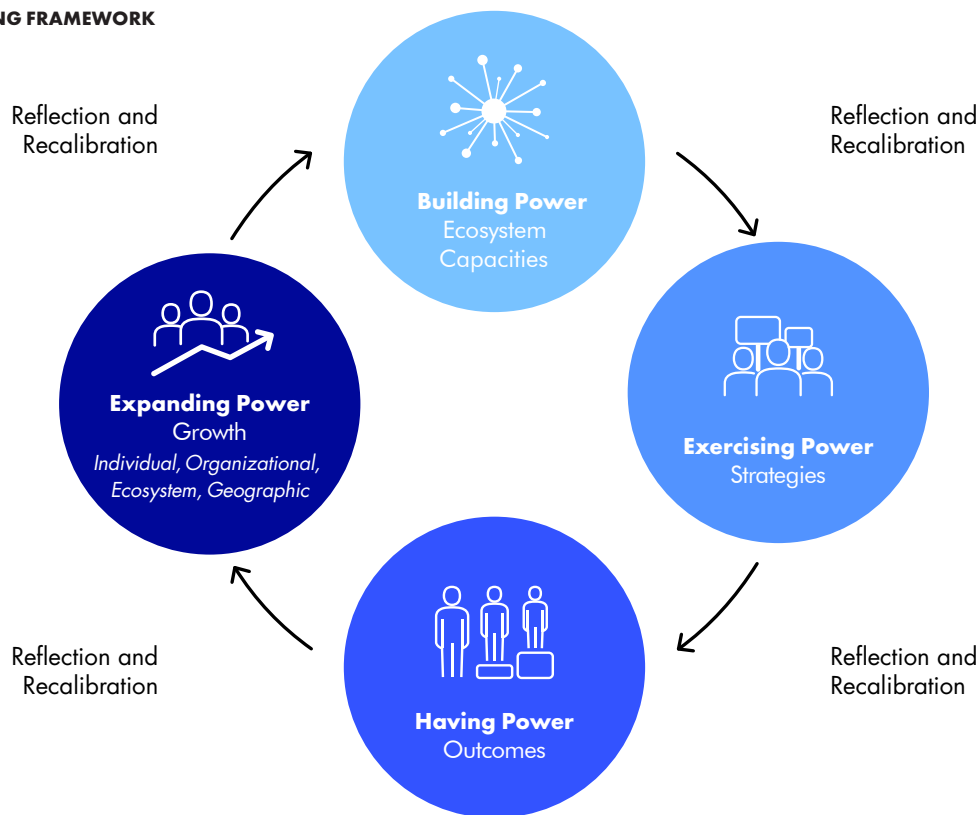
Reflection and Recalibration

Reflection and Recalibration

Building Power
Ecosystem Capacities

Exercising Power
Strategies

Having Power
Outcomes

Expanding Power
Growth
Individual, Organizational, Ecosystem, Geographic

Reflection and Recalibration

Reflection and Recalibration

2   Barsoum, G. (2019, May 1). *Prosecutorial campaigns: A strategy to mobilize and engage communities of color*. Barsoum Policy Consulting. **https://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/research-reports/ prosecutorial-campaigns-a-strategy-to-mobilize-and-engage-communities-of-color**

> Our evaluation revealed six findings about advocacy that builds power.

We found that power expanded in each of the BHC advocacy cases, and it expanded at different levels—individual, organizational, ecosystem, and geographic. Examining the factors about advocacy that related to this power expansion, we found:

1 | **Power expanded as a result of advocacy efforts at the individual, organizational, ecosystem, and geographic levels, and in visible, hidden, and invisible ways.**

The power building framework posits that, with each advocacy cycle or campaign to achieve a win, there is an expansion of power in some way. If communities are centered in the work—an essential prerequisite for power building—power expands. In every advocacy case, we found evidence of power expansion at each of the four levels (individual, organizational, ecosystem, geographic) and aligned with the three ways in which power manifests—in visible, invisible, and hidden ways.

2 | **Power expanded when communities and people impacted were centered in the work and activated to transform their own circumstances.**

Wins can be achieved when organizing is not at the center of advocacy efforts, but the amount of power expansion that occurs can be limited. This "flips the script" on commonly held perceptions about the relationship between organizing and advocacy. Rather than viewing advocacy as the strategy that uses organizing as a tactic to achieve a win, it views organizing as the overarching strategy, and advocacy as a means for both achieving a win and building the power to sustain and leverage it.

Being *centered* in advocacy does not always mean organizers are visibly leading advocacy efforts. Organizing groups in each case we examined played different roles, sometimes leading and sometimes less visible. In all cases, organizing groups engaged in advocacy with a broader ecosystem of partners that had a range of tactical capacities.

3 | **Power expanded when advocacy was grounded in the problems and solutions generated by impacted communities.**

With communities and impacted people centered, problem definition is more likely to link back to root causes, and transformational goals to achieve structural change are more likely to be prioritized.
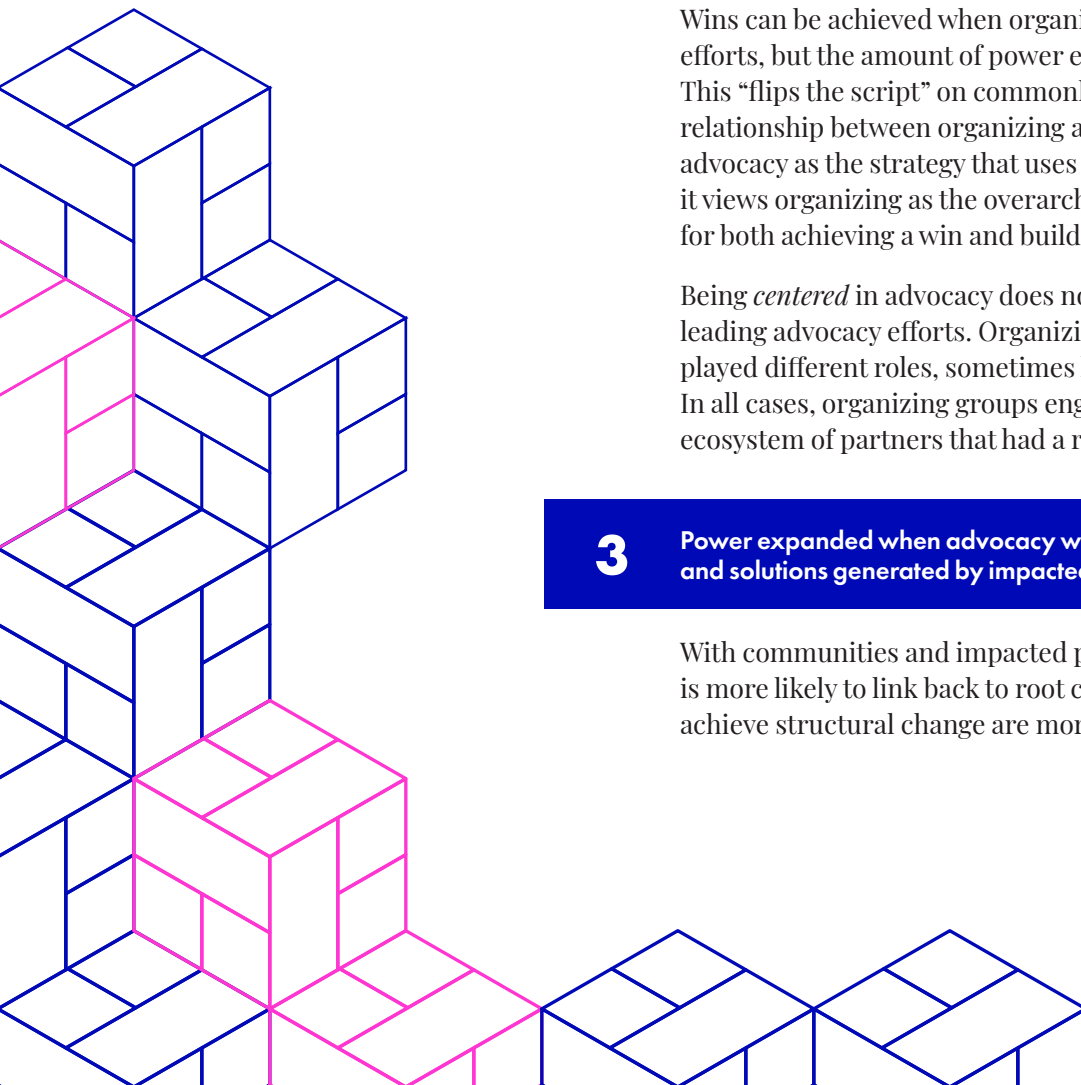
4 | **Power expanded when advocacy was cyclical and built on and leveraged incremental gains toward transformational goals.**

As the power building framework illustrates, because transformations in power and systems rarely come in one big package that effectively addresses the root causes of inequities, organizing typically features distinct advocacy efforts that act like stepping stones toward transformation and build on one another over time.

When advocacy centers communities and grassroots organizing, this kind of cyclical power building, learning, and constant recalibration is possible. When advocacy efforts are disconnected from the work that occurred previously or do not center impacted communities, they are unable to leverage previous experience and relationships, can lack a line of sight to the goal, and may disrupt the path toward long-term transformation.

5 | **Power expanded when advocacy was grounded in long-term narrative change that centered the experiences of those impacted and challenged dominant frames.**

Dominant narratives are hard to disrupt because they invoke deeply entrenched mental models, values, and beliefs. Alternative narratives can help define and bring to life a problem or solution so that it is more thoroughly seen and understood in human terms. Narratives are important to policy and systems change because when alternative narratives take hold, new actors can enter the debate. Narrative change is necessarily long-term work, but when alternative narratives take hold and reflect the experiences and desires of communities, the conditions for profound change are put in place.

6 | **Power expanded when funders gave up *power over* priority setting and strategy direction.**

Our assumption was that if TCE was less visible and involved in an advocacy effort, the quality of the win would be higher and power expanded would be greater. This assumption did not hold up. The more important variable was that communities be centered, not that TCE be less involved. It was important, however, *how* TCE was involved. Funders are actors in power ecosystems beyond providing financial resources. They can play strategic roles in advocacy strategies as long as they center communities and do not make their own priorities the focus if they are not aligned.

Advocacy that builds power is distinct from advocacy focused solely on achieving wins.

At its midpoint, BHC made a "**pivot to power**," and people power went from being an important *driver* of policy and systems change to being *the* change that BHC sought to achieve. Our evaluation helped illuminate the implications of that shift for funders that support advocacy and systems change efforts to advance equity and justice.

Advocacy to Achieve a Win	Advocacy That Builds Power
A "win" is the **goal**.	A "win" is a **means**.
Advocacy is done **on behalf of or for** impacted communities.	Advocacy is done **by and with** impacted communities.
The policy solution **may or may not be** informed by impacted communities.	The policy solution is **developed or informed by** impacted communities.
Base building organizations and organizing **may or may not be** part of the strategy.	Base building organizations and organizing **are centered** in the strategy.
Strategy is based on a shared analysis **driven by politics** and the window of opportunity.	Strategy is based on a shared analysis **grounded in root causes** and inequity.
The **advocacy campaign** is the strategy, and organizing may be a tactic through which a win is achieved.	**Organizing** (a participant-centered power building approach to deal with upstream changes) is the strategy/approach, and advocacy is the tactic/method through which power is built.
Advocacy mobilizes **pundits, policy entrepreneurs, and other influentials** as the drivers of change.	Advocacy based on organizing pays attention to the role of an **authentic organized base** as the primary driver of change.
The work is organized into a series of **time-bound** campaigns that may not relate or add up.	The work is **continuous**, and a series of campaigns expands the power and influence of participants within a field of action.
Specific/time-bound capacity building is provided for the purpose of getting to the win.	Advocacy and campaigns are a **leadership development opportunity** to build power in a defined area.
Others drive narratives that tell stories of impacted communities, often within the dominant frame.	**Impacted communities drive narratives** that tell their stories and challenge dominant frames.

I   INTRODUCTION

Foundations that support advocacy historically have measured success by whether a policy or systems change "win" has been achieved. Did the campaign succeed in passing Medicaid expansion? Were advocates successful in getting home visiting programs funded?

These are important goals for sure, but we see time and again that wins can be vulnerable and, on their own, insufficient. Once achieved, they often face attacks. When political control shifts, they can be reversed. In addition, wins are only as successful as their implementation. If they are not monitored and implemented effectively, they are just words on paper or empty promises.

While philanthropy generally recognizes that the time required to get to a win can be long term and that there are other important measures of progress along the way, advocacy strategies designed for the sole purpose of winning can come up short when the goal is long-term change and systems transformation.[3] Wins are incremental steps toward a longer-term goal. No single policy or systems change win will solve the complex and systemic problems we currently face.

This point has additional significance for foundations that aim to advance racial equity and justice through their advocacy efforts. If advancing equity through advocacy is the goal, measures of success must include attention to *what was won* (the win should help address racial disparities and their root causes) and *how it was won* (communities impacted by the problem advocacy is intended to address should be centered in the work).[4]

Achieving wins that sustain and equitably meet the needs of impacted communities—who also are best positioned to continue advocating for wins after they are achieved—requires an orientation to funding advocacy that is focused on more than just what it takes to achieve a win. It requires advocacy that builds power.

This report, and the evaluation that informed it, examines what it takes for advocacy to build power in addition to achieving wins.

While getting policy wins and systems changes remains a necessary and important objective, what does it mean to center impacted communities as the drivers of change? What does it mean to make building their power the ultimate goal of advocacy work? What does it require of the broader ecosystem of actors—funders, professional advocates, and other allies—who also are involved in the work?

During 2019 and 2020, the Center for Evaluation Innovation (CEI) partnered with The California Endowment (TCE) to examine these questions through an evaluation of the advocacy and systems change work being conducted in communities supported through the Building Healthy Communities (BHC) initiative.

This report begins with background on BHC, describes our evaluation approach, and defines key terms. It then offers the conceptual framework we used to guide data collection and analysis, followed by our findings about advocacy that builds power. The report ends with implications for funders who support advocacy.

This report is a companion to the 2020 report produced by the Center for the Study of Social Policy (CSSP), *An Ecosystem to Build Power and Advance Health and Racial Equity*. The CSSP and CEI evaluation teams collaborated on data collection and shared the same data and conceptual framework (this is detailed later in the report). See page 10 for a summary of CSSP's findings.

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[3] Downes, S. (2016). *No more half measures: Five ways foundations can better support policy campaigns and build lasting advocacy capacity.* Center for Evaluation Innovation.

[4] We use "communities" throughout this report to mean a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic or identity in common.
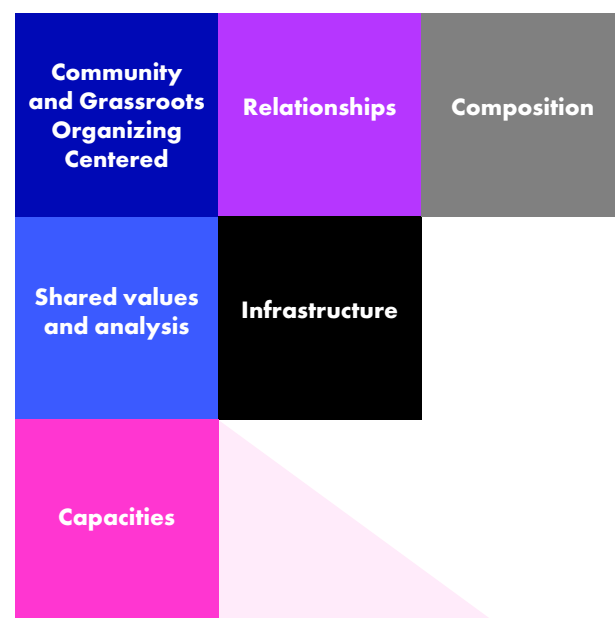
An Ecosystem to Build Power and Advance Health and Racial Equity

The research for this report was conducted in close coordination with research by CSSP. The CEI and CSSP reports base their analysis on a common power building framework; they draw on the same case documentation (summarized in Appendix A); and the two reports have complementary findings. The resulting reports are companion pieces, and readers are urged to review and learn from both.

This report focuses on advocacy that builds power and what distinguishes it from advocacy focused only on a policy win. The CSSP report focuses on the power ecosystem, its six core elements, the capacities needed to build power, and how organizations in the ecosystem self-organize. The report also explores the role of grassroots organizing groups, how the ecosystem builds power, and the role of the foundation.

> **Organizations in the ecosystem self-organized** on shared values and analysis, community priorities, political conditions, and windows of opportunity. The relationships among organizations were sustained by varying degrees of alignment, trust, and purpose. Many collaborative efforts were based on short-term partnerships and were transactional in nature, limited to an exchange of resources or information. Transformational relationships—deeper, mutually beneficial alliances—helped to sustain and strengthen the ecosystem.

> **Grassroots organizing groups are centered** in the power ecosystem because of their unique characteristics and the multiple roles they play. They are hubs with rich community-based networks. They tend to be multi-issue and multiracial, based on the communities in which they were organizing. Some organizing groups extend across regions, thereby expanding and connecting communities. Grassroots organizing groups also develop leaders and activists, which power the ecosystem in the long term. Finally, organizing groups bring unique depth to policy and systems change work, as the people most impacted are the most informed advocates on systems of oppression.

> **The power ecosystem translates wins and losses** toward further progress using electoral, governing, and adaptive capacities. Adaptive capacity—the ecosystem's ability to anticipate, absorb, and respond to external conditions and exogenous shocks—was particularly critical to the ecosystem's ability to leverage and build on losses.

> **The foundation is a member in the ecosystem** and can play a role by: (1) acting as an ecosystem partner, (2) using an ecosystem approach to break down issue silos and address root causes of inequities, (3) championing grassroots power, (4) building long-term capacity, and (5) accelerating learning for strategy.

POWER ECOSYSTEM ELEMENTS

Community and Grassroots Organizing Centered	Relationships	Composition
Shared values and analysis	Infrastructure	
Capacities		

POWER ECOSYSTEM CAPACITIES

- Organizing
- Civic Engagement and Electoral
- Narrative
- Advocacy
- Governing
- Developmental and Supportive
- Adaptive

BHC is a 10-year, $1 billion initiative launched in 2010 to help transform 14 of California's communities most devastated by health inequities into places where all people have an opportunity to thrive. BHC named as its north star the achievement of health equity through the advancement of health and justice for all. One of BHC's four goals for reaching that aim is: "Historically excluded adults and youth residents have voice, agency, and power in public and private decision-making to create an inclusive democracy and close health equity gaps."[5]

This goal requires that BHC's success be measured not just on whether it has achieved policy and systems change wins but on *whether it has built the power of residents in the 14 BHC communities* to achieve those wins and ensure they are implemented.

TCE's emergent strategy for BHC evolved significantly over 10 years as opportunities for learning took root. One significant learning occurred at the initiative's midpoint, when BHC made a "pivot to power" and took a much bolder stance on the importance of people power in the work. While people power had been considered an important *driver* of policy and systems change before, it became *the* change that BHC sought to achieve (see Figure 1).[6]

FIGURE 1: ADVOCACY THAT PRIORITIZES POWER VS. POLICY WINS

Advocacy that prioritizes a win
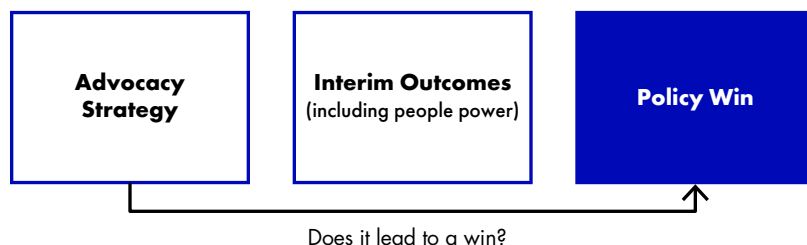
Advocacy that prioritizes power building
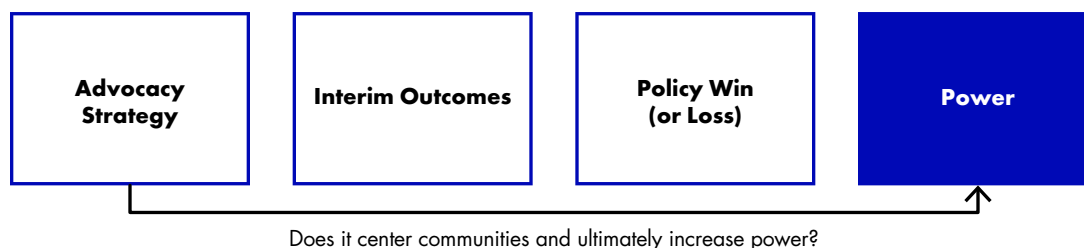
5   TCE Workgroup on North Star Goals and Indicators. (2016, November). *The North Star goals and indicators for Building Healthy Communities*. The California Endowment.

6   Ito, J., Pastor, M., Lin, M., & Lopez, M. (2018, March). *A pivot to power: Lessons from The California Endowment's Building Healthy Communities about place, health, and philanthropy*. USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity.

Evaluation Approach

Our evaluation questions focused on understanding what it takes for advocacy to build power in addition to achieving wins:

> **1** How is **power built through advocacy** over time?
>
> **2** What distinguishes **advocacy that prioritizes building power** from advocacy that prioritizes achieving a "win"?
>
> **3** How did **power expand** or grow as a result of these advocacy campaigns?

We used a multi-case, qualitative study design to examine these questions in depth and in context. With TCE's input, we selected eight cases that represented a broad range of BHC work and aligned with TCE's future direction (see Table 1; see also Appendix A for detailed summaries of the cases and Appendix B for methods.).[7] Across BHC communities and statewide, we looked at advocacy anchored around eight wins that crossed five issue areas—school policy implementation, climate and water justice, youth justice, immigration, and elections/integrated voter engagement.

In collaboration with CSSP evaluators who focused on different but related evaluation questions about how ecosystems of organizations and individuals self-organize to build power, we conducted in-depth interviews with ecosystem actors who played key roles in the work. They included TCE and BHC leaders, organizers, community members, professional advocates, funders, and decision-makers (see Appendix C for a list of the 51 organizations who participated). Additionally, we reviewed relevant media and documents for each case to triangulate and expand on the interview findings.

We used a staged analysis process to create deep knowledge of each case and then assess themes across them. In our collaboration with CSSP, we assigned a lead to each case to oversee and implement data collection and analysis. Each lead developed an analysis that documented key elements of the case and responded to the evaluation questions. In the second step, we assessed themes across the cases to reveal findings about the relationship between advocacy and power building.

We also developed and used a set of five rubrics (see Appendix D) to explore the variation in cases and plot how variables related. For example, we examined the relationship between grassroots organizing groups being centered in achieving the advocacy win and the extent to which power expanded. Learnings from those explorations are woven throughout the findings.

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[7] Note: The policy changes identified here reflect accomplishments that in some cases were championed by BHC participants during the initiative but not necessarily with TCE funds, as described more fully in the introductory material to this report. All TCE grants to BHC participants were made in compliance with the requirements of federal tax law.
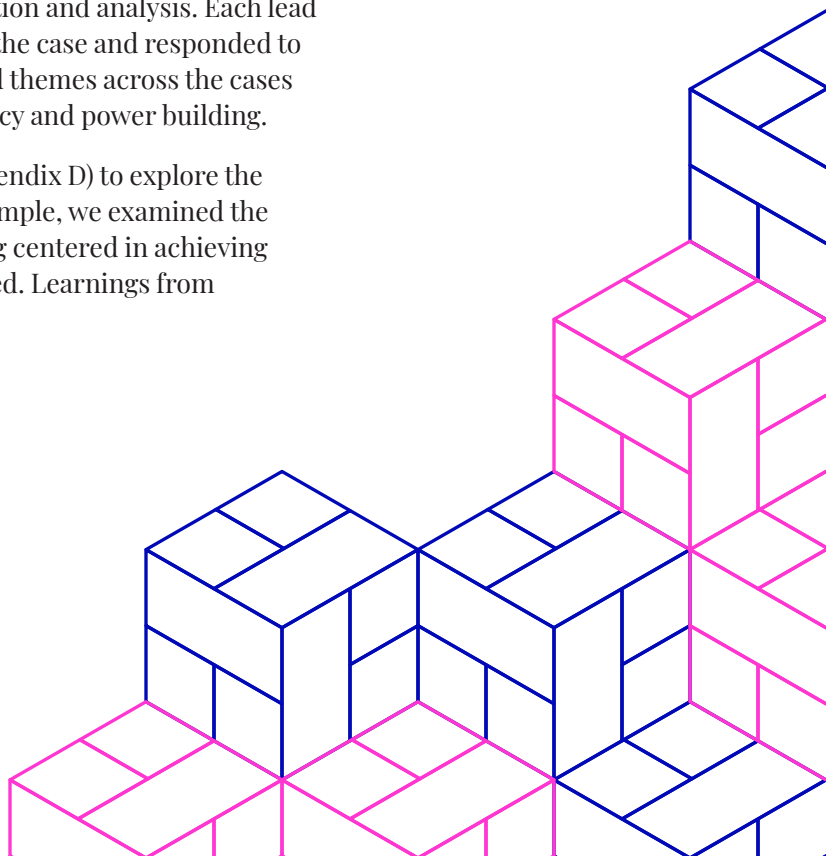
Issue	BHC Place	Policy or Systems Change Win
SCHOOL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION (LCFF AND LCAP)	Merced	In 2019, a group of parents and education and legal advocacy organizations won a victory after filing a Uniform Complaint Procedure (UCP) under California's **Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF)** statute, forcing the Merced City School District to increase transparency in the creation of the Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP) and demonstrate how the district will expand and improve services for high-need students.
	Long Beach	In 2017, advocacy organizations and parents reached a settlement with the Long Beach Unified School District, the result of a UCP filed under California's **LCFF** statute. The settlement increased services to high-need students and required more intentional and effective community and parent engagement.
CLIMATE AND WATER JUSTICE	South Kern and Coachella	**SB 200** created the Safe and Affordable Drinking Water Fund in 2019. It authorizes $130 million per year (for a total of $1.3 billion over 10 years) and provides a legal structure and process for funding safe drinking water solutions for disadvantaged communities in California that currently do not have that access.
YOUTH JUSTICE	Los Angeles	In late 2019 and early 2020, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors passed a series of critical motions to implement recommendations from the **Probation Reform Implementation Team**, a temporary blue-ribbon commission. This process resulted in the creation of a Probation Oversight Commission, a historic independent civilian oversight body, and a process for beginning the transition of LA County's juvenile justice system into a rehabilitative, health-focused, and "care first" system.
	Richmond	In 2019, the Contra Costa County District Attorney's (DA) office launched its first **Restorative Justice Diversion (RJD)** pre-charge program for youth who face incarceration. The office is working with Richmond's RYSE Youth Center and Impact Justice, an Oakland nonprofit, to build a five-year pilot that began in west Contra Costa County. Under the pilot, the DA's office can send youth (up to 17½ years old) who are arrested for misdemeanors or felonies to RYSE staff instead of a county judge.
IMMIGRATION	Santa Ana	In January 2017, the City of Santa Ana enacted a **Sanctuary City Ordinance** declaring it a sanctuary for all residents, regardless of their immigration status—one of the most comprehensive ordinances in the state. The ordinance prohibits city officials, including law enforcement, from administering federal immigration law; protects the sensitive information of every resident; prevents bias-based policing; prevents the use of city funds for immigration enforcement; and directs law enforcement officials to exercise discretion in citing and releasing individuals instead of using a local detention facility or county jail.
	Statewide	**AB 32**, enacted in 2019, prevents the state from creating or renewing contracts with for-profit prison companies and immigration detention centers after January 1, 2020, and phases out existing contracts by 2028. The legislation builds on SB 29, the Dignity Not Detention Act passed in 2017, banning cities and counties from entering into new contracts with private prisons, and AB 103, banning cities and counties from new contracts with detention centers.
INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT	Central Valley and San Diego	Voter turnout and electoral wins increased over multiple cycles through the use of **Integrated Voter Engagement (IVE)** and other electoral strategies in City Heights/San Diego, the Central Valley, and a network of statewide organizations.

Power as a Social Determinant of Health

The multiple and interacting social determinants of health are well documented—race, class, gender, and their rootedness in unequal community conditions and systems. Power has also become recognized as an important and underlying social determinant of health. A World Health Organization report emphasized the central role of power, stating, "Any serious effort to reduce health inequities will involve changing the distribution of power within society to the benefit of disadvantaged groups."[8] The National Academies of Sciences (NAS) reported that interventions targeting root causes hold the greatest promise for promoting health equity. NAS identified power as central to the root causes of health inequities through:[9]

> **The unequal allocation of power and resources** — including goods, services, and societal attention—which manifests itself in unequal social, economic, and environmental conditions, also called the determinants of health.

> **Structural inequities that organize the distribution of power and resources** differentially across lines of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, gender expression, and other dimensions of individual and group identity.

Power, however, is distinct from the other social determinants of health. It is more amorphous, less visible and often insidious, and difficult to measure. It has been described as "upstream of the upstream factors that influence health and drive health inequity."[10]

Doran Schrantz, the Executive Director of ISAIAH, a faith-based community organizing group in Minnesota, wrote:

"Many of our communities suffer from ill health not just because they lack economic resources but also because they lack political power. **Powerlessness, in and of itself, is bad for your health.** Community organizing has a unique role to play—not just in winning policy changes— but in building the power, voice, and leadership of people themselves to change systems and policies."[11]

Schrantz suggests that the solution to the lack of power is to build power and the way to build community power is through grassroots organizing to transform arrangements of power. "If powerlessness is contributing to what makes us sick, then **building community power can help make us well.**"[12]

[8] Solar, O., & Irwin, A. (2010). *A conceptual framework for action on the social determinants of health: Social determinants of health discussion paper 2 (policy and practice).* World Health Organization. **https://www.who.int/sdhconference/resources/ConceptualframeworkforactiononSDH_eng.pdf**

[9] National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2017). *Communities in action: Pathways to health equity.* The National Academies Press. **https://doi.org/10.17226/24624**

[10] Givens, M., Kindig, D., Inzeo, P. T., & Faust, V. (2018, February 1). *Power: The most fundamental cause of health inequity?* Health Affairs. **https://www.healthaffairs.org/do/10.1377/hblog20180129.731387/full/**

[11] Schrantz, D. (2016, Spring). *Building power, building health.* Stanford Social Innovation Review, 14(2), 9. **https://ssir.org/articles/entry/building_power_building_health**

[12] Schrantz, D. (2016, Spring). *Building power, building health.* Stanford Social Innovation Review, 14(2), 9. **https://ssir.org/articles/entry/building_power_building_health**

Advocacy and Organizing Defined

Advocacy for policy and systems wins matters; these changes are the building blocks of systems transformation to address the root causes of inequities. That transformation can feature a sharp and major disruption, but more often it features long-term, incremental change.

> **Our use of "advocacy" throughout this report refers to the sustained actions taken to achieve policy wins or systems change.**[13] We use it synonymously with campaigns. It is the set of tactics used to achieve the win; the effort itself.

> **This is different from what we mean by "organizing," which has at its central purpose the building of power.** Organizing is a "transformational process in which constituencies develop individual and collective capacities to exercise voice over sociopolitical outcomes that matter to them."[14] One-to-one relationships are central to this transformational process and to engaging individuals in participatory and democratic civic practices. "The heart of democratic organizing is its ability to build social relationships between people, and then transform those relationships into collective power. Power in the context of organizing is about the ability of organizing groups to influence social change outcomes."[15]

Organizing is distinct from advocacy, but organizers also use advocacy to achieve social change goals and build power. Organizing work includes base building, healing, leadership development, advocacy/campaigns, and storytelling.

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[13] Coffman, J., & Beer, T. (2015). *The advocacy strategy framework*. Center for Evaluation Innovation.

[14] Speer, P., & Han, H. (2018). *Re-engaging social relationships and collective dimensions of organizing to revive democratic practice*. Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 6(2), 745–758. **https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v6i2.929**

[15] Speer, P., & Han, H. (2018). *Re-engaging social relationships and collective dimensions of organizing to revive democratic practice*. Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 6(2), 745–758. **https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v6i2.929**

Power Defined

Power operates in visible, hidden, and invisible ways. Visible power is the observable aspects of the political process and the wielding or withholding of resources. Hidden power is the shaping of issues on the agenda and controlling the terms of the debate. Invisible power is the shaping of perceptions, norms, and ideologies.[16][17] Richard Healey and Sandra Hinson build on this theory of power and ground the expressions, or faces of power, in the practice of organizing:[18]

> **Visible:** Organizing people and resources for direct political involvement in visible decision-making arenas.

> **Hidden:** Building durable, long-term political infrastructure that includes networks of organizations that are aligned around shared goals and can shape political agendas.

> **Invisible:** Making meaning on the terrain of ideology and worldview.

The Equity Research Institute (ERI) summarizes these concepts in their definition of community power as "the ability of communities most impacted by structural inequity to develop, sustain, and grow an organized base of people who act together through democratic structures to set agendas, shift public discourse, influence who makes decisions, and cultivate ongoing relationships of mutual accountability with decision-makers that change systems and advance health equity."[19]

These conceptualizations of power are operationalized in our evaluation through the power building framework, which is also informed by grassroots organizing and the organizers' use of power analysis.[20]

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[16] Lukes, S. (1974). *Power: A radical view*. Palgrave Macmillan. **http://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Power-A-Radical-View-Steven-Lukes.pdf**

[17] Gaventa, J. (2006, November). *Finding the spaces for change: A power analysis*. IDS Bulletin, 37(6), 23–33. **http://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/finding_spaces_for_change.pdf**

[18] Healey, R., & Hinson, S. (2017). *The four faces of power*. Grassroots Policy Project. **http://grassrootspolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/GPP_4FacesOfPower.pdf**

[19] Pastor, M., Ito, J., & Wander, M. (2020, September). *Story of place: Community power and healthy communities*. USC Dornsife Equity Research Institute. **https://dornsife.usc.edu/eri/lead-local/**

[20] Pateriya, D., & Castellanos, P. (Eds.). (2003). *Power tools: A manual for organizations fighting for justice*. Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education.

The Power Building Framework

The power building framework (See Figure 2) was developed empirically through case studies documenting electoral campaigns, the monitoring and accountability of the newly elected official, and the advancement of criminal justice reforms. The cases documented work in two different jurisdictions as led by grassroots organizing groups in coalition and collaboration with other organizations.[21]

The framework that emerged from these cases describes how power is built when impacted communities are centered in an ecosystem of groups and organizations that use policy, systems change, and electoral advocacy to achieve wins that ultimately address long-term structural inequities and transform systems of oppression.

> **Power building is represented as cyclical and dynamic.** Each advocacy or electoral campaign and related win (or loss) is conceived as a full cycle around the framework that ultimately expands power if impacted communities are centered in and drive the work. As wins (or losses) are experienced, power building actors use the power gained throughout the cycle to advocate for the next win. Over time, these actors may "cycle through" many times as they build toward the kind of transformation needed to achieve equity and justice, each time building their power and getting closer to achieving their vision.

FIGURE 2: THE POWER BUILDING FRAMEWORK

Reflection and Recalibration

Reflection and Recalibration

Building Power
Ecosystem Capacities

Exercising Power
Strategies

Expanding Power
Growth
Individual, Organizational, Ecosystem, Geographic

Having Power
Outcomes

Reflection and Recalibration

Reflection and Recalibration
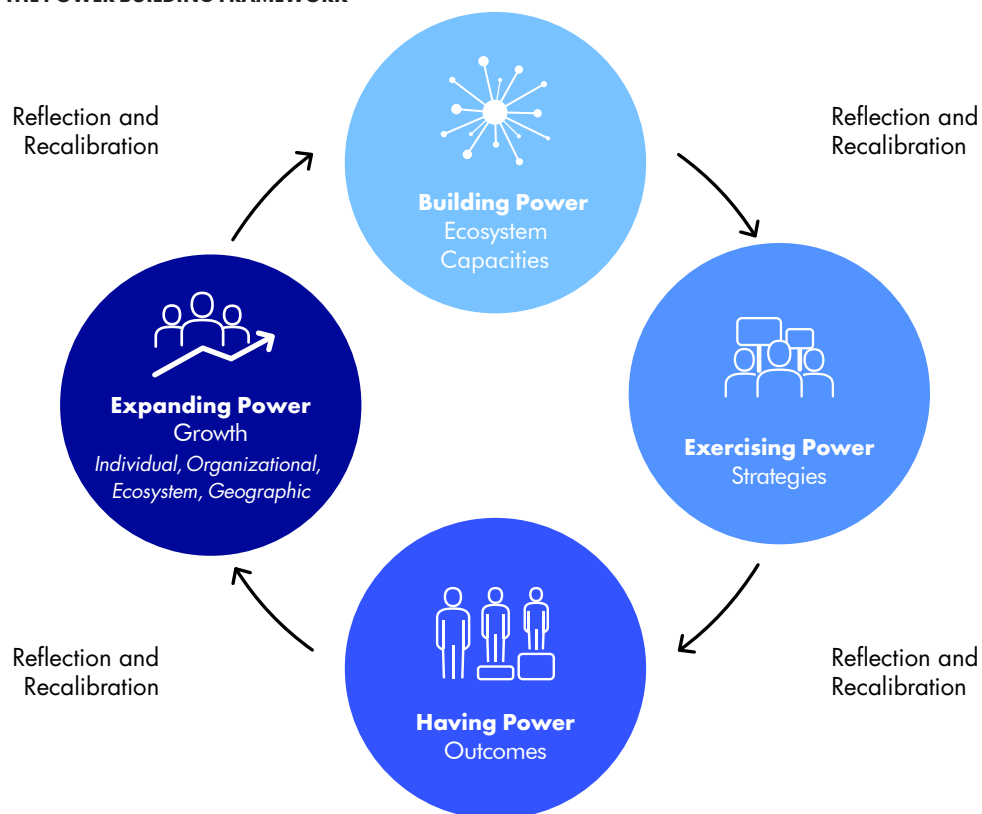
> **The process of building, exercising, and expanding power does not occur in a vacuum** but in a dynamic political, economic, social, and cultural environment that impacts the ecosystem and the opening and closing of windows of opportunity.

[21] Barsoum, G. (2019, May 1). *Prosecutorial campaigns: A strategy to mobilize and engage communities of color*. Barsoum Policy Consulting. https://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/research-reports/prosecutorial-campaigns-a-strategy-to-mobilize-and-engage-communities-of-color

> **Power building relies on the hidden, visible, and invisible expression of power.**
Hidden power is the ecosystem as a network of organizations that centers impacted communities and aligns on shared goals. Visible power is expressed in the ecosystem's exercise of power through strategies and campaigns to shape agendas, bring about policy and electoral changes, and transform systems. Invisible power is the ecosystem's use of narrative change strategies to inform and change perceptions and ideologies. Fundamental to the efficacy of the power ecosystem and its ability to exercise both visible and invisible power are its capacities (advocacy, organizing, electoral, narrative, governing, and adaptive).

> **The *power building framework* was used to guide our evaluation inquiry and analysis.**
For each case we examined, our aim was to understand as much as possible about these framework elements (explained in order clockwise).

Building power (capacities): This element focuses on the composition of organizations in the power ecosystem and how they relationally reflect the central role of grassroots organizing and impacted communities. It examines the ecosystem's organizational relationships, goals and values, infrastructure, and capacities. We looked at:

- The types of organizations and capacities present in the ecosystem
- Areas in which capacity was built
- Alignment and power dynamics among ecosystem actors on values, goals, problem definition, solutions proposed, and priority populations/communities

Exercising power (strategies): This is the advocacy approach or campaign to achieve a particular win. It includes the tactics and strategies directed at targets (legislative, administrative, judicial, electoral, cultural, and economic) and how community engagement is integrated. We looked at:

- Strategies and tactics deployed, including their scale and quality
- How communities were engaged in the advocacy
- Who was targeted with advocacy
- What was achieved along the way to set the stage for the policy win

Having power (outcomes): This is what happens as a result of advocacy. It represents the results in terms of wins and losses on policy change, systems/practice change, electoral outcomes, political shifts, narrative changes, and ultimately the impact on communities. We looked at:

- What resulted from the advocacy efforts
- The quality of the result or extent to which it advanced equity or responded to the community's articulated need

Expanding power (growth): This is the impact of wins and losses on power, which can expand on multiple levels—individual, organizational, ecosystem, and geographic (see more on these levels in the findings). We looked for changes at each of these levels.

> **While our selection of cases was based on a specific win that represented a single cycle around the framework, we looked at what happened before and after the win to see how previous advocacy cycles built on one another over time to make that win possible.**
We examined what communities learned and how they recalibrated between cycles.

Using the eight cases and our analysis within and across them, we explored if and how advocacy expanded power, how it looks when it does, and the factors that appear to affect the extent to which power expands. Our work further pressure-tested the power building framework to learn more about what it takes for advocacy to build power. Our analysis resulted in six key findings.

1   Power expanded as a result of advocacy efforts at the individual, organizational, ecosystem, and geographic levels, and in visible, hidden, and invisible ways.

The power building framework posits that, with each advocacy cycle or campaign to achieve a win, there is an expansion of power in some way. *If communities are centered in the work—an essential prerequisite for power building—power expands.* That expansion of power is manifest in visible, hidden, and invisible ways.

Beyond the policy, systems, and electoral wins (and losses), there are other important outcomes that accrue and serve as a source of power to be wielded toward the next campaign. Those outcomes occur at each of the four levels of power expansion—individual, organizational, ecosystem, and geographic (see Figure 3)—and are aligned with the three forms of power:

> **Visible** pertains to increased influence, credibility, and legitimacy, which increase access to and involvement in decision-making, and enable the wielding and withholding of resources.

> **Hidden** pertains to increases in capacity that further strengthen individual agency, organizational efficacy, and ecosystem power.

> **Invisible** refers to narrative changes as reflected in the increased voice of impacted communities and shifts in commonly held beliefs that propagate inequities.

Table 2 offers an overview of how power expanded across the cases in both hidden and visible ways. What follows is a deeper discussion of how power expanded at each level. Narrative, as an invisible aspect of power, is discussed separately later in the report.
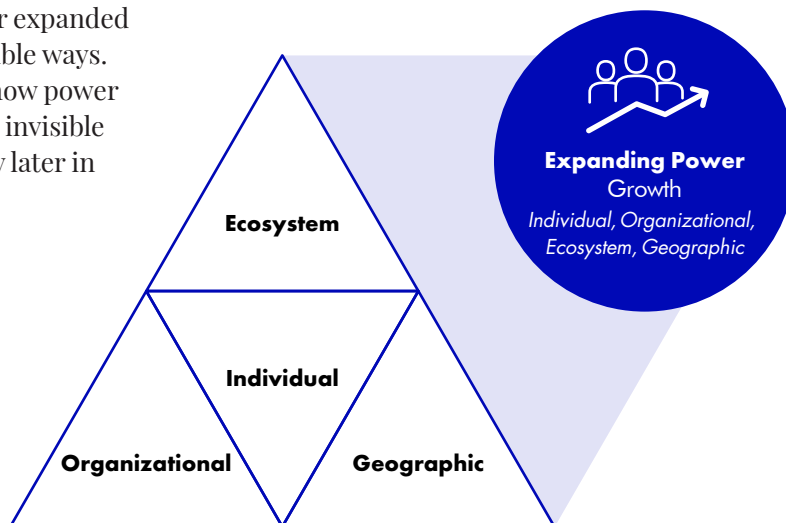
Expanding Power
Growth
Individual, Organizational, Ecosystem, Geographic

Ecosystem

Individual

Organizational   Geographic

FIGURE 3:
LEVELS AT WHICH POWER SHIFTS

	Hidden Power	Visible Power
INDIVIDUAL	**Individual capacity (e.g., knowledge, skills, or personal agency)** **Sanctuary City:** Youth organizers gain ability to propose and implement solutions **AB 32:** Individuals in detention can tell their stories; formerly detained youth and adults build capacity to advocate on their own behalf and for those still detained **SB 200:** Impacted individuals build capacity to advocate locally and in Sacramento **Probation:** System-impacted youth build understanding of PRIT and tell their stories at public PRIT hearings **LCFF:** Parents build capacity on Merced school district budget process and use of data to inform legal strategy	**The transformation and continued engagement of individuals into leaders** **Sanctuary City and IVE:** New youth leaders establish new organizations **AB 32:** Stories of detention conditions and the hunger strikes are amplified in the media and catalyzed legislative reforms **SB 200:** Community members elected to district water board **Probation:** Probation Reform Implementation Team (PRIT) members report that youth testimony influenced them and countered the probation officers' narrative **LCFF:** Parents are taken seriously by Merced school District out of concerns they file another Uniform Complaint
ORGANIZATIONAL	**Organizational capacity (e.g., skills, operations, resources, base, or membership)** **SB 200:** Community Water Center added a 501(c)(4) entity and acquired funding for it from the Water Foundation; CWC, Leadership Council for Justice and Accountability, and Pueblo Unido each built electoral capacity **Restorative Justice:** Created an Education and Justice Department within RYSE. Built and strengthened relationships with advocates and community groups to hold the DA accountable to her commitment made prior to her election. **IVE:** Mid-City CAN, Partnership for the Advancement of New Americans (PANA), and VietVets built civic engagement and IVE, which has enabled them to expand their base; PANA has expanded and hired new staff	**The influence, credibility, and legitimacy of an organization (e.g., expertise, threat, go-to, access to decision-making tables, visibility)** **SB 200:** CWC's Co-Executive Director appointed to State Water Resources Control Board **Restorative Justice:** DA implemented youth diversion program **Probation:** Advocacy and organizing groups appointed to key governing bodies that oversee probation issues and resources **IVE:** Increased electoral turnout; elevated profile of PANA and its Executive Director; issues the community has prioritized are being placed on the decision-makers agenda; PANA's endorsement is sought, and elected officials seek their input on informing their agenda
ECOSYSTEM	**Ecosystem capacities, relationships, composition, values and analysis, infrastructure, and collective base** **Sanctuary City:** Creation of multi-issue, multi-constituency coalition with new relationships between immigrant and LGBTQ rights organizations **AB 32:** Expansion of the Dignity Not Detention coalition; building relationships between immigrant rights and criminal justice organizations; addition of legal technical capacities; working on AB 32 implementation **SB 200:** Expansion of the coalition to reach into new regions and building of their communications and lobbying capacity; working on SB 200 implementation **Probation:** Establishing and expanding of Los Angeles Youth Uprising (LAYUP) coalition; building staff and communication capacity; and strengthened relationships with organizations working on criminal justice, adult probation, and gang prevention **IVE:** Relationships developed and strengthened through capacity building support provided by statewide networks (e.g., CA Calls and MVP) to local organizing groups and increased collaboration at regional civic engagement tables	**The influence, credibility, and legitimacy of the ecosystem (e.g., expertise, threat, go-to, access to decision-making tables, visibility)** **Sanctuary City:** Drafted the ordinance language; an advisory committee created through the ordinance included community members and advocates; police union invested $500,000 in City Council elections to limit the coalition's influence **AB 32:** Legislative staff recognized the invaluable role of coalition in inside-outside strategy; informed bill language; opposition invested $160 million against them **SB 200:** Governor Gavin Newsom prioritized the issue and met with community members in the Central Valley **Probation:** Coalition and its members seen as "go-to" and appointed to governing bodies; informed the PRIT agenda and meetings; attracted funder support **IVE:** Increased voter turnout and electoral victories
GEOGRAPHIC	**New communities, populations, and regions organized** **Sanctuary City:** Coalition developed relationships with organizing groups in other regions and ethnic constituencies to expand base **SB 200:** Coalition expands to include organizing groups and communities across the state that are dealing with access to safe, and affordable water	**The scale and influence of the ecosystem** **Sanctuary City:** The expanded reach and voice of communities of color in Orange County **SB 200:** Legislators recognized the statewide scope of the water problem

> At the **individual level**, the cases reflected individual community members engaged to varying degrees and in different ways. Indicators of power expansion reflect transformative change, which occurs when individuals are engaged, not only mobilized, on an issue that is of personal interest. This is a process that happens through the one-to-one relationships formed by organizing that turn individuals into agents of democracy rather than "props" in campaigns.[22] The ecosystems and campaigns that centered grassroots organizing and impacted communities through deeper engagement and leadership reflected greater power built on the individual level. In each case, clear examples emerged of how individuals grew over time to recognize their agency and ability to have influence and impact with some starting organizations, others being appointed to leadership positions and running for elected office. The influence of these individuals was also reflected in the reaction and response of decision-makers and the amplification of their voices in the media.

In the **LCFF case,** the role of organizing and capacity building of individual parents to take collective action comes through clearly. Parents of school-age children in the Merced City School District (MCSD) expressed feeling validated and empowered as a result of their advocacy to hold the school district accountable. The data the Advancement Project provided parents gave them "knowledge to fight" against the district and catalyzed their engagement around the use of the UCP to hold the district accountable. This sense of empowerment translated to further engagement, with parents reporting they felt ready to take on the next issue and to "think bigger" as a result of their victory. The victory also changed how MCSD interacted with parents and community members. Parents reported the MCSD was more willing to meet and was reaching out and "checking back" with parents and residents. The willingness and ability of parents to file the UCP demonstrated that they could do it again and they were a legitimate threat to be taken seriously. As a result of the successful campaign using the UCP, MCSD found a renewed interest in partnering with parents. "What we saw was that we received more respect, not less," one of the organizers said.

[22] Speer, P., & Han, H. (2018, December 21). Re-engaging social relationships and collective dimensions of organizing to revive democratic practice. Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 6(2), 745–758, https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v6i2.929

> The **organizational level** focuses on how organizations in the power ecosystem are directly affected by the work. For the organizations leading or highly involved in advocacy, the experience built their leadership, technical, management, and adaptive advocacy capacities.[23] For example, organizing groups often expanded their base. In one case, a new organization formed. Several organizations developed a 501(c)(4) legal entity to strengthen their advocacy and ability to hold elected officials accountable. Organizations' growth in influence was evident in their increased visibility and elevated profile in media reports, and in their recognition as power brokers by decision-makers and partners. Organizations were also seen as credible go-to sources of information that decision-makers relied on for content information or access tothe community. Grassroots organizations, in particular, were valued by ecosystem partners and decision-makers alike for their ability to authentically engage community members and constituencies in the process of policy and systems changes.

RYSE Youth Center was the lead community organization in Contra Costa County's pre-charge **RJD** program. After witnessing and seeing data on youth of color interacting with the juvenile justice system at disproportionately high rates, the organization built its capacity to address it. RYSE created a department to focus on the nexus of education and justice, built relationships with other advocates and community members to pressure the county's criminal justice system, and created seats at decision-making tables to shape solutions that end the school-to-prison pipeline.

Several of the organizations working on **water justice** expanded their capacity to include electoral organizing to elect and hold accountable decision-makers who will advance effective water policy. The Community Water Center went a step further and created a 501(c)4 legal entity to support lobbying and electoral activities. While the successful advocacy on SB 200 was accomplished through a coalition of organizations, CWC's Cofounder and Co-Executive Director was appointed to the State Water Resources Control Board, where she is one of five staff making decisions on water quality regulation and enforcement, water rights, adjudications, and funding, and is charged with implementation of SB 200.

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[23] Raynor, J., York, P., & Sim, S-C. (2009, January). *What makes an effective advocacy organization? A framework for determining advocacy capacity*. TCC Group.
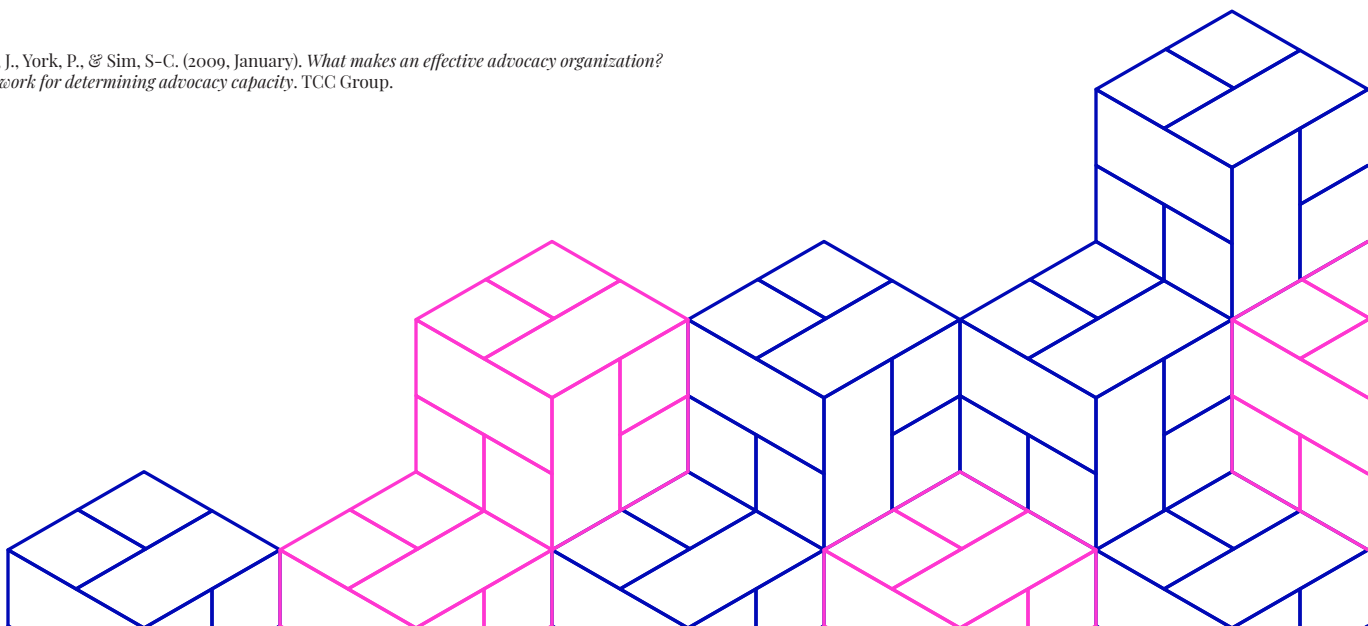
> **Ecosystem-level** power expansion was observed across all the cases as evidenced by new and strengthened relationships and the addition of new organizations with tactical capacities, such as legal advocacy and research. The greatest power expansion was observed in the cases that used coalition building strategies that brought together a diversity of partners with different skills, capacities, and resources. Coalitions bridged communities and connected constituencies (e.g., immigrants, youth, incarcerated individuals, LGBTQ) based on shared goals and oppression. These coalitions included and centered grassroots organizing groups that facilitated the involvement of impacted communities in varying ways. The implementation of effective inside-outside strategies as documented in the Probation Oversight Commission, water justice, sanctuary city, and detention cases, was made possible by these relationships between organizing and advocacy groups. The relationships formed through coalitions were often strengthened by their collective advocacy and sustained beyond the campaign. Moreover, the collection of a broad and diverse group of organizations coming together as a coalition had an influence on funders, decision-makers, and the opposition.

A NOTE ON COALITIONS: Coalitions are formalized relationships between organizations aligned on shared goals to take collective action. Within an ecosystem, coalitions reflect stronger relationships and alliances among organizations.

Coalitions are a type of infrastructure within the power ecosystem. Infrastructure creates important structures and processes that facilitate communications, information sharing, collaboration, and coordination among ecosystem organizations.

For more information on the power ecosystem, see CSSP's companion report.

The **Dignity Not Detention Coalition** demonstrates how ecosystems develop over time and over the arc of a policy issue. The coalition originally formed around the passage of the Dignity Not Detention bill, continued to work on the successful passage of AB 32, and is now working on the implementation of AB 32 while advancing other state policies. With over 20 members, the coalition includes state and national immigrant rights and legal advocacy organizations, criminal justice organizations, and local as well as statewide grassroots organizing groups and networks, many of which are youth-led. The coalition capitalized on various member capacities, abilities, and relationships. Despite having no funding, the coalition had reach and range and was viewed as an ally by the bill's sponsor because of its technical and legal expertise and ability to bring in additional legal support from the Dean of the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law. The coalition was also viewed as a threat by the opposition, which invested $160 million to defeat the bill.

In the **Sanctuary City** case, organizers developed relationships and champions on the Santa Ana City Council that ultimately helped to pass the sanctuary city ordinance. The power that organizers obtained over time was evidenced in the November 2016 election, when the mayor and three Council seats were being contested. The Santa Ana Police Officers Association invested $500,000 into the election and endorsed three of the four candidates who won. The significant investment by police in the election was in reaction to the effective advocacy of organizers and their allies. While the new City Council was much less aligned with organizers' interests, the annual allocation toward the immigrant legal defense fund has continued to increase annually, another testament of the coalition's ability to achieve and sustain support.

At the start of the advocacy for the **Probation Oversight Commission** in Los Angeles County, the Los Angeles Youth Uprising (LAYUP) coalition was just formalizing as a coalition. They developed their structure and governance while developing and implementing their strategy. TCE, recognizing their accomplishments and potential for greater impact, helped strengthen the coalition's infrastructure with support for a coordinator and communications capacity building. The coalition's ability to implement an inside-outside strategy helped them inform the Probation Reform and Implementation Team's (PRIT) agenda and recommendations as well as elevate the awareness of the need for probation reform in the community and media. Coalition members were regularly consulted by PRIT members and the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors (BOS) and their staff. Because of their knowledge, understanding of the system, and base of system-impacted youth, coalition members were also appointed to the Youth Justice Work Group, a body they had advocated for the creation of, to study the removal of youth from probation.

> The **geographic level** reflects the expansion of organizing across regions into new communities. This level of power is very specific to grassroots organizing and the ability of organizers to expand their reach and base, and therefore power. Geographic expansion is key to scale and was only seen in cases that were led or deeply rooted in impacted communities and organizing.

The **Sanctuary City** case was led by youth organizers who built a multiethnic youth organizing hub across Orange County that was sustained beyond their wins. Resilience OC,[24] based in Santa Ana, partnered with VietRISE,[25] based in Garden Grove, and Korean Resource Center,[26] based in Fullerton, to expand their base and influence across ethnic communities and cites in Orange County. As one key informant we interviewed stated, "We know there are issues that result from the ongoing generational oppression our different communities face. So, how can we do this better together, with a shared understanding of history in Orange County?"

In the **water justice** case, organizing began more than a decade ago in the San Joaquin Valley and expanded to the Eastern Coachella Valley. As the advocacy for SB 200 proceeded, organizing expanded and connected to other rural and urban regions to reflect the range of communities statewide affected by the lack of affordable, clean water. The coalition was deliberate in educating legislators on the scope of the problem and implications for their districts. By the time the bill passed, "it was an accepted truth [by legislators] that this was a crisis that needs to be acted on in a big and immediate way," according to a legislative staff person who attributed this outcome to the coalition's advocacy and highlighting of the issue as happening across California.

[24] Trains youth leaders of color to build a movement for social-systemic transformation.

[25] Strengthens and supports civic engagement and organizing within the Vietnamese community in Orange County.

[26] Empowers low-income, immigrant, Asian American and Pacific Islander, and communities of color in Southern California.

2 Power expanded when communities and people impacted were centered in the work and activated to transform their own circumstances.

> **As evidenced by the cases we examined, advocacy that builds power centers impacted communities through grassroots organizing.** Organizers do not always lead the set of tactics applied, but organizing should be centered in the overarching strategy and not used simply as a tactic. When the goal is building power, organizing is a necessary and critical part of the strategy. This frame "flips the script" on how some advocates and advocacy funders think about the relationship between organizing and advocacy. We looked at what it means for people power to be centered.

> **Being *centered* in advocacy does not always mean organizers are out front, visibly *leading* advocacy efforts.** Advocacy tactics are based on context, politics, tactical needs, and capacity. Grassroots organizing groups and impacted communities can be centered in a campaign while not leading the strategy. Advocacy that builds power seeks to build community engagement through actions the community can take.[27] Community engagement is integrated into a comprehensive strategy. Advocacy that does not center organizing can result in tactics that mobilize communities to "turn them out" as a show of support and also to humanize the issue. Power is built through the transformational engagement of people by which personal interests and priorities are aligned with action.

Coalition building was a commonly used strategy in the cases, in particular water justice, probation reform, and detention. The coalitions reflected a range of national, state, and local advocacy organizations and organizing groups. The coalitions were also diverse in their members' priority issues, tactical capacities, and constituencies. Coalition building is challenging, and organizations must navigate relationships, organizational agendas, turf issues, and leadership. Centering grassroots organizations in this mix of organizations can be particularly challenging. The cases offered lessons on how communities were centered and engaged in coalitions to achieve wins and build power.

[27] Han, H. (2014). How organizations develop activists: Civic associations and leadership in the 21st century. Oxford University Press.

For the **water justice coalition (SB 200),** communities affected by lack of access to safe, affordable water were central to the advocacy. The issue emerged from and was sustained by community demand. While grasstops organizations led the legislative strategy to pass SB 200 and the negotiation of a funding mechanism, communities educated policymakers and provided testimony in Sacramento. Communities were also the driving force behind advancing local water projects and policy, and serving on water decision-making boards. The grasstops organizations had local organizers and strong connections to communities and local community coalitions across the San Joaquin and Coachella valleys, which ensured ongoing engagement of impacted communities over this 10-year effort and now on the implementation of the law.

The **LAYUP coalition** was founded by a small collaborative of advocacy and organizing groups. As they formalized their relationship into a coalition, they ensured that two of the founding members who organize system-impacted youth and their families were part of the leadership of the coalition. This structurally centered the role and influence of youth and organizers in the work of the coalition, playing out as the coalition began its advocacy for the creation of a Probation Oversight Commission. LAYUP began by developing trainings and webinars on the history of the issue, the county bodies that have jurisdiction over the issue, and the county-created process that would be used to inform probation reforms. This created a level playing field in terms of knowledge and understanding to ensure system-impacted youth could participate in the coalition's strategy development and implementation. This approach facilitated their ability to implement an effective inside-outside strategy.

The **Dignity Not Detention Coalition** was originally formed around the advocacy for SB 29, the 2017 Dignity Not Detention Act. The bill was sparked by detained people and their ongoing hunger strikes, which drew attention to conditions in the detention facilities. Youth-led organizing groups engaged formerly detained youth and adults in the advocacy, and provided space and resources for youth to create new ideas for activism to support those who were detained. Youth activism drew legislators' attention to the detainee hunger strikes and helped pass SB 29. The coalition built on this success and went on to advocate for AB 32. This advocacy was more nuanced, multipronged, and staged with legal advocates playing a central and leading role while capitalizing on the various coalition members' skills. Legal advocates led a quiet inside strategy to inform the development of legally sound legislative language without alerting U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) or the private prison companies. Later, to build support for the bill, organizing groups lifted up and disseminated stories of those detained through social media and Spanish language television. Community members and youth were also engaged in contacting legislators' offices and Governor Newsom. Organizing groups did not lead this campaign; however, they were central to the development and implementation of the successful strategy and are now working on the monitoring and implementation of AB 32.

"Every single victory, from the beginning of people becoming aware of their drinking water quality, understanding their water quality reports, understanding their governance structure, who is the local water board, how is that governed—all of that knowledge is a huge victory. And you do that one-on-one, community by community." **– Community Water Center**

> **When organizing is not at the center of the work, wins can be achieved, but the amount of power expansion that occurs might be limited.** This was most clearly seen in the LCFF cases and the differing experiences of Merced and Long Beach. Both BHC sites struggled with holding their school districts accountable and ensuring resources were appropriately and equitably allocated. LCFF required parent involvement in the school district's decision-making process, yet both districts' engagement with parents was inauthentic and superficial. Both Merced and Long Beach decided to use the UCP to hold their school districts accountable. This is where their experiences diverge. Merced used the UCP as a tactic and organizing tool, and as a result, was able to build power through the process. Long Beach, in comparison, had a top-down legal strategy focused on the UCP, with parents serving as complainants through an organizing group. While both UCP settlements were successful, in Long Beach the process did not engage or build the capacity of parents and residents, resulting in less power built through the campaign.

 Merced had some early success through its placement of approximately 18 residents on school district committees. However, after years of working with the school district, community members felt they had achieved incremental wins but made no real progress. Analysis provided by the Advancement Project identified continued inequality in LCAP spending; this was the impetus for the community's decision to file the UCP once the option was presented to them by California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA). With guidance and support from local organizing groups who provided training and education on the LCFF, parents took the lead in the UCP filing and won. The BHC School Action Team created space for coordination and planning that catalyzed the creation of Merced Residents for Improving Education, a coalition that led the strategy around the UCP and engaged parents and residents. With this newfound capacity to hold the district accountable, parents continued to create transformational change toward a better school district through subsequent advocacy. As one interviewee said, "Residents and parents feel empowered that they can continue to hold the district accountable."

"So now we have parents that not only are the presidents of the ELAC [English Learner Advisory Committee], the school site councils, and now they are at the district level, the DELAC. They go to Sacramento to the LCFF meetings in front of the board members—they can talk. They [are] not afraid anymore. They are in power. They are empowering themselves and each other. They are doing wonderful things. It is amazing." **– Merced Organizer**
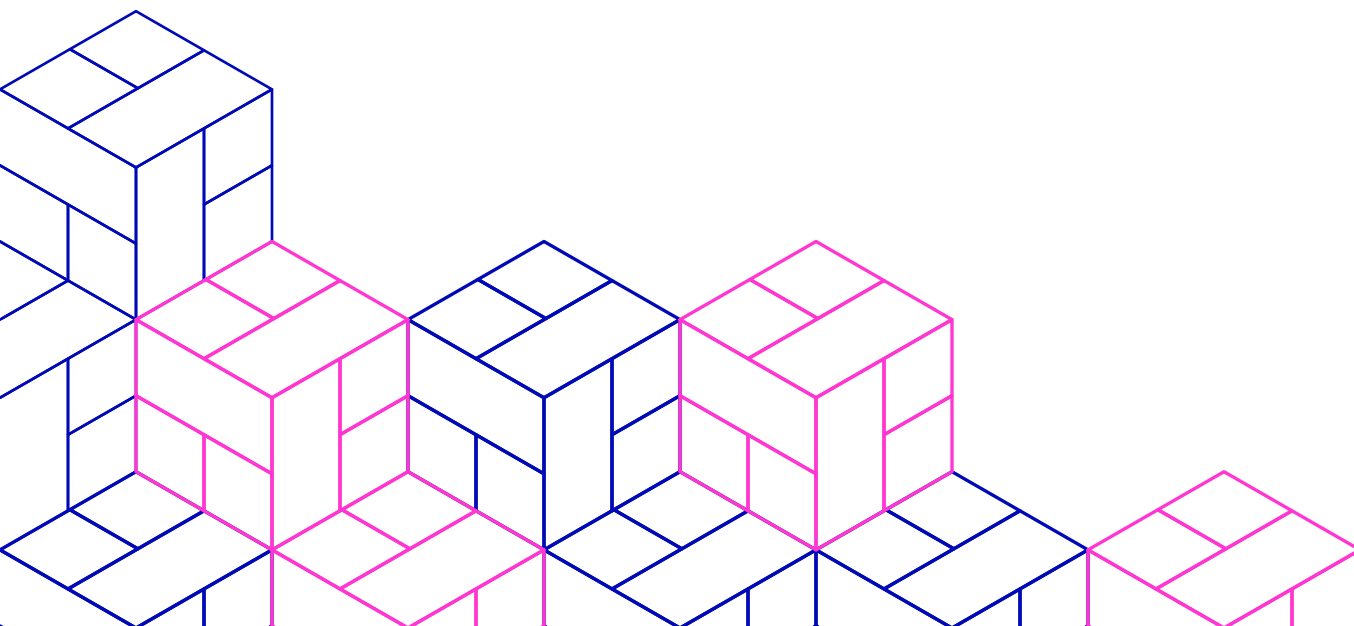
Long Beach has a history of successful youth-led school climate advocacy. Youth-led school-based campaigns advanced restorative justice through the LCAP, resulting in the allocation of about $300,000 for restorative justice practices over two years, most of which went largely unspent. In comparison, $8 million was allocated for police in schools. The use of the UCP was a way to hold the school district accountable for lack of transparency and misappropriation of resources intended for high-need students. However, the strategy had little support from the community. Youth organizing groups along with BHC shifted focus to the city budget and youth development. The UCP strategy was implemented by three organizations: Public Advocates leading the legal strategy, the Children's Defense Fund, and Latinos In Action, with two of LIA's members signing on as complainants. The lack of broader community participation led to a top-down strategy driven by the UCP and legal advocates. Advocates gathered parents' thoughts and opinions, then acted to implement a solution with little parent involvement. The lack of parent organizing capacity in Long Beach made it difficult to more fully engage parents in the process and to develop a long-term strategy to hold the school district accountable beyond the UCP. While there was a win—the successful settlement increased services to high-need students and required more intentional and effective community and parent engagement—there was less evidence of power expansion because of the lack of community involvement.

> **Organizing is necessary but not sufficient.** Regardless of the role organizing groups played across the cases, they engaged in the advocacy with an ecosystem of partners that had a range of tactical capacities. Organizing groups are the means by which communities are engaged and are therefore necessary to build power. Even in cases where the organizing groups led every aspect of the strategy, such as in the sanctuary city ordinance, they did so in collaboration with a broad coalition of local, state, and national organizations. Conversely, advocacy organizations working alone may have been able to achieve a win but would not have built power.

3 Power expanded when advocacy was grounded in the problems and solutions generated by impacted communities.

> **Advocacy campaigns that prioritize organizing ground their advocacy in the problems and solutions that are identified by communities who experience them firsthand.** With communities and impacted people centered, problem definition is more likely to link back to root causes, and transformational goals to achieve structural change are more likely to be prioritized.

BHC supported communities in generating and prioritizing their own problems and solutions by creating space, building capacity, providing training, supporting organizing, and funding research and data to inform decisions. Table 3 summarizes the problem and solution for each case.

TABLE 3: CASE PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

| Case	Problem	Solution in the Case	Longer-Term Transformative Solution
SB 200	Lack of access to safe and affordable drinking water	Provide for a legal structure and process for funding safe drinking water solutions for disadvantaged communities in California	Achieve equitable access to safe and affordable water through sustainable water infrastructure
LCFF Merced	Disparities in student outcomes	Use the UCP to hold the school district accountable; expand services to high-need students; and increase intentional community and parent engagement	Achieve equity in education; equitably distribute resources; and improve school district accountability to parents and communities
LCFF Long Beach	Disparities in student outcomes	Use the UCP to hold the school district accountable; expand services to high-need students; and increase intentional community and parent engagement	Achieve equity in education; equitably distribute resources; and improve school district accountability to parents and communities
Probation Reform Implementation Team	Probation Department with enormous budget based in part on keeping youth under its supervision; a record of abusive behavior and practices toward youth in its custody	Set up an accountable oversight body for the Probation Department with authority (subpoena power) that includes system-impacted youth, adults, and community stakeholders	Abolish youth prisons and increase community-based youth development
Restorative Justice Diversion	Youth of color have disproportionate contact with probation and law enforcement	Adopt a pre-charge RJD program	Keep youth out of the juvenile justice system and promote youth and community healing
Sanctuary City	Immigrant detention and inhumane treatment and conditions	Protect Santa Ana as a sanctuary city	End immigrant detention and abolishing prisons
AB 32	Carceral systems that have inhumane conditions for Black and Brown populations	Prevent the state from creating or renewing contracts with for-profit, private prison companies	Abolish all carceral systems[28]
Integrated Voter Engagement	Lack of political influence and voice for communities of color	Increase voter registration and turnout in communities of color	Change who is in power to hold elected officials accountable to communities of color and to facilitate success of the community's policy goals

[28] Not all ecosystem participants agreed with "abolishment of carceral systems" as the long-term solution. Some advocates were drawn to reformation solutions, while others were more focused on the abolishment of ICE rather than on the abolishment of all carceral systems.

In the **Sanctuary City** case, communities identified and worked on an issue area: immigration. Immigrants and detainees named the problem to be addressed as the inhumane treatment of immigrants in detention facilities, particularly for transgender detainees subjected to degrading strip search policies. Youth-led organizing centered on immigrant experiences, including those of jailed transgender women, to eliminate abuse in the city jail and stop the caging of undocumented people to bring in income for the city. Freedom for Immigrants, a nonprofit devoted to abolishing immigration detention, used its visitation program to monitor the system, uncovering abuses in ICE's treatment of transgender immigrants. As a result, Freedom for Immigrants filed a federal civil rights complaint with the Department of Homeland Security documenting Santa Ana Jail's illegal strip searches of transgender women on behalf of 31 transgender and cisgender women in ICE custody.

Immigrant organizers named solutions rooted in the experiences of detainees and with a transformational goal in mind—ultimately ending immigrant detention. Organizers rejected the notion that change could only be achieved in small increments. The strategy's goal was grounded in possibility, linked to the leading role of the youth involved. Many said it would be impossible for a city like Santa Ana, which did business with ICE and depended on that revenue, to become a sanctuary city in several years. The organizers rejected the notion that change was bounded or could only be achieved in small increments.

"The conversation we were having with residents and with the media wasn't even a conversation of, 'Hey, you should provide protection to immigrants.' It was really a conversation around ending immigrant detention and a conversation around prison abolition. That was an abolitionist campaign through and through." **– Youth Organizer**

The two **LCFF cases** demonstrate the importance of problems and solutions being generated by communities. In Merced, data and analysis provided by the Advancement Project described the continued inequity in LCAP spending and became the impetus for the community's action and decision to file the UCP complaint. In Long Beach, a statewide legal advocacy organization had been monitoring the district's allocation of resources and sought to partner with the community to file the UCP complaint. The legal process was not aligned with the solution preference of local advocates and organizers, who were concerned about the effort damaging relationships with the school district, which would have the knock-on effect of losing influence with decision-makers.
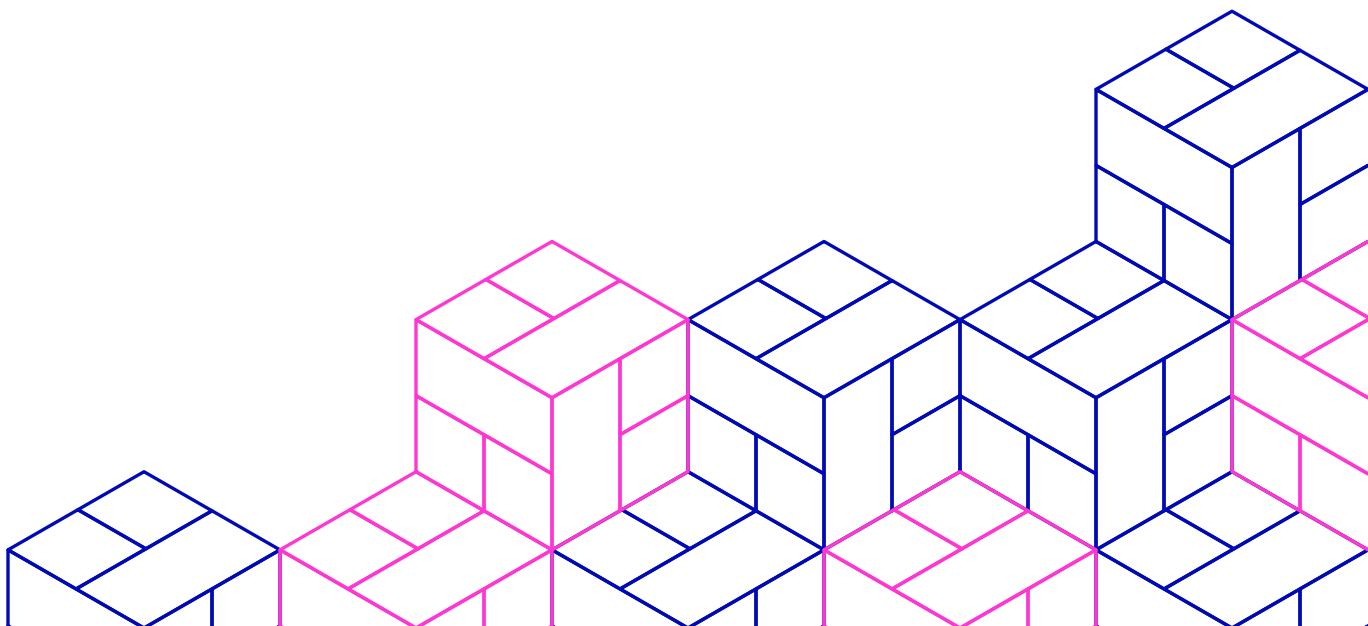
4 Power expanded when advocacy was cyclical and built on and leveraged incremental gains toward transformational goals.

> **Efforts to achieve racial equity and justice are necessarily long term, occurring over years and more likely decades, as they typically require fundamental transformations in both power and systems.** The kinds of systems featured in our cases that produce inequities—criminal justice, education, immigration, environmental—can be hard to bend toward justice.

As the power building framework illustrates, because transformations in power and systems rarely come in one big package that effectively address the root causes of inequities, organizing typically features distinct advocacy efforts that act like stepping stones toward transformation and build on one another over time. For example, the immigration cases addressed the issue of detention centers but did not yet address the root causes of detention and incarceration. Still, they were important wins. Similarly, PRIT advocacy helped to create a probation oversight body but did not address the disparities in youth being detained. This win helped to advance their goal of removing youth from probation, which they later achieved in 2020. Our cases focused on one part of a longer story of transformation that will continue to play out in years to come.

The **AB 32 case,** which resulted in a law that prevents the state of California from creating or renewing contracts with for-profit prison companies and immigration detention centers, shows how a historically marginalized community's power to transform policies and systems becomes clearer when looking at several cycles of campaigning, as illustrated in Figure 4. Four campaign cycles incrementally expanded power that led to substantial policy and systems change.

FIGURE 4. AB 32 CYCLES OF ADVOCACY THAT BUILT POWER

AB 3228
(win)

AB 32
(win)

2020

2019

AB 29 & AB 103
(wins)

2017
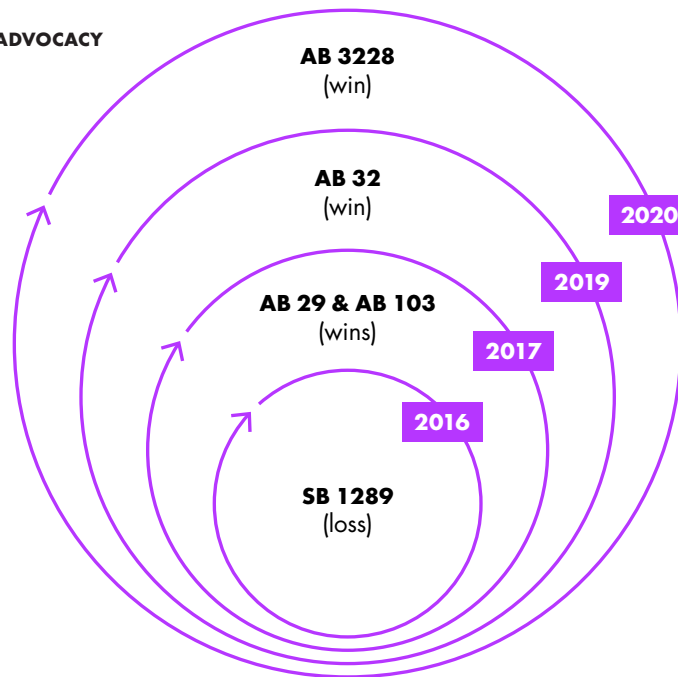
2016

SB 1289
(loss)

The first cycle occurred in **2016**, when Freedom for Immigrants (formerly CIVIC) and the Immigrant Legal Resource Center submitted the Dignity Not Detention Act (SB 1289) to end private civil detention contracts in local governments. To build capacity for this campaign, advocates and organizers created the Dignity Not Detention Coalition, then focused their advocacy on the legislature. Although the California State Assembly passed the bill, then Governor Jerry Brown vetoed it.

The second cycle occurred in **2017**. Armed with the power of new knowledge and strategic relationships amid a more favorable political context, the same cosponsors and author of SB 1289 reintroduced the Dignity Not Detention Act under Governor Newsom, who made immigration reform a prominent message as a gubernatorial candidate. This cycle included a pair of bills aimed at regulating the growth of immigration detention: SB 29 and an amendment to the state budget, AB 103. Both passed.

The third cycle in **2019** is the one that passed AB 32. Through the previous cycles, the Dignity Not Detention Coalition had built significant capacity to work both inside and outside advocacy strategies. Immigrant Defense Advocates (IDA), a coalition member, had strengthened its relationship and influence with Assemblymember Rob Bonta and his staff, which helped to expand the coalition's power in the legislature. Bonta's office considered IDA their go-to on all immigration matters. When Bonta introduced AB 32 it was limited to criminal detention, but a coalition member worked with its members and Bonta's office to add the civil detention component. In October 2019, Governor Newsom signed AB 32 into law.

The fourth cycle started in **2020**. Coalition members began organizing to fight the bill's opposition (e.g., lawsuits questioning the legality of AB 32), championing the implementation of AB 32, and working with Bonta's office on a new bill (AB 3228) addressing detention conditions, which gained the governor's approval in September 2020.

> **Organizers, community members, and advocates learn from and use their experiences in each campaign to shape the next one.** In one campaign, they may realize which relationships are key to unlocking a successful inside-advocacy strategy, that creating a loud communications campaign will garner more opposition rather than support, or that another identity group shares the same concerns. The opportunity lies in learning from past experiences and applying that knowledge to the next advocacy effort or context.

In the `Sanctuary City` case, advocacy for the sanctuary city ordinance was a several-month endeavor that is best understood as part of a broader and longer-term arc, from 2015 to 2017, of intersectional organizing against immigrant detention—specifically against the use of the Santa Ana city jail as an ICE immigrant detention facility, including for transgender women.[29] Advocacy on the ICE contract with the city occurred when participants in two distinct ecosystems—immigrant rights and LGBTQ rights—joined together where their issues overlapped. This effort then segued into a series of advocacy efforts within a broader campaign intended to ultimately close the city jail. The series of related advocacy goals and efforts are detailed as multiple cycles of the power building framework in Figure 5 and Table 4.

FIGURE 5. SANCTUARY CITY CYCLES OF ADVOCACY THAT BUILT POWER
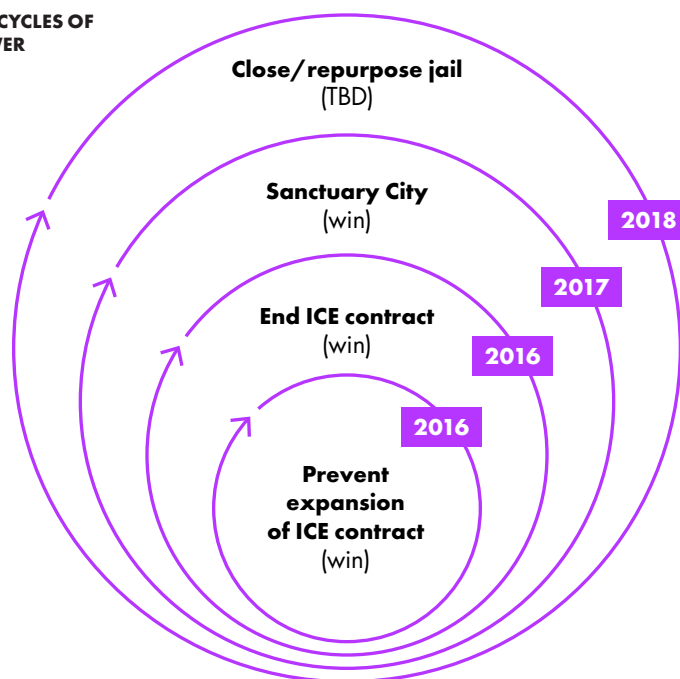
By the time youth-led organizers worked on the sanctuary city policy, they had "cycled through" the power framework several times on related issues, gaining power and momentum along the way. They then continued to work on another cycle after the win.

[29] The roots of advocacy around the city jail started in 2012, when a coalition of community-based organizations advocated for a Sunshine Ordinance requiring the city to develop a strategic plan on public spending. This led to findings about jail mismanagement and the allocation of over half of general city funds for the police and fire departments. Two years later, the strategic plan identified the need to modify the jail business model.

	Cycle 1	Cycle 2	Cycle 3	Cycle 4
	Prevent expansion of city's contract with ICE for use of jail	**End city's contract with ICE for use of jail**	**Declare Santa Ana a sanctuary city**	**Close and repurpose city jail**
Building Power	Immigrant and LGBTQ rights organizations led by youth organizers	Informal coalition of local, state, and national organizations	Hub of multi-issue, multi-region, multi-constituency organizations	Hub of multi-issue, multi-region, multi-constituency organizations
Exercising Power	Advocacy to City Council through one-on-one meetings, public comments, and protests	Public education, coalition building, and hunger strike	Inside-outside strategy, crafting legislative language, and organizing	Advocacy to City Council, public testimony, research, and policy development
Having Power	Unanimous vote to not expand ICE contract $50,000 allocated to study repurposing of jail	ICE contract not renewed but not ended A cap on the number of detainees established	Sanctuary city ordinance passes ICE ends contract with city jail	Jail still open Deportation defense fund created
Expanding Power	City Manager starts meeting with organizers to understand demands	Stronger relationships among the organizations; multi-constituency base forms	New youth leaders and organizations; increased legal capacity; credibility with City Council members	Expansion of organizing groups; new youth leaders and new regions organized

> **When advocacy centers communities and grassroots organizing, this kind of cyclical power building, learning, and constant recalibration is possible because the focus of grassroots organizing, in comparison to advocacy, is building power.** When advocacy efforts are disconnected from the work that occurred previously or do not center impacted communities, they are unable to leverage previous experience and relationships, can lack a line of sight to the goal, and may make the path toward transformation both longer and harder.
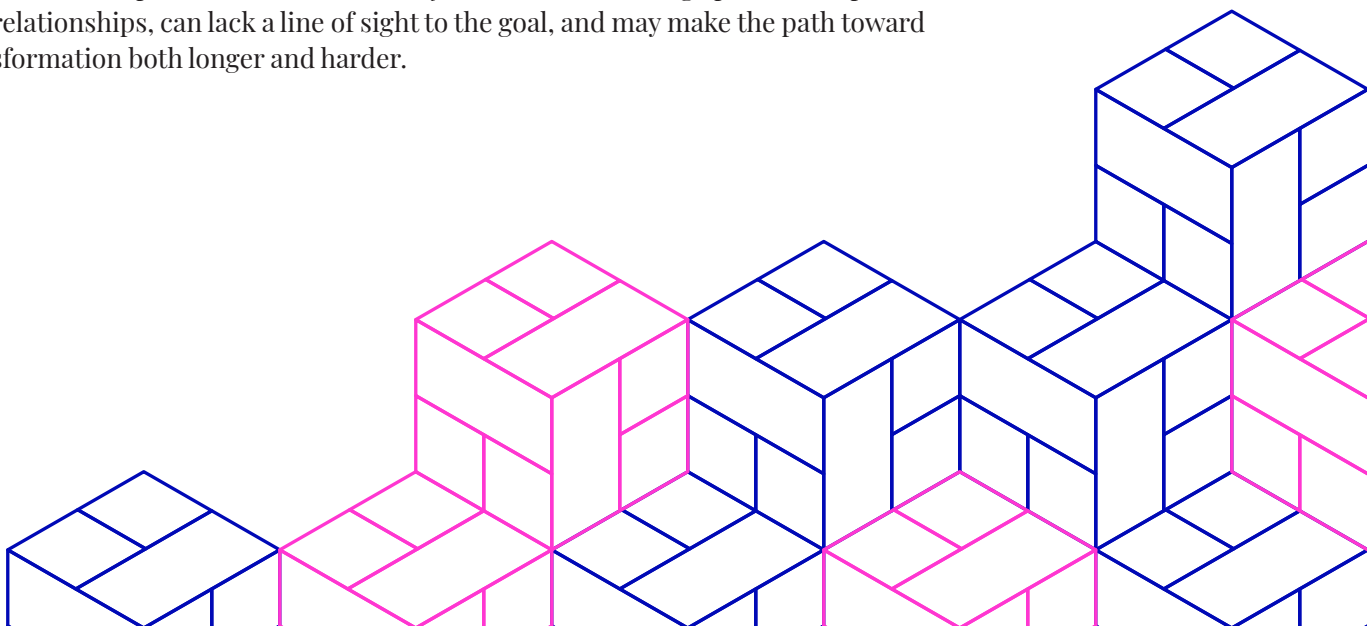
5 Power expanded when advocacy was grounded in long-term narrative change that centered the experiences of those impacted and challenged dominant frames.

Storytelling has always been a core feature of advocacy. Individuals with stories about their experiences with a particular problem—receiving unjust or inhumane treatment during detention or having unsafe water to drink, for example—can help to define and bring to life a problem so that it is more thoroughly seen and understood in human terms.

> **Advocacy that builds power, particularly across multiple advocacy cycles, pays attention to the deeper narratives that stories help to illustrate.** Stories bring narratives to life by making them relatable and accessible, while narratives infuse stories with deeper meaning.

Narratives are central to the mental models that guide our decision-making and behavior. They shape how we see people, places, communities, and cultures. They are important to policy and systems change because when issues are defined differently, their perceived importance or salience changes in the policy arena and new actors can enter the debate. Narratives become truly powerful when they become part of our culture, embedded and shared in our everyday existence.[30]

> **Narrative change plays an integral role in power building.** To inform future TCE narrative work, evaluators Jewlya Lynn and Lyn Kathlene conducted research on BHC narrative change efforts. Their framing and findings informed our analysis of narrative change efforts in the eight cases.[31]

They define narrative change as "the process of disrupting dominant narratives that normalize inequity and uphold oppression, and advancing new narratives from our communities and individuals in historically marginalized groups." Narratives help to dismantle inequities and imagine a different future. "Narrative change does not equal power, but narrative change can help build power," the researchers noted.

For example, a dominant narrative is that *incarceration supports the need for law and order and public safety*. Narrative change might focus on challenging that dominant narrative with the counter-narrative that *alternatives to incarceration—community-based processes for preventing, intervening in, transforming, and repairing—will work*. This narrative focuses on possibility and that vastly decreasing the number of people incarcerated will not decrease public safety. Another dominant narrative is that *those who are incarcerated deserve it*. The counter-narrative might focus on the major disparities in who is incarcerated and that *incarceration is rooted in slavery and racism*. This highlights that incarceration is fueled by, and contributes to, systemic oppression by race. Successfully challenging the dominant narrative would help to open up opportunities for transformational reforms or changes in the criminal justice system.

[30] McBeth, M. K., Jones, M. D., & Shanahan, E. A. (2014). The narrative policy framework. In C. M. Weible & P. A. Sabatier (Eds.), *Theories of the policy process* (225–266).

[31] Lynn, J., & Kathlene, L. (2020). *Narrative change for health and racial equity: Exploring capacity and alignment*. PolicySolve. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.29767.93607

Lynn and Kathlene offer a typology of four complementary approaches to achieving narrative change that is based on their research in BHC communities (see Table 5). One approach is not considered "best practice" for advancing narrative change, and approaches can be used in concert. But they do differ in how impacted voices are centered and what their impact might be.

TABLE 5. FOUR COMPLEMENTARY APPROACHES TO NARRATIVE CHANGE [32]

	Approach A	Approach B	Approach C	Approach D
Summary	Narrative change as embedded in a larger power building and organizing approach that centers the voices of their community members	Centers the voice of community members while also actively working across many communities and building networks working on aligned narratives	Research-driven process that may include many organizations at the table; engages communities to deploy messages, frames, and narratives	Mix of research and community-driven processes, all oriented around policy change processes (narrative as a tool to change policy)
Voices Centered	Begins first and foremost with the voices of people in their communities; audiences are often the community members	Often begins with a central narrative focus, but centers the voices of each community within that focus; may seek to reach larger audiences than just the communities	Begins with research using strategic communications tools like polling, focus groups, and message testing; explicitly focuses on larger audiences and significant reach	Centers policymakers as the audience to reach, often with community members as the storytellers
Reach/ Scale/ Desired Impact	Deeply focused on the needs of one or a couple communities	Works across communities, seeking alignment on central narratives	Explicit, central goal of reaching many people and broadly shifting narratives	Prioritizes policy change as the primary outcome

> **In the cases, we documented how narrative change efforts helped to create the conditions for change.** We looked at how advocacy centered impacted voices and when ecosystems linked narrative change across multiple advocacy efforts (Approach A). We also looked at the use of stories and narratives in outreach to decision-makers (Approach D).

In the **water justice (SB 200) case,** the dominant narrative was that only agricultural communities experienced clean water access issues. Narrative change efforts focused on the alternative narrative that water is a human right and that all Californians are affected by clean water issues, particularly marginalized communities suffering from other equity issues like housing and food access. Community voices and experiences were centered, and narrative change work started with stories from impacted communities (Approach A). Individuals from San Joaquin Valley and Eastern Coachella shared their experiences with state legislators (Approach D) to powerful effect. One legislator ultimately linked SB 200 directly to this work, noting, "... this change is attributable to the direct involvement of people from these impacted communities."

"By the time the bill passed, it was like an accepted truth that this is a crisis, and it needs to be acted on in a big and immediate way. That change is directly attributable to the communication strategy of the coalition in creating this 'narrative' and highlighting that this issue was happening across California. This change is attributable to the direct involvement of people from these impacted communities." **– Decision-maker's staff member**

[32] Lynn, J., & Kathlene, L. (2020). *Narrative change for health and racial equity: Exploring capacity and alignment.* PolicySolve. **https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.29767.93607**

In the **AB 32 case,** the counter-narrative was the same as the name of the advocacy coalition—*dignity not detention*. Advocates challenged the dominant narrative that detainees are criminals. This long-term narrative change work began with detainees sharing the horrific treatment and conditions they were experiencing with organizers and journalists who helped to amplify their stories (Approach A). Organizers and advocates used detainee stories to support their base building in other communities, especially immigrant communities. They also used stories in their outreach to legislators (Approach D).

In the **Sanctuary City case,** youth organizers chose a *human rights* narrative to undergird their advocacy efforts. Organizers moved away from an immigration reform frame and narrative that "left others behind" and focused only on "deserving immigrants."[33] They used a human rights frame that ensured due process for all, including undocumented people, in an equitable and intersectional way. This showed up in the sanctuary ordinance, which integrated inclusive language that also made it clear this was not just a Latinx issue.

The groups tied their advocacy to shifting the city's narrative about its role in keeping the community safe and supporting it in thriving. They questioned the city's framework and priorities and its lack of a better economic development strategy than balancing the budget on the backs of immigrants. "Targeting the jail required reenvisioning safety as a core city function that prioritized the humanity of those deemed 'criminal' over public profits."[34]

Finally, in the **PRIT case,** the probation officers framed youth as criminals, violent thugs, and gang members to justify their incarceration and the use of extreme measures such as pepper spray in juvenile halls and probation camps. To counter this narrative, system-impacted youth were organized by the LAYUP coalition to provide firsthand testimony about their experiences in the probation system. These testimonies made real the failures of the county Probation Department and reminded PRIT members that these are children. Their stories stood in stark contrast to the often hostile and angry presence of probation officers. Their stories were frequently picked up in the media and also heavily influenced PRIT members. As one PRIT member noted, "They shared their own lived experience in such vivid and stark detail. There was power in what they said." (Approach D).

[33] Sarmiento, C. (2019, December 17). *From jails to sanctuary planning: Spatial justice in Santa Ana, California*. Journal of Planning, Education, and Research, 40(2), 203.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X19893743

[34] Sarmiento, C. (2019, December 17). *From jails to sanctuary planning: Spatial justice in Santa Ana, California*. Journal of Planning, Education, and Research, 40(2), 203.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X19893743
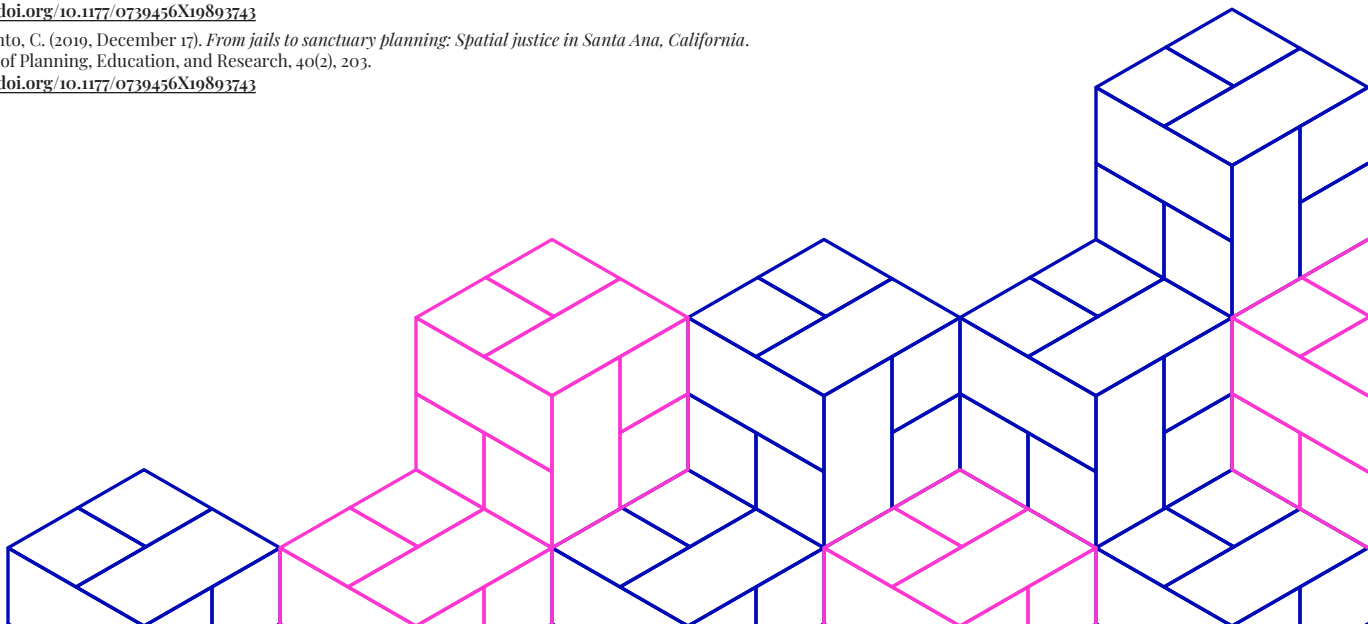
> **Long-term narrative change efforts can help create the conditions for transformational systems change.** Dominant narratives are extremely hard to disrupt because they invoke deeply entrenched mental models, values, and beliefs. They are even harder to replace with an alternative narrative. This is necessarily long-term work, but when the narrative reflects the experiences of community members, as well as their needs and desires, it creates the conditions for profound change.

We know that narrative change is long-term, complex work. It involves much more than the kinds of short-term, strategic communications investments we typically see advocacy funders support (e.g., for messaging research, advertising, or promotional campaigns).

> **Narrative change requires a sustained and broader cultural strategy that includes advocacy efforts and storytelling to challenge deeply entrenched, oppressive, dominant frames.** Those efforts should feature a broader set of actors and actions, including organizers and activists, but also artists and other types of culture leaders. While not always visible at the surface of our eight BHC cases, organizing and advocacy played out against a backdrop of much broader BHC investments in communities that focused on narratives and creating the necessary cultural conditions for change. In some cases, cultural investments became catalysts for organizing and advocacy.

In the **Sanctuary City case,** BHC funded El Centro Cultural de Mexico in Santa Ana, a nonprofit artists collective that supports art and dance, from hip-hop to traditional, and invites people to participate in cultural arts. The aim is to connect immigrants to their culture. Many of the youth organizers knew each other through this space and first developed relationships that they then took into their later organizing work. The space became a natural incubator for the organizing that emerged.

Artist Favianna Rodriguez, a featured BHC event speaker, says that we should imagine a wave when we think about political change. She writes, "In the political world, we experience the wave's peak moments through events like elections or policy wins, but we don't always recognize the undercurrents and conditions that lead us there. In the world of art and culture, many of us help construct the conditions that lead to this climax. Culture is a space where we can introduce ideas, attach emotions to concrete change, and win enthusiasm for our values. Art is where we can change the narrative because it's where people can imagine what change looks and feels like." [35]

Just like organizing is not a short-term advocacy tactic, narrative change is not a short-term advocacy tactic. It represents a consistent through line for ongoing systems change efforts and multifaceted efforts that are coordinated across investments and time.

[35] Rodriguez, F. (2013, April 1). *Change the culture, change the world*. Creative Time Reports.
https://creativetimereports.org/2013/04/01/change-the-culture-change-the-world/
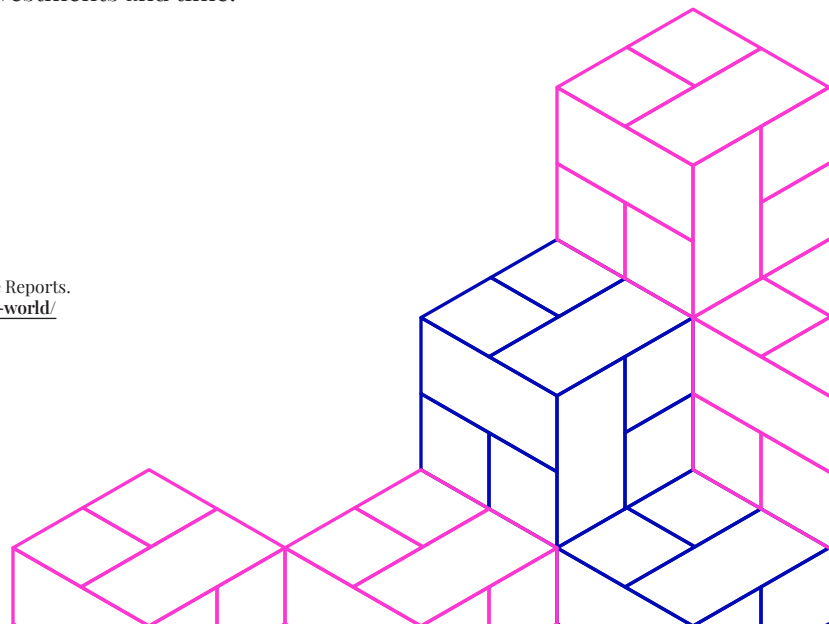
6 Power expanded when funders gave up power over
priority setting and strategy direction.

Our assumption was that if TCE was less visible and less involved in the advocacy effort, the quality of the win would be higher and power expanded would be greater. This assumption did not hold up. The more important variable was that communities be centered, not that TCE be less involved. It was important, however, *how* TCE was involved.

Funders are an actor in the ecosystem. This means that they can play an important and visible role in advocacy efforts. In the cases featured in this report, this played out in different ways.

In the **LCFF Merced case,** for example, TCE/BHC helped put school policy implementation (LCFF) on Merced's agenda. They also built parent and student capacity to engage and used one of the BHC tables to coordinate the strategy. The BHC Hub Manager played a role in crafting the strategy, but the process was led by parents.

In both the **Santa Ana Sanctuary City** and the **Los Angeles County Probation** cases, TCE helped strengthen the ecosystem capacity by supporting hyper-local media outlets: Voice of OC and WitnessLA. These outlets played an important role in elevating the stories of communities, the local activists, and their demands. WitnessLA describes itself as "criminal justice journalism in the public interest." The outlet regularly highlights the advocacy of organizers and advocates, and has become a central source of information on Los Angeles County's criminal justice and juvenile justice systems. It is widely read by system leaders, elected officials, other media outlets, activists, and the community. The Editor describes WitnessLA as a "small but dangerous" source of criminal justice news that is "manically" read by the BOS. TCE not only provided support to the outlet; it helped them strategically focus their work by defining their target audiences. These media outlets are an important part of the power ecosystem.

CSSP's companion report on the power ecosystem describes how the foundation played variable roles depending on the circumstances, ecosystem capacities, and windows of opportunity. This played out in different ways across the cases. It involved nurturing new leaders, building organizations' capacity, supporting new expertise at the table (e.g., legal, research), and supporting the alliances, networks, and coalitions that make up the ecosystem's infrastructure and that allow it to build and sustain power.

> **Funders also can play more strategic roles in advocacy strategies as long as they center communities and do not make their own priorities the focus if they are not aligned.** When funders have priorities that they want to advance through advocacy, it is critical to start by understanding the power building landscape and whether the funder's priority is aligned to what impacted communities want and need. The philanthropic landscape is littered with examples of when this alignment has not been in place and how the uneven power dynamics between funders and communities played out with unintended and harmful consequences.

We are not advocating for "decision paralysis" through endless researching or landscape analysis before grantmaking begins. Funders can learn about the power ecosystem by trusting communities and organizations and funding what they want to do, and by listening and learning during research, evaluation, and the entire grantmaking process.

> **In sum, the funder's role in a power ecosystem is to give up power over impacted communities and embrace the funder's role in building, sharing, and wielding power.**[36] This means supporting and partnering with the power ecosystem by funding civic engagement and organizing, nurturing trustworthy relationships and cocreating strategies, and exercising leadership within the field and public sector to create transformational change.

[36] National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy. (2018). *Power moves: Your essential philanthropy assessment guide for equity and justice.*

V   CONCLUSIONS

When BHC made a "pivot to power" at its midpoint, people power went from being an important *driver* of policy and systems change to being *the* change that BHC sought to achieve.[37] Our evaluation helped to illuminate the implications of that shift for funders who support advocacy and systems change efforts to advance equity and justice.

Advocacy that builds power has fundamental distinctions from advocacy designed solely to achieve a win.

As TCE prepared for its focus after BHC's 10 years concluded, the foundation closely studied power and what it takes to build it. This work and this evaluation, grounded in both scholarship and deep study of BHC community experiences in context, make the key distinctions in the table below between advocacy focused primarily on achieving a win and advocacy that builds power.

TABLE 6. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ADVOCACY TO ACHIEVE WINS AND ADVOCACY TO BUILD POWER

Advocacy to Achieve a Win	Advocacy That Builds Power
A "win" is the **goal**.	A "win" is a **means**.
Advocacy is done **on behalf of or for** impacted communities.	Advocacy is done **by and with** impacted communities.
The policy solution **may or may not be** informed by impacted communities.	The policy solution is **developed or informed by** impacted communities.
Base building organizations and organizing **may or may not be** part of the strategy.	Base building organizations and organizing **are centered** in the strategy.
Strategy is based on a shared analysis **driven by politics** and the window of opportunity.	Strategy is based on a shared analysis **grounded in root causes** and inequity.
The **advocacy campaign** is the strategy, and organizing may be a tactic through which a win is achieved.	**Organizing** (a participant-centered power building approach to deal with upstream changes) is the strategy/approach, and advocacy is the tactic/method through which power is built.
Advocacy mobilizes **pundits, policy entrepreneurs, and other influentials** as the drivers of change.	Advocacy based on organizing pays attention to the role of an **authentic organized base** as the primary driver of change.
The work is organized into a series of **time-bound** campaigns that may not relate or add up.	The work is **continuous**, and a series of campaigns expands the power and influence of participants within a field of action.
Specific/time-bound capacity building is provided for the purpose of getting to the win.	Advocacy and campaigns are a **leadership development opportunity** to build power in a defined area.
Others drive narratives that tell stories of impacted communities, often within the dominant frame.	**Impacted communities drive narratives** that tell their stories and challenge dominant frames.

[37] Ito, J., Pastor, M., Lin, M., & Lopez, M. (2018, March). *A pivot to power: Lessons from The California Endowment's Building Healthy Communities about place, health, and philanthropy*. USC Dornsife Program for Environmental and Regional Equity. **https://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/242/docs/TCE_Pivot_to_Power_FULL_REPORT_FINAL.pdf**

> **We offer these as a summary of key findings in this report [38] and as a guide for funders who want to achieve wins but want to approach the work equitably and ultimately to build power in communities.** A key distinction between these approaches is the element of time: To move closer to equity and justice, funders need to take the long view that sees advocacy as cyclical and recognizes that power builds over time.

For advocacy that centers communities and is grounded in equity and an organizing strategy, success has to be measured by whether power has been built.

For a great deal of advocacy funded by philanthropy, even when it is based in organizing, the focus has been on wins as the main measure of success. Even in a summary of its BHC people power impact, TCE led with a focus on wins. Summarizing *A Decade of Learning*, TCE wrote: "The past decade was a journey filled with many victories by our partners. This work exceeded every expectation—ultimately contributing to **more than 1,200 policy changes, system changes, and tangible benefits for our communities.** Broken down into campaigns, our partners earned 552 wins for our neighborhoods, 343 wins for our schools, and 125 wins for prevention across our 14 chosen sites."[39]

Wins obviously are important to advocacy and will continue to be. But the primary focus must be on whether advocacy built power for community members who are directly impacted by policies and must ensure those wins are sustained and leveraged. This is a lesson for both advocacy funders and evaluators, who have not paid as much attention to evaluating power expansion.

A focus on wins alone can lead advocacy efforts to be inequitable in how they are approached, who is funded, the tactics used, and the policy or systems change solution advanced. Advocacy should further the march toward equity and justice, not derail or waylay it for the sake of a win that might meet the funder's priorities but not advance progress toward the community's long-term goals.

As demonstrated throughout this report and these cases, as well as in CSSP's companion report on power ecosystems, BHC advocacy offers many examples of what it looks like for advocacy to build power.

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[38] This table integrates information from TCE's internal strategy document, *Power goal paper*.

[39] The California Endowment. (2020). *A decade of learning.*
https://www.calendow.org/peoplepowerhealth/impact/
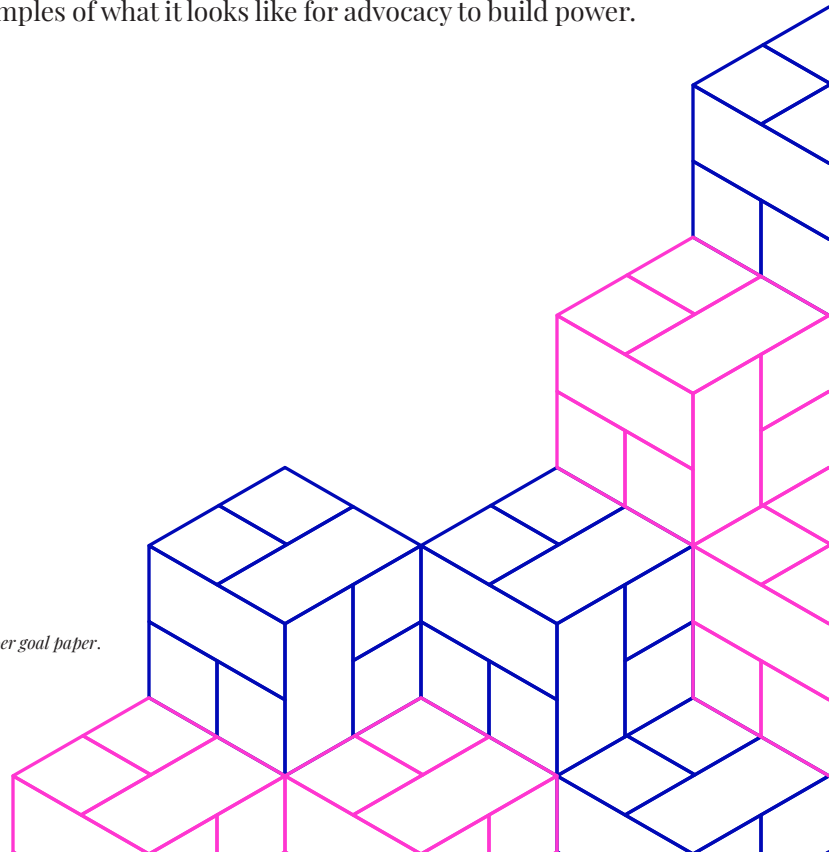
VI   APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Eight Cases Documented for the Evaluation

Appendix B: Methods and Evaluation Team

Appendix C: Organizations Interviewed for the Evaluation

Appendix D: Rubrics Used for the Cases

> Appendix A: The Eight Cases Documented for the Evaluation

1   Local Control Funding Formula: Merced

2   Local Control Funding Formula: Long Beach

3   California Statute SB 200: The Safe and Affordable Drinking Water Fund

4   Probation Oversight Commission: Los Angeles County

5   Pre-Charge Restorative Justice Diversion Program for Youth: Richmond

6   Sanctuary City Ordinance: Santa Ana

7   California Statute AB 32: Detention Facilities

8   Integrated Voter Engagement (IVE): San Diego and the Central Valley

1 Local Control Funding Formula: Merced

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

In 2019, a group of parents and education advocacy and legal advocacy organizations won a victory after filing a Uniform Complaint under California's Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF) statute, forcing the Merced City School District (MCSD) to increase transparency in the creation of the Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP) and to demonstrate how the district would expand and improve services for high-need students.

The use of the Uniform Complaint Process (UCP), a legal strategy, followed years of frustration by parents and advocacy groups, who had tried to get a positive response from MCSD through the usual processes of input and parent and community engagement.

POWER ECOSYSTEM

A coalition of organizations came together in Merced to push for greater responsiveness to community and parent concerns by MCSD and improved outcomes for students. The primary organizations involved in the UCP complaint are shown below, and they were part of a broader network of concerned parents and nonprofit organizations meeting as the School Assistance Team (SAT), a standing work group of Merced Building Healthy Communities (BHC).

- The Advancement Project
- California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. (CRLA)
- Cultiva de Salud
- Parent Institute for Quality Education
- The Health Equity Project
- The Center at the Sierra Health Foundation
- Merced BHC Hub

STRATEGY

The decision to file a Uniform Complaint under LCFF grew out of years of advocacy by nonprofit organizations and parents meeting as part of the Merced BHC's SAT, pushing for improved schooling and pressuring the school district to comply with provisions of LCFF. While these efforts won some minor improvements in MCSD's process for parent and community engagement in the LCAP between 2015 and 2017, these were unsatisfactory. Merced BHC helped parents educate themselves about legal strategies to seek change. The Advancement Project conducted an analysis of MCSD's budgeting process for the SAT, and CRLA explained the options available to them through LCFF's UCP. With this additional knowledge, a small group of partners proceeded to file such a complaint in 2018. Eventually, the California Department of Education ruled in the complainants' favor, securing changes in MCSD's community engagement process and requiring that services be expanded for high-need students. This victory is seen as one milestone in an ongoing organizing and advocacy effort in Merced through which parents and advocates push for better student outcomes.

2 Local Control Funding Formula: Long Beach

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

In 2017, advocacy organizations and parents reached a settlement with the Long Beach Unified School District (LBUSD) as the result of a Uniform Complaint filed under California's LCFF statute, which was intended to improve student results through greater equity in resources for high-need schools and students, local flexibility in funding decisions, and greater accountability for student outcomes.

The settlement reached with LBUSD increased services to high-need students and required more intentional and effective community and parent engagement. This win had symbolic value as well, as it demonstrated that LBUSD could be forced to make meaningful change by parents and advocates. Parents and advocates had sought these same changes unsuccessfully for years, using the processes established by LBUSD for community input to the LCAP required by LCFF.

POWER ECOSYSTEM

A coalition of parents, statewide advocacy organizations, and a local base building organization came together to spearhead the activity that led to the Uniform Complaint and the settlement. The lead organizations were connected to, and worked closely with, a larger number of educational advocacy organizations. Organizations playing central roles in the complaint activities and the broader advocacy for better student results in Long Beach included:

- Public Advocates
- Children's Defense Fund (CDF)
- Latinos in Action
- Long Beach BHC

STRATEGY

The strategy combined long-standing power building and organizing around the educational needs of the most impacted students, parents, and families in Long Beach with a specific legal strategy using the accountability tools—primarily the UCP—built into LCFF. A small coalition of organizations and parents spearheaded the UCP efforts. The CDF, a longtime advocacy and policy presence in Long Beach, contributed firsthand knowledge of the school system. Public Advocates was the out-front legal and research organization, a role that came naturally as they had been part of Californians for Quality Education, the coalition that originally campaigned for LCFF passage. Two parents joined the complaint. The legal strategy emanated from a broader power ecosystem around school equity issues. For example, the CDF report on LBUSD's shortcomings was the culmination of a community-driven process, and CDF worked alongside youth, parents, teachers, and policy advocates to explore school climate trends, analyze budget spending, and capture personal stories at town hall–like events.

3 California Statute SB 200: The Safe and Affordable Drinking Water Fund

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

SB 200 is a state statute passed in 2019 creating the Safe and Affordable Drinking Water Fund. It authorizes $130 million per year (for a total of $1.3 billion over 10 years) and provides for a legal structure and process for funding safe drinking water solutions for disadvantaged communities in California that currently do not have that access. The bill was both a symbolic and historic success that was achieved through more than a decade of advocacy and victories and losses at the local and state levels.

POWER ECOSYSTEM

A coalition representing organizing, advocacy, and legal advocacy organizations from both the San Joaquin and Coachella valleys came together. The groups included organizations focused on water justice, broader environmental justice issues, and racial equity and immigrant rights groups, with primary leadership from:

• Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability
• Clean Water Action
• Community Water Center (CWC)
• Pueblo Unido
• The Center on Race, Poverty & the Environment
• AGUA Coalition

STRATEGY

The strategy was led by a core group of five organizations: Leadership Council for Justice and Accountability, Community Water Center, Clean Water Action, Center on Race Policy and the Environment, and Pueblo Unido. The coalition expanded the base of support for the legislation by engaging communities across the state on the shared problem of access to affordable and safe water. To build political will, decisionmakers were educated on the statewide scope of the problem and its implications for their districts. Advocates worked with legislative staff to craft the legislation and negotiate a funding mechanism. Communities were mobilized to testify in Sacramento to describe the human impact of lack of access to safe and affordable water.

4 Probation Oversight Commission: Los Angeles County

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

In late 2019 and early 2020, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors (BOS) passed a series of critical motions to implement recommendations from the Probation Reform Implementation Team (PRIT), a temporary blue-ribbon commission. This process resulted in the creation of two bodies that will bring change to the Los Angeles County probation system.

Youth Justice Work Group: The Work Group is charged with exploring transitioning Los Angeles County's juvenile justice system out of the county's Probation Department into another agency, with the goal of creating a rehabilitative, health-focused, and "care first" system. The division of Youth Diversion and Development (YDD) and the county's Chief Executive Office were tasked to bring together a consultant team to create the Work Group. The consultant team includes many of the organizations that advocated for the removal of youth from the Probation Department: CDF, Youth Justice Coalition, Anti-Recidivism Coalition, Haywood Burns Institute, Million Dollar Hoods, and the UCLA Black Policy Project.

Probation Oversight Commission: This is a historic, independent, civilian oversight body for the county's Probation Department, with subpoena power, funding, and a staffing structure. The Commission will consist of nine members, including positions reserved for system-impacted youth and adults, family members of systems-impacted individuals, and a legal defense expert.

POWER ECOSYSTEM

Los Angeles Youth Uprising (LAYUP) is a coalition of about 20 members. The four core founding members and a coordinating entity central to this advocacy include:

- CDF – California
- Urban Peace Institute (UPI)
- Anti-Recidivism Coalition (ARC)
- Youth Justice Coalition (YJC)
- Arts for Incarcerated Youth Network (AIYN) (added as a coordinating organization)

STRATEGY

The LAYUP coalition coordinated and implemented an inside-outside strategy based on a complicated web of relationships between LAYUP members, PRIT members, and BOS staff. The outside strategy built public will, engaged community members, and created space for system-impacted youth to provide their testimonies. The inside strategy focused on influencing the PRIT recommendations and resulting BOS motions. This advocacy built on prior and simultaneous systems change efforts and ultimately led to the recent BOS motion to end the Probation Department's supervision of juveniles, passing control to the Department of Youth Development and transitioning to a "care first" model by 2025.

5   Pre-Charge Restorative Justice Diversion Program for Youth: Richmond

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

In 2019, the District Attorney (DA) of Contra Costa County signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with RYSE Youth Center to launch a Restorative Justice Diversion Program (RJDP) intended to keep youth out of the juvenile justice system. The authorization of the program was important in its own right, but it was even more important as a milestone in a broader advocacy effort to decriminalize youth in Richmond and Contra Costa County, and to reduce racial disparities in the county's criminal justice program.

POWER ECOSYSTEM

Two organizations led advocacy for the pre-charge program and negotiating the MOU. However, they were able to move this work forward through engagement and relationships with the groups listed below and the history of their aligned agendas and collaborative action:

- RYSE Center
- Impact Justice
- Contra Costa County Racial Justice Coalition
- Contra Costa County Racial Justice Task Force (time-limited body established by the county to research racial disparities in the county's criminal/juvenile justice systems)
- Contra Costa County Racial Justice Oversight Body (time-limited entity to oversee implementation of the Task Force's recommendations)
- Reentry Solutions Group

STRATEGY

Securing authorization from the Contra Costa DA for the pre-charge RJDP was part of a longer-term advocacy strategy to decriminalize youth in Contra Costa County. Advocating for an evidence-based pre-charge diversion program—based on a proven model, Restorative Community Conferencing (RCC), used in other California Counties—was seen as a step toward broader system reform.

RYSE, a nonprofit, had worked with criminal justice system partners, schools, Richmond BHC, and groups like the Contra Costa Racial Justice Coalition for years to establish diversion programs at various stages of the legal process. RYSE and Impact Justice realized that the pre-charge program would be one more significant milestone in diverting young people from deeper involvement in the juvenile justice system. They built support among the ecosystem of partners, joining efforts by the Racial Justice Coalition to establish the Racial Justice Task Force to document system disparities and recommend reforms.

This consistent advocacy paid off when a new County District Attorney (DA) was elected. The Racial Justice Task Force presented their findings to the BOS, including recommendations for youth diversion. The BOS accepted most of the Task Force's recommendations, and the new DA signed an MOU authorizing the pre-charge diversion program for a five-year pilot project intended to show how the program could be taken to scale.

6 Sanctuary City Ordinance: Santa Ana

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

In January 2017, the City of Santa Ana enacted an ordinance declaring the city a sanctuary for all residents, regardless of their immigration status. The ordinance:

- Prohibits city officials, including law enforcement, from administering federal immigration law
- Protects the sensitive information of every resident
- Prevents bias-based policing and prevents the use of city funds for immigration enforcement
- Directs law enforcement officials to exercise discretion in citing and releasing individuals instead of using a local detention facility or county jail

POWER ECOSYSTEM

A coalition of local grassroots organizing groups, immigrant rights groups, and local LGBTQ advocacy organizations, in partnership with a national organization for immigrant rights, mobilized to pass the sanctuary city ordinance. Many of these same organizations had been working together for several years to advocate against the City of Santa Ana's cooperation with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)—and specifically to push for closure of the city jail. Organizations particularly active in supporting passage of the sanctuary city ordinance included:

- Orange Count Immigrant Youth United (OCIYU)
- Resilience OC
- Latinos in Action
- LGBTQ Center Orange County
- ACLU of Southern California
- University of California, Irvine (UCI) Law Immigrant Rights Clinic
- Voice of OC (Orange County nonprofit news agency)

STRATEGY

The specific advocacy that led to the sanctuary city ordinance over a several-month period in 2016-17 was possible because of years of prior advocacy against immigrant detention—and specifically against the use of the Santa Ana City Jail as an ICE detention facility for transgender women. A strong intersectional coalition of immigrant rights groups and LGBTQ advocates was in place when the 2016 U.S. presidential election heightened fears about the future well-being of Santa Ana's immigrant population. Given these concerns, advocating for a sanctuary city ordinance became a high priority, and advocates' strategy to have the ordinance adopted by the Santa Ana City Council was very targeted. Advocates helped to draft the ordinance; they took it to City Council and offered technical assistance through the UCI Law Immigrant Rights Clinic; residents and advocates packed Council hearings in support of the ordinance; and this momentum and the breadth of the advocacy coalition in support of the ordinance led to unanimous passage of the sanctuary city ordinance in January 2017.

7   California Statute AB 32: Detention Facilities

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

A state law passed in 2019 prevents the state from creating or renewing contracts with for-profit prison companies and immigration detention centers after January 1, 2020. The bill also phases out existing contracts by 2028. This legislation builds on SB 29, the Dignity Not Detention Act passed in 2017, which bans cities and counties from entering into new contracts with private prisons, and AB 103, which bans cities and counties from new contracts with detention centers.

POWER ECOSYSTEM

A coalition of criminal justice and immigrant rights advocates that included state and national advocacy, legal advocacy, legal research, and grassroots organizing came together to advance AB 32. This coalition was built on the Dignity Not Detention Coalition that worked on the passage of SB 29 and AB 103, resulting in the creation of the 2017 Dignity Not Detention Act, the first law in the country to halt immigration detention growth and create more transparency and accountability in the U.S. immigration detention system.

Key members include:

- Freedom for Immigrants
- ACLU
- Immigrant Defense Advocates (IDA)
- Immigrant Defense Project
- Immigrant Legal Resource Center
- Inland Coalition for Immigrant Justice
- Pangea Legal Services Human Rights Watch
- California Immigrant Youth Justice Alliance
- Kern Youth Abolitionists
- Interfaith Movement for Human Integrity
- PICO California
- Resilience OC
- LGBTQ Center Orange County

STRATEGY

Legal advocates worked with the bill's sponsor to craft the legislative language and worked with legal scholars to ensure its constitutionality. Meanwhile, youth led grassroots organizing groups elevated the stories of those detained and incarcerated through social media along with on-the-ground organizing. By leveraging the range of skills of its members, the coalition deftly implemented a successful inside-outside strategy.

8 Integrated Voter Engagement (IVE): San Diego and the Central Valley

POLICY AND/OR SYSTEMS CHANGE

This case examines the infrastructure in City Heights/San Diego, the Central Valley, and statewide to support civic engagement and the use of IVE. The work of these organizations with 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) tables has resulted in increased voter turnout and important electoral wins.

POWER ECOSYSTEM

Statewide

- California Calls
- Million Voter Project, an alliance of seven statewide and regional community-based IVE networks: Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment (ACCE), Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders for Civic Empowerment (AAPICE), California Calls, Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA), Orange County Civic Engagement Table (OCCET), Power California, and PICO California

City Heights

- Mid-City Community Advocacy Network (CAN)
- Partnership for the Advancement of New Americans
- Alliance San Diego
- Alliance San Diego Mobilization Fund
- Engage San Diego
- Engage San Diego Action Fund

Central Valley

- The Center on Race, Poverty & the Environment
- Communities for a New California Education Fund
- Communities for a New California Action Fund
- CWC
- CWC Action Fund
- Dolores Huerta
- Faith in the Valley
- Hmong Innovating Politics
- Jakara Movement
- Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability
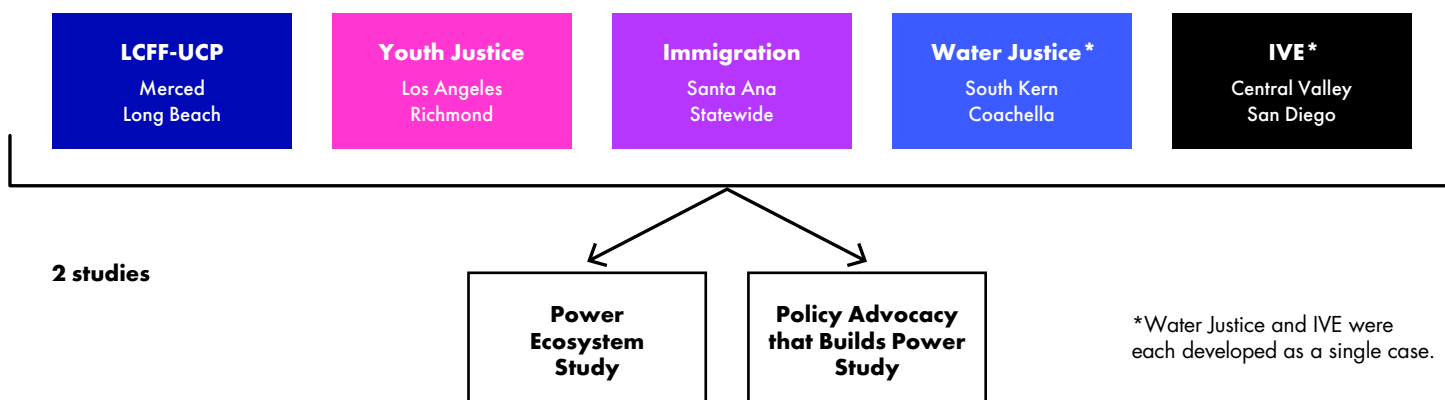- 99Rootz

STRATEGY

Grassroots organizing groups integrated electoral work into their organizing to build the political influence of communities and advance policy agendas by electing decision-makers and holding them accountable. Each region used different tables and structures to coordinate their strategies.

> Appendix B: Methods and Evaluation Team

This evaluation on advocacy that builds power and the companion report from the Center for the Study of Social Policy (CSSP), An Ecosystem to Build Power and Advance Health and Racial Equity, used a qualitative multi-case design. Eight cases were developed, covering five different issue areas and representing a variety of policy, systems change, and electoral "wins" with a variety of targets of change (e.g., city council, county, school board, state legislature, and the polls), as shown in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6. METHODS OVERVIEW

5 issues, 8 cases,* 10 BHC sites

LCFF-UCP	Youth Justice	Immigration	Water Justice*	IVE*
Merced Long Beach	Los Angeles Richmond	Santa Ana Statewide	South Kern Coachella	Central Valley San Diego

2 studies

Power Ecosystem Study

Policy Advocacy that Builds Power Study

*Water Justice and IVE were each developed as a single case.

The "win" served as an anchor in each case to document prior wins and losses—the "arc" of the policy or systems change goal—as well as how the ecosystem of organizations collaborated on a shared goal.

The cases were selected with input from The California Endowment (TCE) and varied in the role and level of directiveness of the foundation in supporting the work of the ecosystem of organizations. In some cases, we were able to also describe how the foundation supported the work over the duration of the policy arc.

The cases also varied in terms of the role of directly impacted individuals and grassroots organizing groups. This variability allowed us to explore how grassroots organizations were centered in the ecosystem as well as in the campaign strategy and the development of the solution. We explored the relationship between the extent to which organizing groups were centered, the quality of the win, and the extent to which power was built.

The power building framework grounded the development of data collection tools and coding.

An evaluation team drawn from multiple organizations developed the data collection tools, interviewed individuals/organizations involved in each of the cases, coded the interviews for analysis, and summarized each of the cases for purposes of internal analysis. The analysis identified and focused on themes that emerged across the cases, and these are presented and discussed in this report and the Center for Evaluation Innovation's (CEI) complementary report. The evaluation team included the following organizations and individuals:

Barsoum Policy Consulting
- Gigi Barsoum

CEI
- Julia Coffman
- Albertina Lopez
- Mariah Brothe Gantz

Center for Outcomes Research and Education (CORE)
- Margarette Weller

CSSP
- Sarah Morrison
- Anand Sharma
- Frank Farrow
- Selena Chavez

LPC, Inc.
- Michele Darling

> Appendix C: Organizations Interviewed for the Evaluation

(in alphabetical order)

99Rootz
Alianza Coachella Valley
Alliance San Diego
Anti-Recidivism Coalition (ARC)
California Calls
California Donor Table
California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA)
California State Water Resources Control Board
California Youth Immigrant Justice Coalition
Catholic Charities, East Bay
Children's Defense Fund (CDF)
Chispa
Communities for a New California Education Fund
Community Water Center (CWC)
Contra Costa County Public Defender's Office
Cultiva la Salud
Dolores Huerta Foundation
Freedom for Immigrants
Health Equity Project
Immigrant Defense Advocates (IDA)
Immigrant Legal Resource Center
Impact Justice
Interfaith Movement for Human Integrity
Jakara Movement
Los Angeles County Supervisor Justice Deputy
Los Angeles Times
Latinos in Action

Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability
Mid-City Community Advocacy Network (CAN)
Million Voters Project
Partnership for the Advancement of New Americans
Parent Institute for Quality Education
Power California
PICO California/Faith in Action
Probation Reform Implementation Team (PRIT)
Chair and several members
Public Advocates
Pueblo Unido CDC
Racial Justice Coalition
Resilience OC
RYSE Youth Center
Santa Ana City Council
Sierra Health Foundation
The California Endowment (TCE)
Program Managers and Directors (various)
The Center on Race, Poverty & the Environment
The Office of Assemblyman Rob Bonta
The Office of Senator William Monning
The Water Foundation
TransLatin@Coalition
Urban Peace Institute (UPI)
WitnessLA
Youth Justice Coalition

> Appendix D: Rubrics Used for the Cases

	1	2	3	4
TCE Role The extent to which the foundation (HCAL/HCOM/BHC) was directing the work and grantmaking	Grantee led and TCE funded with no direct TCE role	Grantee led with TCE played supporting background role, such as helping to build capacity and creating tables for collaboration	TCE engaged and playing a more directive role in collaboration with grantees	TCE led with TCE directing the strategy and funding the organizations to implement it
Nature of the Advocacy The extent to which communities and base building organizations were centered in collaborative advocacy efforts with other ecosystem partners	Mobilized: Base building groups and communities played a transactional role and were turned out to support an issue but played no role in the development of the effort	Supported: Base building groups and communities played a supporting role in the development of an effort that was led by other partners	Engaged: Base building groups and communities co-led the effort and helped inform	Led: Base building groups and communities led the effort, from problem definition, to development of policy solution, to development of strategy and role in strategy
Quality of the Win The extent to which the policy or systems change win was developed by communities, reflected community priorities, and addressed root causes and inequities	Mobilized: Community played a transactional role; mobilized on an issue of related importance and strategic value but did not play a role in its development	Supported: Community supported with incremental progress toward equity	Engaged: Community informed and equity centered	Led: Community developed and equity centered
Expansion of Power (Influence) The extent to which community members have political influence and are recognized for it	Getting on the radar of decision- makers with authority over the policy or in system	Informing the agenda or decisions related to the issue or systems of interest	Being seen as a go-to source and being taken into consideration when making decisions	Getting a seat at the table—institutionalizing their perspective