

SOUNDINGS II:
**A Survey of the Progressive Movement in
Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming**

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A progressive foundation promoting social justice in the Northwest and Northern Rockies

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INTRODUCTION

Background

The Social Justice Fund NW (formerly ATR) is a Seattle-based public foundation promoting social justice in Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming. Since its inception in 1978, the Social Justice Fund has granted over \$11 million to launch and sustain grassroots organizations promoting democracy, human rights, and racial and economic justice in the Northwest and Northern Rockies.

The Social Justice Fund makes its funding decisions through committees of its members. Anyone who embraces the Fund's mission and who gives \$20 a month can become a member. Members include longtime activists and middle-class professionals who had never before seen themselves as philanthropists, sitting at the decision-making table with wealthy donors as equal partners. Since 1978, the Social Justice Fund has grown from six to over 400 members, and has increased annual grantmaking from \$14,000 to nearly \$725,000. More than half of the money awarded annually is in the form of multi-year grants.

In 1985 the Social Justice Fund sponsored a research project titled *Soundings - A Regional Survey of Organizational Needs and Concerns Among Grantees in Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming*. A number of recommendations were generated by that report, including:

- Ensure that grassroots organizations have access to good technical assistance providers;
- Co-sponsor gatherings of progressive organizers and leaders for education and networking;
- Strengthen ties between organizations in the region by creating gathering opportunities; and
- Invest in leadership development.

In response to the findings of *Soundings*, founding members of the Social Justice Fund NW helped form the Western States Center, a Portland-based training and technical assistance provider, to address the needs identified by activists in the region. Today, the Western States Center continues to provide support and guidance in building a progressive movement in Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming, as well as in Nevada and Utah. Both the Social Justice Fund and Western States Center now serve as allies to grassroots organizations mobilizing for social change.

Over the two decades since the first *Soundings* report was published, the rightward trend of regional and national politics noted in that first report has accelerated. As a result, Washington saw the loss of affirmative action in 1998. Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people throughout the region have faced relentless attacks on their rights, primarily, though not exclusively, through the mechanism of ballot initiatives. National reforms to welfare are having dire consequences in our largely rural region, especially in states like Oregon, which has the highest child poverty rate in the United States as of this writing.

Women and people with disabilities are also extremely vulnerable. And indigenous peoples of the region have faced repeated challenges to tribal sovereignty and treaty rights by state and local governments and by organized citizen groups. The vulnerability of all of these groups has been exacerbated by the passage of the U.S.A. P.A.T.R.I.O.T. Act and the climate of fear and US nationalism following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. In particular, immigrant and refugee rights groups have witnessed a cynical reframing of their civil and human rights struggles as threats to national security post-9/11.

During these same 20 years, the number and sophistication of progressive grassroots non-profits devoted to organizing and advocacy appears to have increased as well. We believe this increase to be the result of a variety of factors including 1) the rise of the right and the need for a progressive response, 2) the combined pressures of globalization, deregulation, and privatization, 3) the erosion of the social safety net, and 4) the intervention of resource intermediaries and training centers building the field of community organizing.

Along with the increased number of progressive non-profits there is a growing sophistication among them, as measured by the use of multiple strategies with an increasing focus on building electoral power. While this is not keeping pace with the concurrent growth in the power of the right, nonetheless there have been significant and encouraging developments among advocates for grassroots progressive change.

Given the dramatic changes we have seen in the region both on the right and among progressive organizations, the Social Justice Fund NW decided to conduct a second research project, *Soundings II*. This report summarizes survey and interview responses from grantees and other activists on current progressive issues, organizations, and constituencies in the region, as well as on the Social Justice Fund's policies, practices, and most appropriate role in supporting progressive movement building in the coming years.

It is important to note that this report is *not* intended to be a comprehensive description of social justice work in the region, but rather to provide a broad overview of major shifts, challenges and organizing opportunities that have emerged for progressives over the last two decades. This report is designed to help guide the Social Justice Fund's member education work, and to provide a basis for informing other funders about the critical progressive work occurring in the Northwest and Northern Rockies.

Methodology

In 2003 the Social Justice Fund convened a committee of its members, activists, and progressive resource providers to design and to provide input and feedback throughout the project. Committee members began forming the

scope and objectives of the assessment, and conducted an initial series of interviews with several longtime activists in the region. In 2004 the Social Justice Fund hired consultants to conduct the assessment. Organizations included in the assessment were selected from a list of 1,326 grant applicants from 1999 to 2004. The Social Justice Fund sought to ensure an even number of rural and urban organizations, and a representative balance of issues and constituencies.

A survey was developed to ask critical questions about constituencies, issues, strategies, political climate, challenges, opportunities, and best practices. Group meetings were organized in Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho. One-on-one interviews were conducted in person and by phone. In the end approximately 60 people participated in this project either through an on-line survey, face to face interviews, focus groups, or phone interviews. Additional research was done through an analysis of the Letters of Intent submitted to the Social Justice Fund by organizations competing for a Basic Grant in 2004. This survey of Letters of Intent was conducted in order gain a broader sense of the context within which the particular groups being interviewed are working. Synthesized findings from the survey, interviews, and analysis of the Letters of Intent are presented in the following pages.

Acknowledgements

Social Justice Fund NW staff members Soya Jung Harris and Scot Nakagawa provided critical support and feedback for the project; Social Justice Fund board member Michael Baker chaired the Regional Assessment Committee; former Equality State Policy Center Executive Director Tom Throop arranged the Wyoming meeting; Social Justice Fund member Terry Kendrick arranged the Montana meeting; and Women of Color Alliance Executive Director Sonya Rosario arranged the Idaho meeting. Charles Tanner conducted statistical analyses of data gathered and provided much needed technical support. This project received critical financial support from the Marguerite Casey Foundation. It also would not have been possible without the progressive activists in the region who are leading the struggle to create a just and democratic society under very trying and sometimes dangerous circumstances.

FINDINGS

This section is an effort to synthesize the information garnered from the various data collection methods used in this project, and to extrapolate the broad opinions. The appendices in this report provide more detailed information on survey responses.

Among the questions presented to survey participants were: 1) Do you think a progressive movement exists in our region? 2) What are some of the barriers to movement building? 3) What are some of the opportunities? 4) What strategies are groups using to achieve their missions and goals, and 5) How can the Social Justice Fund be an effective ally in these movement building efforts?

From interviewees' responses, it is clear that those who are doing the work of social justice in this region face tremendous challenges. They are struggling with funding issues, they are understaffed, and the consolidation of rightwing political power is adversely affecting many aspects of their constituents' lives. However, they are not downtrodden by these realities. It is obvious that they remain hopeful.

Key social, political and economic shifts

The consolidation of the conservative right wing's power in essentially every aspect of people's lives is by far the most significant political, social, and economic trend noted by the majority of survey participants. Over the last 20 years the political climate in the Northwest and Northern Rockies has been characterized by repeated assaults on disadvantaged communities. These assaults have come both through legislatures and through the citizen initiative process.

By following well developed strategies, the right exerts incredible control at the state and local levels, including school boards, planning commissions and land use committees. This trend plays out in a variety of ways from the

ubiquitous one-man-one-woman marriage initiatives, to escalating scapegoating of immigrants, to the erosion of environmental protections. The right is seen as having created shared infrastructure which gives them the think tanks, the messaging, and the media access needed to advance their agenda. There is broad consensus among those interviewed that this apparatus will be hard to dismantle.

As one interviewee put it, "The rise and power of the Christian Right has been the result of a 30-year approach... being very effective in the past 10 or 15. They have brought their power forward in a real way which is hurting all of us."

The increasing disparity between the wealthy and the poor, the concentration of wealth, unbridled capitalism, increased globalization of capital, privatization, and rigid corporate control all serve to create a particular challenge, based on interviewees' responses.

"It's the economy, stupid" is a phrase that still resonates with many. It also prompts and encourages racism as the number of the working poor increases, and safety net systems diminish or disappear. The faltering economy and all of its ancillary effects were described as a false divide that encourages neighbors to see each other as enemies. It is a wedge issue that is being exploited by the right to demonize and blame immigrants, people of color, LGBT people and the poor. In addition, many participants said global corporate control of policymakers in the western states region was a major challenge.

9/11 and the ensuing wars came up in many conversations. It is seen as a deeply rooted cause for the acceleration of fundamentalist ideologies that are defining and determining the political landscape. Impacts include increased repression targeting immigrants, a drastic shift in the distribution of resources

away from schools and public services and toward the military industrial complex, and the criminalization of whole classes of people based on national origin, religion and ethnicity.

Activists also cited the war's cost and impact on the national economy as a source of new organizing challenges. A number of people referred to the perpetual war in Iraq and Afghanistan as an integral part of the economic situation.

How We Organize in Light of These Trends

An acknowledgement of the intersections among what might have seemed like disparate issues in the past is prompting many organizations to develop broader-based analyses and strategies. A significant number of participants said they were expanding their organizational outreach to work with groups and constituencies with whom they had not worked before. It is a combination of a "strength-in-numbers" thinking and an understanding that many issues share a common underlying root cause.

This development has led to creative joint funding proposals at times, but also has unearthed prejudices (LGBT rights seem to be a universal sticking point) that have hampered successful coalition building. Where there is strong leadership honestly and openly grappling with these "wedge issues," that barrier seems to lose its power. There were some responses that indicated that "turf issues" and funding competition were barriers to coalition building. A breakdown of those responses showed that in the more populated states of our region, like Oregon and Washington, turf issues – and subsequently, statewide coalition building – seem to be more difficult. The desire to overcome these barriers seems to be there, but movement is slow. Concerns over funding competition were widespread and not specific to any state.

Cross education of groups is a powerful tool for successful coalition building. One immigrant organization's model of coalition building was based on the realization that there was not a critical mass of Latinos in the state, and that in order to defend themselves from the onslaught

on anti-immigration attacks they had to build alliances with many different communities and organizations. A critical component of that effort, according to the organization's leadership, was "educating people who for the most part did not understand how immigrants and immigrant rights have an important role in everyone's life. Education led to understanding; understanding led to solidarity."

Is There a Progressive Movement?

Close to 90% of project participants essentially agree that a progressive movement exists in our region. There also seems to be a shared definition or description of what a progressive movement looks like. Where disagreement arises is around the health and viability of that movement today.

There was a kind of emotion that crept into people's voices when talking about a progressive movement. Phrases like "creating a better world", "commitment to working for un- and under-represented communities", "transforming people's lives", "seeing the possibilities", and numerous quotes from Dr. Martin Luther King came up repeatedly. Everyone who participated in this project expressed a desire to be part of a movement. They want to be part of something bigger, something that will have more impact and tangible successes.

The recurring theme in answering this question was the importance of coalition building. Many respondents talked about the necessity to move beyond the usual suspects in their organizing work, beyond a single-issue organization, and beyond assumptions about who our allies in social justice work are. There is a strong sense that without these shifts, the progressive movement is in danger.

Many people talked about the success of the right in organizing and mobilizing, and mentioned that this was a model that should be emulated, with some important modifications. The right has a history of unity (though we are now seeing some cracks in that unity) – something that many respondents believe is

critical to building and maintaining a progressive movement.

Those who felt there was no progressive movement pointed to the many electoral defeats suffered by so many states in the 2004 elections as an indicator. There was also mention of lack of coalition building, lack of shared vision, analyses and strategies. One respondent talked about how movements were fluid, and while we might witness isolated moments of a progressive movement, as far as a sustainable movement was concerned, a lot more work was needed.

The concept of winning and losing was often mentioned in response to this question. There was a persistent theme: if we were a united movement, we would win more often. On the other hand, some folks felt victories were in fact being achieved.

One interviewee said, “A movement is a people working on a variety of issues in concert, and while there are a bunch of individual activist groups who think well of each other, there is not a coordinated cohesive action towards a progressive vision that is well articulated.” This generally reflects the sentiments of those who said that no movement exists.

How to Create a Sustainable Movement?

With some exceptions, the answer to this question came down to good old tried-and-true organizing with an emphasis on coalition building. Following is a bulleted list of the main responses:

- Emphasize building our base. For progressive movements to succeed, we must engage and mobilize our traditional base, and we must connect and communicate effectively with those not traditionally seen as our base. The general public is being manipulated by the right and we must counter that.
- Focused attention on the wedge issues that could potentially divide us - anti-immigrant organizing, anti-queer organizing, reproductive justice. By bridging these

wedges we increase our base and our effectiveness. Deal with our own racism, classism, and homophobia.

- Building coalitions that together can develop effective strategies. We may not have to have complete agreement on the vision driving those strategies, but it is critical that strong tactical alliances exist.
- Good organizers and leadership development within our organizations and among our constituents.
- Access to media and the skills to take advantage of that access.
- Having in place tools such as databases, accessible technology.
- Enough money to hire professional staff and to maintain offices.
- Political courage from our policymakers. The reality is that many groups are actively working in the mainstream political arena.

The Role of the Social Justice Fund NW in the Progressive Movement in our Region

The Social Justice Fund plays a very important role in the building of a progressive movement. Were participants nervous about answering these questions? It was difficult to tell. But to a person, the Fund received accolades and gratitude. The gratitude was not simply in response to funding received, but also in response to site visits. Many organizational representatives talked about how they “felt” when the Social Justice Fund came to their office, to their town. Site visits are seen as a good thing. “Respect” was another word used a lot in talking about the Social Justice Fund. Organizations feel respected and even ones that didn’t receive funding felt that the process was fair.

Some suggestions for improvement include:

- Give more long-term funding. Some even suggested five-year funding cycles. Understanding that this is long-term work, some felt that the funding should reflect that, coupled with the notion that long term funding provided a form of accountability. If you fund a group for five years, their measured outcomes would be more obvious.
- Require more generosity from Social Justice Fund members. More money needs to be raised, so more money can be given out.
- Several interviewees suggested funding individuals, not just organizations.
- Acknowledge the geographical divide between East and West Coast funders. Respondents encourage Social Justice Fund to work with other foundations to get them to understand the work that organizations in the west are doing and to fund them.
- Refrain from “cookie-cutter” criteria for funding. People talked about rural/urban differences, being “penalized” for a lack of diversity in staff or board makeup when their local demographics were not diverse, and the notion that Social Justice Fund is

wedded to a particular organizing model and did not fund outside of that paradigm.

- Encourage collaborative efforts among groups.

Besides money, suggested resources that Social Justice Fund could provide were all over the map: More technical assistance. No technical assistance. Presentation days, like those organized by the McKenzie River Gathering Foundation in Oregon. No presentation days.

People feel isolated, both geographically and politically. To counter that, a core group of people talked about the value of getting together five or six people from each state for a weekend – but focused on political education/strategy development, not on how to build a database or how to write a grant (though a couple of people did mention those things).

Western States Center was mentioned a lot when it came to this question. People brought up the idea of Social Justice Fund and Western States Center working closely together to develop get-togethers specifically for Social Justice Fund grantees.

CONCLUSION

The Northwest and Northern Rockies is home to many impassioned, thoughtful, far-sighted and hard working social justice activists. Leaders of Social Justice Fund grantees have been nationally recognized for their visionary work. These leaders work for organizations that are part of the Social Justice Fund's vision and reality of a thriving network of community-based organizations and coalitions working for social justice. Their participation in this project provided the basis for a thoughtful and thought provoking document that could serve as a blueprint for movement building funding strategies in our region.

On occasion, their opinions and thoughts are contradictory, especially regarding whether Social Justice Fund should do more than provide grants to groups we fund. Opinion is split between those who feel strongly that gathering grantees, whether for peer education or simply to connect with each other, would be a welcome addition. Others feel just as strongly that the Fund should focus exclusively on raising more money and increasing our multi-year granting capacity.

There is consensus, however, on how and with whom we do our work, and for what reasons. In particular, there was strong unity of mind concerning two things:

First, there is strong consensus that the right wing is the social and political force most powerfully driving the local and national policy agendas at this time. The right wing has had a profound influence on the progressive community, both because of their success in reshaping the political and economic priorities of society, and because of the effective strategies they have employed in building the power base necessary to create this shift. Many of Social Justice Fund's grantees are changing their strategies to respond to and counter the right wing and to incorporate aspects of the right's strategy. The most frequently

mentioned changes related to the rise of the right were:

- Groups are wising up to the right's efforts to isolate and weaken us through the use of divisive "wedge" issues. They further recognize that our inability to respond as effectively to the right as we would like is, at least in part, the result of the relative social isolation of progressives in the region. For these reasons, a growing and increasingly influential number of leaders and organizations are 1) pushing the community beyond single issue organizing, and 2) actively working to reach beyond their comfort zones, both in terms of grassroots contacts and in terms of the groups and leaders with whom they are building alliances.
- Leaders have also observed that the right has exploited the cultural basis of politics with great success. The culture of racism, sexism, heterosexism, homophobia and transphobia, xenophobia, and Christian supremacy and general intolerance and bigotry that we live in provides the right with many opportunities to exploit these cultural divisions and build a multi-issue agenda. Many social justice groups are building cross-issue collaborations and conducting multi-issue education with their constituents to respond to the right's cultural attacks and build unity in diversity among their base.
- Many express a strong desire to emulate the right wing's effective use of media. The general sentiment is that we need to be smarter about how to use available media and about how to create and use alternative media in order to get our message out to the most people.
- The right has learned how to focus on issues that galvanize people and frame

them in compelling ways, even to the extent of building broad public support for lies. Progressives need to do the same, but while telling the truth.

Second, there is a growing consensus concerning strategy in general. Groups are focusing strongly on base building; coalition building; building political power by incorporating voter registration, mobilization and education into community organizing strategies; and creating a common framework for analysis that intentionally counters wedge issues. These same groups also concentrate a great deal of effort on relationship building and maintenance. The most frequent responses are summed up below:

- Stick with basic, time-tested methods of organizing and building democratically structured and controlled organizations. There is no need to reinvent the wheel.
- Mutual respect and civility are necessary to building effective organizations and alliances.
- We cannot be snotty, intellectual know-it-alls to be effective organizers. We have to move outside our own circles of comfort and respect the knowledge and perspectives of unfamiliar people. Grassroots power is expressed in terms of broad, popular support; we must reach out to more people, even those we have not traditionally thought of as our friends.
- Collaboration and coalition building are critical to building a progressive movement. We must move beyond single issues.
- A significant and growing number of groups in the region are shifting away from more limited frameworks and using human rights to frame their issues and work. Doing so helps facilitate collaboration and broad based movement building.
- A significant and growing number of groups consider it critical to include voter

education and organizing, lobbying, and candidate and campaign training in their work. As a result, a growing number of leaders of social justice organizations are becoming leaders in a variety of local and statewide government agencies and policy making bodies. This change is reflected in the increasing extent to which groups are becoming aware of the need to educate themselves about IRS regulations and stay within 501(c)3 limitations.

- We must learn to frame our issues more effectively, and frame them in terms of the values that underlie our work. Many believe that there is a myth that progressives have no values. Those who expressed this belief emphasized the importance of exploding this myth.

Despite the clarity the leaders interviewed expressed regarding vision, strategy, and tactics, the groups they lead are greatly challenged when attempting to put these ideas into action. The primary challenge facing social justice organizations stems from a lack of financial and human resources and time. However, many of the groups must also deal with challenges presented by their own constituents and leaders within their organizations as they attempt to take on controversial new issues and join forces with groups with whom they have relatively little experience. Racism sometimes stymies efforts of white activists and primarily white organizations as they attempt to build alliances with people of color. Social Justice Fund staff report that many grantees find it difficult to speak to the problem of homophobia and heterosexism. Even when the leaders are committed to challenging discriminatory attitudes toward gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people, these leaders often lack the tools and experience to address these and other controversial issues in a unifying manner.

Other challenges definitely stem from the oppressive political climate we are living in. The current political climate encourages distrust and suspicion. The most influential forces in politics today manipulate fear and prejudice to divide and conquer poor and working people with great success.

The Social Justice Fund, according to practically everyone interviewed, is essential to the success and maintenance of a progressive movement in this region. Responses regarding organizing methodology would often be accompanied by the caveat of “this is what SFJ should fund or support or encourage from organizations.” The grantmaking strategies of

the Fund are influential and can dictate which trends, strategies and ideas are supported in their early stages. This finding points to the importance of political education of Fund members and leaders to ensure that our grantmaking programs are responsive, and supportive of the most effective strategies being employed in the region.

WHO PARTICIPATED IN SOUNDINGS II?

Core constituencies and leadership of organizations surveyed were white, female, and low-income. The constituencies most commonly reported to participate consistently and to hold leadership positions in organizations were whites (72% reported that white people consistently participated and held leadership positions in their organizations), women (100%) and low-income individuals (71%). Groups most commonly described as “never or infrequently” participating or holding leadership positions in organizations included prisoners/ex-prisoners (74%), African Americans (68%), Asian / Pacific Islanders (68%) and immigrants and refugees (64%).

Nearly three-fourths of all groups surveyed said there were constituencies with whom they currently do not work, and with whom they are interested in forming alliances. This indicates a strong interest in coalition building across constituencies, and a current lack of such alliances or coalitions. When asked which constituencies groups wanted to work with, 75% of respondents placed people of color at the top of the list either generally or in terms of a specific community of color. Native Americans or Indian tribes were mentioned most frequently. Other constituencies mentioned include low-income people and the LGBT community.

The issues that activists most commonly reported as being consistently or frequently a core part of their program work included racial justice (81.5%), economic justice (71.4%), and human rights (79.3%). In fact, only about 10% of groups said that they seldom or never worked on racial or economic justice issues. Other core issues were welfare rights (51.9%), gender justice (48.1%), children and youth (44.4%), education (50%), workers' rights (44.4%), housing and homelessness (40.7%) and healthcare (42.9%). Areas *least* commonly identified as core issues were disability rights, reproductive rights, tribal sovereignty and treaty rights, criminal justice reform, and peace/anti-war. Nearly two-thirds of those

surveyed reported that they “seldom” or “never” worked on criminal justice reform and tribal sovereignty / treaty rights. However, the issue that groups most commonly said they wanted to work on, but currently were not working on, was Native American issues and tribal sovereignty.

Fully 60% of groups surveyed had budgets of \$100,000 or more. One-third of all groups surveyed had budgets between \$250,000 and \$500,000. However, 20% reported having budgets of less than \$50,000, reflecting a wide range of size and organizational capacity among progressive groups in the region.

Funding for surveyed organizations came predominantly from private foundations. Of the groups that reported receiving any foundation money at all, 68% reported that foundation money comprised over half of their budgets. Among groups reporting income from membership dues, 78% said this source accounted for less than 10% of their total income. Less than 45% of groups surveyed reported receiving government grants, and two-thirds of them said they received less than 10% of their budget from these funds. Only 13% of groups surveyed said that individual donors made up 25% or more of their budget.

Two-thirds of organizations surveyed reported having affiliates or partner organizations, but usually in relatively small networks. While more than 25% of groups reported working at the local level, nearly two-thirds reported serving a statewide geographic area. Approximately 70% of groups reported having a volunteer base of less than 50, with about 43% of these reporting fewer than 10 active volunteers. Yet more than 76% of groups identified themselves as membership organizations. Of these, one-fourth reported having less than 200 members, while more than half reported having over 500 members.

Organizations use a range of technologies to communicate with their bases. Email was the most common, but groups also used more

traditional phone banks or phone trees as well as teleconferences. In addition, over half of the groups reported holding regular membership meetings, with one-third of those holding them annually and the rest holding them more

frequently. Groups also reported using regular events or forums, including trainings and workshops, as ways of staying in touch with their constituencies.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS:

Bitterroot Human Rights Alliance

Formed in response to white supremacists moving into Montana in the spring of 1994, the Bitterroot Human Rights Alliance continues to confront the “patriot” and militia movements. Currently BHRA is trying to address the social climate that makes the Bitterroot Valley fertile ground for the hard-core right wing. They also have ongoing programs to fight anti-gay intimidation and harassment in area public schools.

CARA - www.cara-seattle.org

In 1999 a group of activists came together to create an organization that would undermine the root causes of sexual violence. CARA pushes a broad agenda for liberation and social justice while prioritizing anti-rape work as the center of their organizing.

Community Alliance of Tenants - www.aracnet.com/~cat

CAT is a grassroots, tenant-controlled, tenant-membership organization. Our mission is to educate and empower tenants to promote affordable, stable and safe rental homes. Recognizing that housing is the basis of a strong community, CAT brings tenants together to organize and collectively work for fair and equal protections in housing policy and practice.

Connections - www.connectionsmt.org

Connections is a grassroots group that provides both direct service and leadership for the grassroots Montana Criminal Justice Reform Network. Connections supports and encourages positive life changes for individuals and family members who have been incarcerated, addicted to drugs, youth at risk, and Hep C positives.

Crime Survivors for Community Safety formerly SAFES - www.westernprisonproject.org/cscs

CSCS is building a united, progressive movement of crime survivors. They understand firsthand how violence affects people and that wholesale incarceration is not the answer. They also know that

survivors of crime and violence make them some of the most qualified people to address issues around violence. CSCS works to ensure that crime survivors participate in and are heard by our criminal justice system.

Equal Rights Washington (formerly Discrimination-Free WA) - www.equalrightswashington.org

Equal Rights Washington (ERW), is a statewide political advocacy organization for the LGBT community of Washington State with the primary mission of ending discrimination of gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans-generated persons in Washington.

Equality State Policy Center - www.equalitystate.org

The Equality State Policy Center is a nontraditional coalition of Wyoming organizations working together on state government accountability and citizen access issues. The ESPC utilizes research, public education and advocacy to advance a cooperative work program designed to establish and maintain accountability in state government and to substantially increase citizen participation in and influence over public-policy decision-making.

Idaho Community Action Network - <http://myweb.cableone.net/ican>

ICAN is a statewide grassroots organization dedicated to the fight for social, racial and economic justice for all Idahoans. Their guiding principles are: a shared vision of economic and social justice, the power to make change through collective action, diversity and solidarity, building their organization and communities through justice and having leaders who take responsibility and accountability for building a powerful organization.

Idaho Hispanic Caucus/Idaho Latino Vote - www.idahohispaniccaucus.org

Idaho Hispanic Council’s mission is to promote the political empowerment of Idaho Hispanics through leadership, advocacy, communication and coordination to achieve justice and equality in our society. Idaho Latino Vote is a project sponsored by

the Idaho Hispanic Caucus and its goal is to register eligible Latinos and to get registered Latinos to vote.

Idaho Women's Network - www.idahowomensnetwork.org

The Idaho Women's Network unites the voices and interests of Idaho women, families and communities. Through community organizing, advocacy and education, we strive to strengthen democracy and promote human rights. Since its inspired beginning in 1988, the Idaho Women's Network has effectively worked in coalition, organizing and uniting women's efforts and influencing policymakers on a broad range of issues that impact Idaho women and their families.

Indian People's Action - www.mtpaction.org/ipa.htm

Indian People's Action, as a project of Montana People's Action, organizes and builds the voice and power Montana's urban Indians. IPA utilizes the strength in numbers and direct action organizing to achieve systemic change to improve the lives of its members.

Kitsap Human Rights Network - www.khrn.org

The KHRN is a resource that works with public officials and institutions, including schools, and the general public to counter the propaganda and organizing efforts of white supremacist hate groups, support those victimized by hatred and violence, and to eliminate the institutional and cultural basis for hate and bias. They strive to build strong, trained and empowered community based coalitions, which will vigorously defend human and civil rights.

La Radio Montanesa: Voz de la Gente

La Radio is a community-based, progressive low-power FM station serving the Spanish speaking communities of Laramie, Wyoming with the goal of heightening community awareness of cultural diversity and creating a voice for the Latino community.

League of Women Voters - www.lwvmt.montana.com

The League of Women Voters of Montana is a nonpartisan, multi-issue political organization that encourages the informed and active participation of citizens in government and influences public policy through education and advocacy.

LELO - www.lelo.org

LELO is a 33-year-old racial and economic justice workers' rights organization. As an organization led by ordinary workers, they develop the leadership of those most marginalized in our society: people of color, working class women, recent immigrants and LGBTQ workers. Their primary social change strategy is local organizing, with a heavy emphasis on

political education and networks of solidarity with workers across the globe.

Montana Human Rights Network - www.mhrn.org

The Montana Human Rights Network is a grassroots, membership-based organization of over 1400 members and 10 local groups. MHRN's mission is to promote democratic values such as pluralism, equality and justice; challenge bigotry and intolerance; and organize communities to speak out in support of democratic principles and institutions.

Montana People's Action - www.mtpaction.org

Montana People's Action is a socially and racially diverse organization of low and moderate income Montanans. We empower our members to achieve lasting change for social, economic and racial justice using direct action.

Montana Women Vote

Montana Women Vote is a statewide coalition of organizations that encourage low-income women, many non-voters, to participate in the democratic process. The coalition educates and mobilizes their base population to participate as voters and to advocate for policies that will positively affect their lives.

Native Action Network - www.nwnativeinfo.com

The Native Action Network is a grassroots organization that works to enhance the beauty, strength, and integrity of the Puget Sound American Indian & Alaska Native community through ongoing community events, forums, educational seminars, and community meetings. They are also committed to building strong, healthy Native communities through community development, economic empowerment opportunities, and political participation.

Oregon Action - www.oregonaction.org

Oregon Action is a statewide community organization dedicated to economic and social justice for all. They empower the voices of under-represented people – particularly poor and low-income people, people of color and women – to influence public policy. Through leadership development and community organizing, they work to shift the balance of power on issues that matter to our members - winning real changes that make real differences in people's lives.

Oregon Rural Action - www.oraction.org

Oregon Rural Action is a long term, multi-ethnic organization whose mission is to support and encourage community organizing around locally-identified issues, with a shared vision of creating a healthy, democratic, and just society. ORA's members and community groups work to promote social justice, agricultural and economic

sustainability, and stewardship of the region's land, air and water.

PCUN - www.pcun.org

Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (Northwest Treeplanters and Farmworkers United), is Oregon's union of farmworkers, nursery, and reforestation workers, and Oregon's largest Latino organization. PCUN's fundamental goal is to empower farmworkers to understand and take action against systematic exploitation and all of its effects. To achieve this end, PCUN is involved in community and workplace organizing on many different levels

Peace and Justice Action League of Spokane - www.icehouse.net/pjals

PJALS is a local, membership organization committed to involving individuals and local communities in building foundations for a just and nonviolent world. Since its inception in 1975, PJALS has promoted social, political and economic change through community organizing, nonviolence training, volunteer involvement, human rights education and advocacy. PJALS networks with local, regional and national peace and human rights groups to initiate change locally and globally.

Powder River Basin Council - www.powderriverbasin.org

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

Pride/ Montana - www.gaymontana.com/pride

Pride's mission is to secure constitutional rights to privacy, equal protection and dignity for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered Montanans. They serve as a voice for Montana's queer community political action, education and communication.

Real Change - www.realchangenews.org

Real Change exists to create opportunity and a voice for low-income people while taking action to end homelessness and poverty. They are working toward building bridges among the poor, homeless and the greater community, while engaging the broader public in fighting for economic justice.

Rural Organizing Project - www.rop.org

The Rural Organizing Project supports the growing grassroots movement for social justice in small-town and rural Oregon by assisting locally-organized

human dignity groups. The ROP provides human dignity groups with many forms of support including skills training, strategic planning, outreach development, and opportunities to plug into statewide grassroots organizing.

Seattle Young People's Project - www.sypp.org

The Seattle Young People's Project is a youth-led, adult supported organization that empowers youth (ages 13-18) to express themselves and to take action on the issues that affect their lives. SYPP provides a youth owned organization with resources, office space, and organizing training so youth can work to change the system and be the leaders of movements for social justice!

Snake River Alliance - www.snakeriveralliance.org

The Snake River Alliance is an Idaho-based community organization founded in 1979. Through research, education, and community advocacy the work for peace and justice, the end of nuclear weapons production activities, and responsible solutions to nuclear waste and contamination.

Statewide Poverty Action Network - www.fremontpublic.org/SPAN

Statewide Poverty Action Network keeps communities and policy-makers informed about the root causes of poverty in Washington. Through community based research on the impacts of public policies, they are not only bringing to light the reality of welfare, they are empowering the voices of those who are otherwise reduced to simple statistics. They also organize communities across the state to address the root causes of poverty

The Interfaith Alliance of Idaho - www.tiaidaho.org

The Interfaith Alliance of Idaho (TIA-ID) is a non-partisan, interfaith organization committed to promoting the positive role of religion as a healing and constructive force in public life; challenging those who manipulate and distort religion to advance an extreme political agenda; and building a revitalized mainstream interfaith movement based upon active civic participation.

United Vision for Idaho - www.uvidaho.org

Founded in 1995, United Vision for Idaho and its 21 organizational members represent over 50,000 people throughout Idaho. They work with member organizations and activists throughout the state to promote social, economic and environmental justice.

Upper Columbia Human Rights Coalition

UCHRC is a rural human rights organization that seeks to expose the agendas of local white supremacist groups, organize community responses to identity-based harassment, and build local anti-racist coalitions.

Western Prison Project -
www.westernprisonproject.org

The Western Prison Project exists to coordinate a progressive response to the criminal justice system, and to build a grassroots, multi-racial movement that achieves criminal justice reform and reduces the over-reliance on incarceration in the western states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming and Nevada.

Western States Center -
www.westernstatescenter.org

Western States Center's mission is to build a progressive movement for social, economic, racial and environmental justice in the eight Western states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada and Alaska. Their vision is of a just and equitable society governed by a strong, grassroots democracy.

Wind River Alliance - www.windriveralliance.org

The Wind River Alliance is a cross-cultural, community-based organization dedicated to the health and protection of Wyoming's Wind River watershed. Their mission is to promote a healthy Wind River watershed, and by that, assist in restoring justice and health to communities.

Women of Color Alliance - www.wocaonline.org

The Women of Color Alliance honors cultural diversity through mutual support, leadership development and empowerment. Their mission is to work toward a fair social, political, and economic system that will improve the quality of life for all Women of Color

Women of Wyoming (WoW) -
www.womenofwyoming.org

WoW exists to create synergy, critical mass, and economy of scale to the advantage of the women of Wyoming. We do this through collaboration and by consensus.

Wyoming Conservation Voters - www.wyovoters.org

Wyoming Conservation Voters is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to ensuring that Wyoming voters, candidates and elected officials place the highest possible priority on continuing our wildlife and conservation heritage. WCV monitors and lobbies elected officials to ensure they remain accountable to the conservation-minded voters they serve, using lawmaker scorecards, grassroots

leadership development and message placement through advertising and media coverage.

Wyoming Equality (formerly UGLW, Inc) -
www.uglw.org

UGLW / WE Inc seeks to enhance the lives of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in Wyoming through: education of the general public and their membership concerning gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender issues, advocating for the protection and promotion of the civil rights for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people and the establishment of a statewide network for dissemination of information regarding gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender issues and events.

Wyoming Independent Living Rehabilitation Project Out - www.wilr.org/out

Wyoming Independent Living Rehabilitation, Inc. is a registered, private, non-profit agency, in existence to provide people with severe disabilities the opportunity to secure their highest possible level of personal independence. Independent Living services are consumer-oriented and individualized, based on that person's need for independence. Project Out is designed to assist individuals who want to return to independent living within the community. Project Out ensures that services and supports are provided to maintain the highest quality of life for an individual returning to the community

Wyoming Women's Foundation - www.wywf.org

The Wyoming Women's Foundation is the leading funder of change for women and girls in our Wyoming. They raise money to build an endowment that provides a reliable, permanent source of grants to invest in economic self-sufficiency for women and brighter futures for girls.

Your Family, Friends, and Neighbors -
www.yffn.org

YFFN's mission is to promote respect and understanding for all people, especially in regard to sexual orientation and gender identity in the state of Idaho. Some of YFFN's projects include: the SpeakOUT! Idaho project to counter the ignorance and prejudice manifesting itself in an anti-gay initiative, the Youth Alliance for Diversity, Women's Night, Tri-States Transgender and the Anti-Violence project.

APPENDICES: WEB SURVEY RESPONSES

APPENDIX A

Do you think a progressive movement exists in the Northwest?

A strong majority of groups surveyed said they believed a progressive movement existed in the region. Almost with unanimity, those organizational spokespersons who said this cited some aspect of inter-organizational communication, cooperation, coalition or collective action across issues as evidence of a progressive movement in the region. However, those who said they did not believe that a progressive movement existed distinguished between a "progressive sensibility" and a "progressive movement." In addition to citing a lack of organization and infrastructure needed for a true movement, some respondents said the region lacked "deliberate" and "strategic" thinking about forming a movement, and suffered from a failure of organizations to reach "underserved, underrepresented communities."

The Northwest has a rich history of labor movements and was the jumping off point for US consciousness around globalization issues during the 1999 WTO protests.

I think there is a collection of progressive organizations, but there is no progressive movement. I think this is most clearly indicated by the fact that groups that tend to thrive do so because of foundation support, while those that do not receive foundation support, tend to come and go and rarely grow large based on grassroots participation and support.

I think there is a progressive movement in the Northwest that is not sufficiently acting in coordination. Difficulty figuring out how to act in solidarity with each other's issues while simultaneously building a broad-based movement.

Yes, there is a progressive movement, sometimes it is not as progressive as I'd like it to be, but it is there, and ATR tends to be connected to a lot of it.

There are lots of groups doing great work, but single issue fragmentation gets in the way of there being much of a sense of cohesion.

Like the 'progressive movement' in the rest of the country, there is a network and community of progressives in our region that provides the leadership and volunteer base for human rights,

social justice, peace, and environmental protection work.

We work collectively with other criminal justice reform organizations on issues and public education campaigns. We have also joined in coalition efforts not central to our work, but related to social justice. There is a network of progressive organizations in the region described--although difficult to access for some groups.

While there are progressive organizations, and people can come together to respond to attacks, there is not a movement that is creating fundamental and proactive change.

There's definitely a strong network among the NWFCO affiliates, which extends to a number of ally organizations in each state. I think this creates the basis for some sense of a 'movement'. I'm not sure, beyond that.

We believe there is a strong progressive movement in the Northwest and we are pleased that we all work well together, sharing information and resources and supporting our intersection of causes. These continued alliances have allowed us to grow stronger and more organized in the last five years.

Although it is in its infancy here in Wyoming, there is a growing progressive movement, and new groups (like Wind River Alliance, the

Equality State Policy Center, etc) working on social and environmental justice issues.

The progressive movement is not reaching underserved, underrepresented communities due to a lack of outreach. Grassroots organizations/entities don't have the ability to mobilize due to limited resources, staff, time, energy.

The issue of Gay marriage is a movement building momentum and serving to bring people together to explore the issue more fully.

I can only speak for Oregon. Yes I do think that there is a significant progressive movement, even on the much more conservative East side of the State. Although the number of individuals interested in progressive change is small, we are attempting to come together to affect policy decisions, bringing forth issues that in the past were not discussed.

There are communities organizing and aggregating power to impact social economic and racial justice. These efforts are often fledgling, under-funded and staffed but have also been effective at raising and moving issue campaigns.

There is not a movement that neatly fits or joins the region and its constituencies, but there is a sense of movement and subsets thereof.

I had a hard time choosing yes or no. I think that there exists at least a loose progressive network in the region. Regional funders and TA providers have been successful at pushing thinking around movement building and developing a more shared 'progressive' agenda.

It's not always easy to identify, but a progressive movement manifests itself from time to time in helpful and encouraging networking, sharing of information, speakers and resources.

In Wyoming, people are becoming more aware of the gender wage gap (highest in the nation) and are taking steps to organize, get out the word, and motivate people to act to promote economic justice for women and low-income people.

My answer is yes and no. I believe that there are many progressive organizations working to promote social change, however, I don't know that I feel that there is a unified progressive movement. I think we need to be more strategic, more deliberate in the forming of a movement and be prepared to stay in for the long haul.

Progressives have adopted a strategy of constituent and issue based organizing which rejects development of a common progressive vision and makes us vulnerable to wedge strategies from the right. (I should say this is more about Montana than the other states. Don't know much about them.)

Movement is a big word and its meaning probably needs to be adapted to not just the time in history we are adapting to but also the place we are in building/mobilizing a constituency. I think the NE; like most of our country is starting to do some pretty good work but that we are playing catch-up because we rested on our laurels. I think that this is a less sexy part of a movement building phase cause we only occasionally get to reap any rewards. Plus, we lost so much ground in the last 3 decades of the 20th century. So, we are doing pretty well in understanding what needs to be done, starting to share info and resources and get serious about building power. I believe that the paid movement (staff/501c3) can assist or hinder this process. I think that funders can do the same. If we want a movement, we all need to 'follow the pulse' and that means taking some risks.

Yes, we have had the pleasure to build new and strong relationships with other women of color organizations in Washington, Montana, and Oregon that represent the look of our organization and our work. We support Snake River Alliance due to having its first Latina lead organizer.

There are a wide variety of progressive organizations, and where there are coalitions and federations, such as United Vision for Idaho, Western Organization of Resource Councils, NWFCO, Western States Center, and the Public News Service, Western Regional Welfare Action Network, groups link themselves together to work on issues, and work in congruence. Progressive groups could certainly

increase their effectiveness if they communicated and worked strategically on certain issues and on overarching issues such as Election/Campaign Finance Reform, Dismantling Oppression within the movement, etc.

Progressives in the region are beginning to discuss the need to bring diverse constituencies together to develop shared analysis of issues and strategies needed to gain meaningful social change.

APPENDIX B

What are some of the barriers to building a progressive movement?

When asked about challenges and barriers to building a progressive movement, responses fell broadly into three categories: 1) problems related to funding, 2) inter- and intra-community dynamics among progressive groups, and 3) societal / contextual conditions. Concerns around funding included the lack of funding as well as a climate of competition over resources. On progressive community dynamics, responses addressed single-issue fragmentation and a lack of shared analysis, as well as the perpetuation of oppression and mistrust within and among movement organizations. Contextual factors included the conservative political climate, persistent poverty, inequality and bigotry in our region, and an expansive geographic area.

Organizing in rural areas.

I'm not sure that there is much that progressives can do other than to continue to build organizations and attempt to expand our bases of support; do cross-issue education; network between organizations; develop broader constituencies and agendas; continue to work with people at the grassroots level to lift up the issues that people are concerned about. However, I also don't think that a progressive movement is the only thing that can produce positive results. Until such time as a movement coalesces (likely in-between and across organizations rather than springing up from within them) I think we can still try to hold ground and win limited, strategically important reforms that create more political space for the formation of broader groupings of people working for change.

Constantly training new people to bring them into the movement. Burn Out. Sustaining organizations, financially. In-fighting and personal dynamics among ourselves.

Disability rights/disability liberation is something not taken seriously by most progressive groups, which means a whole sector of people are marginalized from the base-building work. We have to be open to challenging and developing our work as we are building the movement.

Single issue fragmentation, getting clobbered on multiple fronts without an over-riding action

agenda, lack of resources, absence of cohesive social change vision.

We are weakened and splintered at times by narrow single issue focus. We need to recognize and support our allies. Single issue focus can be strategically necessary at times, but need to work on reconstituting a broad movement based on shared values of justice and democracy.

Wyoming is a conservative, predominantly Anglo environment and population.

RESOURCES! The time and money to be able to work and act collectively. Also, lack of analysis within the movement as to the means by which we achieve the ends.

There are many including; dealing with symptoms instead of root causes, being bogged down with reacting to attacks, lacking sustained and sufficient funding for the work, and not enough time organizing reaching out to people outside the obvious players.

Of course, the political climate in all of the states can be restrictive. And the wide expanses of space and regions also make gathering for meetings and such very hard. So one of the challenges is to find alternative ways to communicate and motivate people in the rural areas.

Misunderstanding and distrust between different races. A political structure and

establishment that discourages minorities from becoming involved in public policy, government, and decision making.

People are still afraid to come out of the closet and stand up. We need them to come out to create a safe environment and we need a safe environment in order for them to come out. It is a bit of a catch 22. But we are making progress. FEAR is the four letter word that keeps us in the dark shadows of our lives.

Many. Most people in Eastern Oregon are politically conservative and insular. Many 'good ole boys' control the City and County Councils and Commissions; in addition, there are covert decision makers who have unelected power. This is the most destructive and difficult to handle -- and the biggest challenge. We struggle on a regular basis with how to have our voices heard; we are often dismissed as being 'hippies, radicals, or a hand picked group of liberals'.

Developing effective strategies to build lasting power and the leadership to implement and sustain those strategies.

Shared analysis amongst single issue organizations. Time and capacity of small grassroots organizations. Absence of structure for shared decision making.

The main challenge comes from lack of empowerment and imagination in getting together for progressive education and action.

Conservative political climate

Getting rid of the 'Old Guard' Need new people engaging in the work

Montana is a big state with a small population. The left has a long history of bickering. We tend to talk about issues rather than values. The right wing has taken over the discourse. They frame the issues and the left responds. We haven't been proactive in a long time.

Progressive support organizations (i.e. foundations) are not much into trying new stuff. Also lack of realistic engagement of partisan political activity. Same as above: insufficient organization and coordination

Status quo impulses of some of the established leaders/organizations.

Little money, high cycles of oppression within communities of color, lack of jobs in communities of color and feelings of hopelessness.

Competition, 'scarcity' mentality re resources, turf protection, lack of strategic planning regionally and nationwide. Good training and communication is happening with United Vision for Idaho and Western States Center, and with USAction, but it could be broader. Money, time, too few staff - all are barriers.

Lack of trust between constituencies; addressing oppression within the progressive movement itself; large geographic region makes connecting with other progressive organizations difficult.

APPENDIX C

What opportunities exist for building a progressive movement?

When asked about opportunities for movement building, the most common response was that dissatisfaction with the current political situation in the United States provided great opportunity for movement building. This included current events and policy developments as well as a growing disenfranchised majority.

Shared values with the people of the Northwest.

I think that where opportunities lie to build a broader and better networked cross-issue progressive constituency is around the increasingly repressive political and social climate, and addressing key issues of racial justice such as prisons and criminal justice, immigration reform, welfare reform, attacks on tribal sovereignty, etc.

We're diverse enough and yet specific enough in the Northwest to build a movement that feels tangible to folks. We're not the northeast where it feels like everything is an issue so the work is de-personalized. It's easier to connect things to people's real lives.

The widening income gap and the growing public realization that work often doesn't pay could provide a basis for movement building. People are hungry for credible, powerful alternative media sources. There is also a widespread sense that the stakes, at this moment, are very high. That democracy itself is in some danger.

Wide-spread dissatisfaction with conservative economic and social policy and increasing population of ethnic and racial minorities can generate voting blocks to displace conservative political power structure. Electoral political change the key to all of our individual, non-electoral, social change efforts.

Common frustrations (amplified by our current administration); Education and leadership development across issues; People with relative privilege and power stepping back and using that to leverage power for greater numbers of people; People with relative

privilege joining struggles led by folks with relatively less power.

There is a growing majority of people who are disenfranchised who are looking for a way to get involve.

Existing relationships and shared history among staff, leaders and organizations. The NWFCO network and its expanding relationships with other (non-affiliate) organizations in the Northwest ATR's grants that provide MULTI-YEAR funding.

We are posed and ready to move. We have a strong base with many leaders, both new and seasoned that can lead us in this process. I believe there is an opportunity for us to work more closely together as technology has opened up communication doors for us in the last few years.

There is a large population of Native Americans, who could make a difference in local and statewide elections if engaged and organized. As groups working on progressive issues become established, there is a significant segment of the population interested in becoming involved.

Many local Churches are now willing to hold forums on the topic of Gay marriage and it is opening the door for more meeting on other issues as well. It also provides a safe place for people to gather and get to know each other. When we know we are not alone we are stronger.

We see many opportunities here. We are a young organization and there are many in Eastern Oregon who have never expressed their opinions and did not feel that they had a voice.

We are pulling together diverse groups of people, training them to speak up for the rights, and helping them move forward to address critical questions of economic, social and environmental justice.

The opportunities are many - I would be happy to have a conversation about this - but this could be a book.

One initiative we have undertaken among our 9 sister organizations is 'CAPACES', organizing cross- and joint-training on skill building, leadership development and more effectively uniting services and organizing.

Growing attacks against poor people create opportunity for comprehensive analysis of power.

The best opportunities are the outrageous and repressive actions of the Bush administration. People need to respond to learn that many others share their feelings and need for action.

Issues that bring people together. There is a progressive base to build upon.

The 2004 election year is a good opportunity for movement building.

Progressives could have control of major political institutions if we just targeted them with a long term strategy.

Anger at current events.

We are starting to see nonprofits be willing to mobilize and talk to people outside of their inner circle. We need to support and promote this.

New leadership and new ideas coming with a flourish of new people moving into Idaho. With this new energy comes hope for an inclusive Idaho and new donors to give to our work.

More power analysis in broader context, visioning progressive control. Look at 3 Faces of Power construct regionally. Strategic electoral planning, more candidates from within the movement, more concentration on finding candidates for local school boards, county commissions, city councils, all the things the far right has done over the past 30 years. Figure out how to better connect the environmental groups with social justice groups, labor, faith groups for power.

Shared 'enemies' among organizations.

APPENDIX D

Strategies that organizations use to achieve mission and goals

Organizations use a wide variety of social change strategies. The four most commonly reported core strategies were public education, legislative or policy advocacy, issue campaigns, and training and leadership development. Reported best practices included coalition-building that allowed groups to educate each other and to work more effectively together; intentional relationship building among "natural" allies like indigenous and Latin@ people; and building organizational capacity by developing leaders and by strengthening analytical skills.

Strategies	Core or important strategies	Strategies sometimes used	Seldom or never used strategies
Legislative/Policy Advocacy	26	2	1
Public education	26	2	0
Issue campaigns	23	2	3
Training/Leadership Development	22	3	4
Popular Education	19	5	4
Direct Action	18	5	11
Movement research	15	6	6
Electoral organizing	12	5	11
Social service	11	2	15
Cultural work	8	8	12
Tech. asst/Resources for social change	7	4	16

Note: Cell entries represent the number of groups that said that a particular strategy was core, medium in importance, or seldom used, as indicated by the top row.

Definitions of strategies for the purpose of the survey

Legislative/policy advocacy: The pursuit of influencing public policy outcomes that directly affect people's lives.

Cultural work: Advancing social change struggles through cultural 'media,' such as theater, music, art, dance, film/video, radio, etc.

Direct Action: A tactic that involves direct confrontation with power holders/decision makers to demand concessions.

Electoral organizing: Engaging in voter registration, candidate forums, GOTV efforts, etc.

Movement Research: Research that is either directly applicable to a campaign (e.g., identifying targets, handles, constituencies) or that furthers the analytic capacity of an organization.

Issue campaigns: Attempts to analyze and impact particular issues through the collective action of a constituency.

Public education: Work that informs the general public - or strategic sectors - about

injustices, and that offers information, analysis and strategies for action.

Technical assistance/resources for social change: Projects or programs that build the capacity of social change groups.

Popular education: Education that developed out of people's personal experiences that raises their consciousness about issues directly affects their lives, and how they can take collative action for social change.

Training/ leadership development: A strategic priority to develop key skills within and among individuals, to strengthen the collective capacity and sustainability of organizations.

APPENDIX E

How can the Social Justice Fund NW be an effective ally in building a progressive movement in our region?

In response to Social Justice Fund's role in the region, the most common request was for the Fund to continue to raise and distribute funds to progressive organizations, and to leverage larger sums of money from larger funders to support progressive work in the region. There was also a desire for assistance and funding to support technology.

Be sure you fund programs that tie into a larger movement in the region and nation. Don't fund in isolation. Take a bigger picture approach.

Raise as much money as possible and distribute it through a system that requires as little administrative hoop-jumping on the part of grantees as possible. Also, educating the donor-base and continuing to provide multi-year funding.

Raise more money to support the work. Have more contact with the grantees. See how you can support groups more often in non-monetary way. Helping funnel volunteers to organizations SJF funds, as board members, volunteers for fundraising events, helping to lead major donor campaigns, or providing technical assistance or trainings to groups. Share information about other foundations and technical assistance opportunities with SJF grantees. I think the Issue Briefs for SJF Members is a good idea that should be continued, especially if partnering with other groups like SVP, Philanthropy NW and Marguerite Casey Foundation, maybe trying to get some of the more conservative foundations like Seattle Foundation to participate as well.

Keep up the good work. Educate your members about different political work and needs.

Focus more on projects that work and are effective and less on funding PC showpieces that make your white liberal funding base feel less guilty. Don't be so dogmatic about the bottom-up organizing model. Sometimes the grass-tips can be powerful too.

Can only speak from our perspective in rural Montana. Diversity requirements hard for us to meet because of the overwhelmingly white/Anglo demographics in our area. There are very small numbers of ethnic and racial minorities and we welcome and encourage their participation. If SJF gave us a grant based on the disproportionate representation of minorities in our organization (e.g. if we had one African-American women on our nine member board, when Afro-Americans constitute less than .05% of the population) it would be a misallocation of resources by SJF if they are primarily seeking to advance justice for racial minorities. If that is the sole mission of SJF, and it is a vitally important mission in our region, then SJF's money is best spent elsewhere. If SJF's mission is to build a progressive movement, then SJF should fund in rural areas work with constituencies and issues that are locally relevant. We appreciate SJF's encouragement of organizations to continually evaluate whether they are truly representing the key progressive constituencies and giving a voice to the less privileged. We also believe that working with the groups in the state, such as the tribes, is important and valuable. Problem is we are busy and they are busy. We are in 'hand to hand' combat with the religious right and reactionary groups on a monthly, and at times, weekly basis. We'd like to do more, but it is a two way street. I don't know about the time constraints on tribal organizations, I assume they are large. We will try, and we stand ready to help with any ideas or initiatives coming from tribal or other organizations representing other cultures in urban areas.

Being more present in local social change struggles. SJF donors identifying themselves in

the community--leveraging privilege for the benefit of everyone. Sharing information from survey's like this with other funders.

I think SJF is already a great force to that end! A few things, in particular, that SJF contributes: - good granting criteria - supportive application & reporting process that's not unnecessarily burdensome - 3-year grants Other things SJF might do (and may already do?) that could be helpful would be: - Leverage other funders to support organizing in the Northwest - Convince other funders to follow example of multi-year funding - Organize technology funding, so Northwest groups are not competing on a national scale and funding is easier to access. Or perhaps support technology structures which could be used by grantees (like our own free email service, free or low-cost hardware, tech support, etc.)

SJF provides leadership opportunities, excellent resources and funding that is vital to our Northwest. Organizational funding is limited in this area and SJF's leadership in this area is imperative.

By spending more time and resources in rural regions (especially Wyoming).

Continue to provide the training and support that you provide.

Truthfully, I think that the SJF Board needs to take a look at the difference between the rural and urban settings when they are thinking about the progressive movement; things out here look different from the realities of Seattle or Portland. There are communities with many disenfranchised Latinos and Native Americans; but there are also communities with little minority presence, per se, but much disenfranchisement. How to see disenfranchisement when there is not a clear cultural difference.

To raise as much money as possible to support front line organizations doing the work.

Leveraging national funding to the region, building a multi-race and multi-class funding movement.

Continuing to support communication and development of shared analysis amongst funded groups. Supporting leadership and organizational development in small organizations that will be building blocks for broader progressive movement.

I would love to participate in a regional gathering of progressive organizations in order to learn from others what we are doing and how, what works and what doesn't.

By empowering the powerless.

Pay for opposition research that helps grassroots activists on the ground Pay for education tools for schools.

Focus on funding.

The rapid response and capacity building grants are very helpful...

Raise and grant more money in the simplest manner possible. Your process, even with the simplified one page process, continues to be one of the hardest. Look at who determines who gets funded - are they well positioned to see where the pulse is and follow that?

More training on grant writing, building those relationships between funders and grantees.

Continue long term funding of organizations, convene gatherings of funders and progressives to plan strategically what foundations will fund and how. Help leverage funding from foundations with deep pockets.

Educate other funders about the progressive work that is happening in the region in order to leverage more money for organizations. SJF could also educate its members so that they have a better understanding of what the progressive movement looks like in this region.