

NETWORK NEWS

California: Setting the Pace on Issues of Race

Gary Delgado, Applied Research Center

Change often produces anxiety. Californians are reeling from Proposition 13 and other anti-tax measures which changed the ability of state and local government to tax and spend, stringent program reductions in education and health care, and a gnawing recession exacerbated by several military base closures. The unhooking of the state's economic infrastructure has been punctuated by the demographic shift from a white majority to a majority people of color. California's very diversity has made it a boiling pot of fears, resentments and violence, fertile ground for racist right-wing sloganeering and policy initiatives.

A Series of Initiatives from Hell

The California initiative ballot has long been a favorite testing ground for the Right. As a seasoned California pollster recently pointed out, "You can find 700,000 kooks who will sign anything around here." Since California is so big (the size of its economy would make it the sixth largest nation in the world) and carries the TV/Hollywood image of representing the country's future, if an initiative passes in California, it becomes thinkable in the rest of the country.

In the 70's and 80's, the Right put anti-gay and -lesbian initiatives on the ballot several times. In 1979, one initiative sought to prevent schools from teaching about the existence of gays and gays from teaching; it was narrowly defeated. During the 80's, the Right tried to capitalize on anti-gay sentiments to criminalize people with AIDS; these measures fell by wide margins.

In the 70's, the Right won Proposition 13. And, while the armament-led economic boom in the 80's initially disguised the tax measure's effects, the initiative over time has so hampered the ability of government to deliver programs and services, the very notion of government as an aid, rather than an obstacle, to individual fulfillment has been destroyed.

The 1994 Proposition 187 campaign underscored a clear willingness of the Right to exploit white Californians' racial anxiety. The immigrant-bashing Proposition 187 denies medical care and schooling to undocumented immigrants. Pete Wilson's re-election commercials threatened Californians with images of brown hordes swarming over the border, presumably to rape and pillage. (The campaign images of immigrants in the ads

for Democrats were not much better.) More important than the proposition itself, however, is that by passing Proposition 187 with 60% of the vote, the Right established that an electoral majority can vote on and circumscribe the humanity of a minority.

Policies introduced in the Proposition 187 campaign which severely restrict immigrants' access to social services now appear likely to become federal law without serious contest. The newest anti-immigrant proposition (Save Our State (SOS) II), calls for the federal government to repeal the Fourteenth Amendment provision that everyone born in the U.S. is a citizen, regardless of their parents' legal status.

Just to make the racial agenda clear, the Right has also introduced a measure to eliminate affirmative action programs in public employment, education, and contracting. The affirmative action attack serves numerous other right-wing purposes as: it divides relatively successful members of communities of color from those less economically successful, cleaves some Asian communities from other people of color, and splits progressive Democrats of all colors from more centrist Democrats. While most of the focus of attention is racial, the proposition also handily strikes a blow at the employment opportunities available to women of all races. Above all, it reinforces one of the Right's major themes: government will not be allowed to do anything to promote the welfare of most of the people.

Learning from Prop. 187

Although progressives in California took a terrible beating on Prop. 187, there were areas where they turned the tide in the other direction, notably in eight Northern California counties. Individuals associated with those campaigns attempted to draw out what lessons their contradictory experience (local success drowned by massive statewide failure) suggested for future campaigns in which race was the underlying issue.

Although California's population is only about 53% white, the electorate was 81% white in 1994. Clearly the challenge and the opportunity for progressives is to turn the demographic shift, into an advantage by mobilizing and activating the emerging majority from communities of color.

There are many reasons why people of color in California do not make up their fair share of the electorate. The population is much younger on average than the white population; many Latinos and Asians are not citizens and not eligible to vote; some immigrants have little electoral experience or encounter language barriers. However, while these barriers do exist, the major reason is that a significant portion of eligible

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voters in communities of color see no advantage in participating in elections because there is very little to vote for, especially since the Right is succeeding in making it impossible for government to do anything useful.

CFJ: Mobilizing Against the Right

In May 1995, a group of Northern California community-based organizations came together to respond to the Right's attack on affirmative action, to the threat of "SOS II," and to the promise which lies in activating a wide constellation of labor, immigrant, civil rights, women's, religious and community organizations. Many of these groups had no history of electoral involvement, but felt the threat from the Right so acutely that they were ripe to enter a new arena of struggle. Together, they founded Californians for Justice.

Conveners of CFJ included Oakland's Applied Research Center and the Center for Third World Organizing, the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services, the Northern California American Friends Service Committee, and organized high school students from the Student Empowerment Project. Recognizing that two-thirds of the state's population lives in southern California, campaign organizers sought partners from similar organizations in the southern part of the state, and were quickly joined by AGENDA, One Stop Immigration Center, and the Korean Immigrant Workers Association in Los Angeles. By June, CFJ had an active office and campaign in Oakland; by September, the CFJ campaign was up and running in Los Angeles in cooperation with the South LA Affirmation Action Project.

CFJ's strategic approach to the 1996 vote on affirmative action recognizes that its efforts are only a part of a much larger mix. Defeating this and other right-wing initiatives will require a mainstream media campaign targeted at (mostly white) likely voters. But given the Right's demographic edge in the existing electorate, that effort will almost certainly fail unless potential voters from all communities of color are actively involved in unprecedented numbers.

CFJ has launched the "Million Voices for Justice" petition to support affirmative action. Taking the petition into the streets, malls, schools and other community settings provides volunteers with an opportunity to begin talking with people about the issues. The petition can be signed by people too young to vote and by the many residents who are not citizens, two populations who must become politically engaged if the Right is to be defeated in California.

The petition also provides a vehicle to identify potential volunteers for the campaign. By mid-November, 200,000 people had signed the petition, 8,000 volunteers had been contacted, and currently almost 2,900 have been mobilized as petitioners, phone bankers, public speakers and volunteer organizers. Optimally, the project calls for engaging some 50,000 people in organizing by November 1996.

One unorthodox facet of the CFJ project is outreach to non-citizens and new citizens. All CFJ written materials are available in multiple languages. CFJ's database not only contains volunteers' addresses and phone numbers; it also records what languages they speak. In addition to encouraging voter registration for new

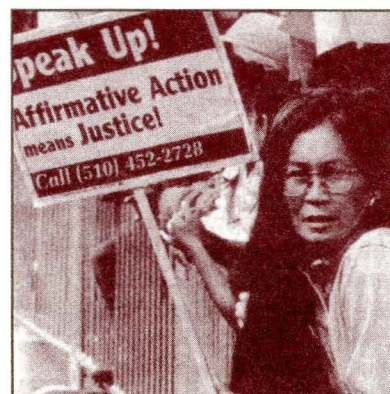


Photo by David Bacon

citizens, CFJ actively carries the petition to citizenship swearing-in ceremonies and makes available explanations of why something so peculiarly American as affirmative action might matter to new citizens.

Engaging in both orthodox electoral activities as well as traditional community organizing, CFJ has worked with students from eight college campuses to march through the streets of Berkeley and Los Angeles sending a message to Governor Wilson and the Board of Regents of the University of California that their decision to cut affirmative action is unacceptable; trained over 100 SEIU Local 715 leaders on how to talk about affirmative action with their co-workers; worked with the California Association of Human Rights Organizations to mobilize its constituents for affirmative action; and assisted the Prophetic Movement for Affirmative Action, a religious effort grounded in the African American church to develop its own petition drive. CFJ has also assisted in the formation of the affiliated "Youth for Justice" group which plans to expose the affirmative action opponents and is playing a supporting role in NOW's planned April 14 mobilization in San Francisco.

As the 1996 campaign approaches, CFJ's work will look more like traditional electoral work than it does today. Already the organization has formal agreements with three local organizations to assist in developing precinct organizations. Trained volunteers will turn their efforts to targeted voter registration and door-to-door precinct organizing, voter identification, and finally get-out-the-vote.

More Than Just a One-Shot Campaign

If activists can experience working together in an organized way, spreading messages they actually believe in, they can build ongoing relationships and networks which will actually increase the power of communities currently under attack in California. The exact shape of an ongoing organizational infrastructure has yet to evolve, but a primary goal of Californians for Justice is to make that evolution possible.

One of CFJ's key initiators, Angie Fa, labor organizer and San Francisco School Board member, observes: "The Right has spent twenty years building its organizations and infrastructure. It's time we progressives got back to our organizing roots instead of relying on media bites and last minute 'get out the vote' efforts. CFJ can help us come out of the November 1996 election with an expanded power base. When we get organized, we'll be able to advance our own agendas rooted in justice for all people." ■

"Partnership" to Fund Organizing Update

Kim Fellner, NOA and Ellen Furnari, NNG

Progressive funders and organizers have plenty to discuss these days, as the Far Right attacks our aims and strains our resources. NNG and the National Organizers Alliance (NOA) are exploring ways to leverage more money directly to organizing groups.

Thanks to a grant from the McKay Foundation, we were able to host initial efforts with organizers and funders in both Northern and Southern California. Each area is taking a different approach, but both are pursuing plans to impact the funding for organizing. A grant just awarded from the C.S. Mott Foundation will give us the opportunity to move ahead with a national strategy, involving more regions of the country.

We are learning from the collaborative process between NNG and NOA. It has been a case study in the dynamics inherent in the organizer/funder relationship. On the tough side, we have had to deal with the power disparities between organizers and funders and with formulating common goals and objectives. On the plus side we share a commitment to progressive change for social, economic and environmental justice, and we have a high level of good will. We are also creatively addressing these issues in discussions at the regional level.

In 1996, we will be working with the Fundraising Strategy group, coordinated by the Southern Empowerment Project (SEP), to build on what they are doing in the South. Meanwhile, the need for this initiative is being highlighted by the efforts of other funders and organizers around the country.

- The Boston Foundation, New York Foundation, and the San Francisco Foundation have all been examining their work and funding community organizing. Joe Brooks, of the San Francisco Foundation, and veteran organizer Mike Miller are offering a session about organizing at the 1996 Council on Foundations conference in Atlanta.

- The C.O. Fundees Network, subtitled "community organizers united for grantmaking change" is a Boston area group of organizers seeking to increase the amount of funding for community organizing in their region. They developed a concise position paper in late 1994, but have been hampered in their progress by lack of a staff person who can help coordinate the work.

- Gary Delgado's report, "Beyond the Politics of Place: New Directions in Community Organizing in the 1990's" done for the Ford Foundation, has set a provocative framework for discussing the directions in organizing and places where large funders might make a real impact (reviewed in *Network News*, Spring 1994, and available for \$10 from the Applied Research Center, 440 Grand Avenue, Suite 401, Oakland, CA 94610).

- The National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy has just released "Foundations in the Newt Era," which includes an excellent examination of the effectiveness of organizing and the reasons why foundations should fund organizing, as well as a critique of why so few do. (Available for \$25 a copy from NCRP, 2001 S Street, NW #620, Washington, DC 20009).

- Two NNG working groups are pursuing related issues. The Interfaith Funders are discussing how to increase grants to congregation based organizing. Funders Who Fund in the South have joined with some regional organizers to discuss how to increase community organizing in that region.

- Rinku Sen of the Center for Third World Organizing recently wrote a report for the McKay Foundation regarding the role of philanthropy in community organizing and the relationship between funders and organizers. (Summary and full report available in January, 1995, from the McKay Foundation, 383 Rhode Island, San Francisco, CA 94103).

- SEP, an organizing training center with whom NNG will be partnering in the South, has been sponsoring a process between area organizing groups and funders to improve their working relationships and strategize on ways to increase funding to southern organizing.

- The Woods Foundation undertook an innovative evaluation of their program to fund community organizing. In addition to an extensive review of their funding in Chicago, the report poses questions to the broader organizing and funding community to improve the impact and sustainability of organizing.

NNG and NOA will, as part of our work, share news of diverse initiatives with both funders and organizers so we can maximize our collective knowledge and action. If you have information on related projects or wish to join our effort, please let us know in the NNG Office. ■

Electoral Working Group, (EWG) Attracts a Crowd

Daniel Levitas

An overflow crowd of more than 110 participated in the EWG session at the NNG conference moderated by Rob McKay, of the San Francisco-based McKay Foundation.

Founded in 1994, the goal of the EWG is to exchange information about – and facilitate greater funding for – organizations and projects emphasizing the critical relationship between philanthropy and organizing, politics, public policy and power.

Jan Adams of the Applied Research Center in Oakland, CA spoke about the need for progressives to organize around right-wing ballot measures, especially those targeting critical wedge issues such as immigration, lesbian and gay rights and affirmative action.

"Changing the rules of the game through campaign finance reform is an essential part of electoral work, but must be complemented by many other activities," was the message of Donna Edwards, of the Washington, D.C.-based, Center for a New Democracy.

Patrick Gaspard, a veteran of the Dinkins administration and currently an organizer with the new Majority Fund, Inc., explained how the Fund has helped,

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Changes in the Network

Our best wishes to the following people who have assumed new jobs.

■ Susan Beaudry has resigned as Executive Director of the Abelard Foundation/Common Counsel due to health problems and Terry Lowe is Interim Director. Anne Dowley, formerly Grants Administrator, has been promoted to Program Associate.

■ Joan Fawcett, former Member Services Director of the Women's Funding Network in St. Paul, has become Executive Director of the Association of Retarded Citizens (ARC) Suburban, based in Minneapolis. Joan's replacement at the WFN will be announced soon.

■ Rebecca Golden has replaced Ellen Furnari as Executive Director of the Ben & Jerry's Foundation in Waterbury, VT.

■ At the Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock: Elaine Gross has taken a leave of absence to become the Executive Director of the Sustainable America Initiative in New York City; Allison Barlow is now Program Officer in the areas of Civil and Constitutional Rights and for the Southern Initiative; Seth Borgos is now Program Officer with Allison on the Economic Renewal Program Area.

■ Ellen Gurzinsky is the new Executive Director of the Funding Exchange in New York. She took over from

Cecilia Rodriguez who is now with the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, based in El Paso, Texas.

■ Wendy Johnson, NNG's Co-chair and former Executive Director of the Appalachian Community Fund, is now the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, GA. Barbara Banks has taken over as Interim Director of ACF while a replacement is being recruited. (The Executive Director search has been extended).

■ Alan McGregor has left the Sapelo Foundation in St. Simons Island, GA to become a consultant on philanthropy and rural development based in Asheville, NC. Deborah Sheppard, formerly of the Campaign for a Prosperous Georgia, is the new Executive Director.

■ Chuck Shuford, formerly of the Neighborhood Funders' Group in Winston-Salem, NC has joined the Needmor Fund as the Executive Director. He took over from Lynn Gisi who moved on to independent consulting with non-profits in the Denver area.

■ Ravi Khanna has moved on to Haymarket People's Fund and Linda Stout, formerly of Piedmont Peace Project in NC has replaced him as Executive Director.

Please send us news announcements that you would like to share with the membership.

New Board Members



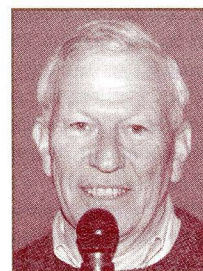
Marjorie Fine
joined the Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock in June of 1993 as Executive Director. For the previous four years she was Executive Director of the North Star Fund, a public foundation serving the New York City progressive community. Margie has served on the boards of the Funding Exchange, the Social Investment Forum, the National Network of Grantmakers (management committee) and as an adult advisor to Students Organizing Students. She currently is a board member of Jews for Racial and Economic Justice.



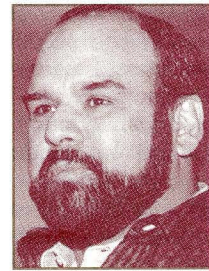
Joan P. Garner
is Executive Director of the Fund for Southern Communities (FSC) in Atlanta. She was Administrative Coordinator at the Georgia Institute of Technology, Shareholder Relations Coordinator at the Georgia Pacific Corporation, and Travel and Tourism Department Chairperson at Phillips College. In 1990, Joan joined FSC as Development Associate, and was promoted to ED in 1993. She is an advisor to Mayor Maynard Jackson on Gay and Lesbian issues; member and founding Board of Directors, Atlanta Lambda Center; and a board member of the Funding Exchange. This outstanding service earned her the Human Rights Campaign Fund Community Leadership Award in 1992.



Melissa Kohnert
is a Development and Outreach Assistant of Resourceful Women, a national resource center for women with wealth which provides technical and philanthropic support to women donors. Melissa has been a catalyzing force behind organizing other young donors in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and nationwide. She is a founding Board member of Next Generation and serves on the National Advisory Council of Youth on Board. She is an experienced diversity trainer who has worked most recently in promoting lesbian and gay rights. She serves on the Board of Equity Institute.



Alan Rabinowitz
has been NNG's Treasurer over the past five years, and was re-elected to the Board. His experience includes urban finance and development, economic consulting, and university teaching. His sense of the importance of NNG's work is reflected in his book, *Social Change Philanthropy in America*, and his work with such activist groups as Western States Center, Cascadia Revolving Fund, the Pocket Docket database, and with funders such as A Territory Resource, the Pequot Fund at Tides, and the Peace Development Fund.



Luis A. Solis
is currently the Director of Programs for the Hispanic Federation of New York City, where he works to develop resources, provide technical assistance, and increase awareness of Hispanic issues in the philanthropic community, the media, and the general public. Luis has over ten years experience in philanthropic work including positions at the Campaign for Human Development and the New York Community Trust. He is currently the co-convenor of NNG's People of Color Caucus. He serves on the boards of the New York Immigration Coalition and the Latino Commission on AIDS.

1995 Conference Reflections

The Communications/Publications Committee asked three people who attended NNG's Annual Conference in Albuquerque to share their thoughts and experiences about the event. The following are excerpts.

Rebecca Golden, Ben & Jerry's Foundation

So much to do and so little time. Site visits and sight seeing. The Women's Caucus Retreat in Abiquiu. Meeting fellow grantmakers. Huevos Rancheros. Winona LaDuke, Theresa Downey, Van Jones, Antonio Medina, Mab Segrest. These were a few of my favorite things at the NNG Conference in Albuquerque.

The Ben & Jerry's Foundation is small. We do not have much opportunity to travel or do site visits. And because our Board members are all employees of Ben & Jerry's, for many of them the issues they are exposed to when reading proposals are very new, requiring them to think more broadly than they may have been inclined in the past. The NNG Conference provided an excellent opportunity to meet new people and come directly in contact with the folks whom we help fund. Meeting with grantseekers as well as doing some site visits was an invaluable learning experience for us all. Our three Board members who attended came away feeling inspired and wanting to share their experiences with the remainder of the Board and other fellow staff.

I was a first-time conference attendee. For me personally, the opportunities to meet with other funders were the most rewarding. In that sense, the most successful

workshop for me was the final one, in which we all broke into small groups and discussed and advised each other on areas of concern. It was not only a bonding moment but also an informative one. It would be useful to see some more formalized opportunities for this kind of dialogue at future gatherings.

In general, I came away with the sense that the NNG Conference had a pretty ambitious, though important, agenda. And because it took place in such an amazing location, the desire to step out of the confines of the conference and see the place was very strong. I believe I was able to balance the two successfully, but felt I had to sacrifice some conference time to do so. There could be a way to take this desire into consideration when planning the conference, and schedule in some activities or free time for folks.

All in all, I had a wonderful time, met some great folks, and became newly inspired. I'm very grateful for the opportunity to have attended and plan to come again next year.

Graciela Sanchez, Esperanza

For me, it was exciting to think that I, along with other activists, could think, dialogue, debate, and strategize with grantmakers for an entire weekend. As an activist from San Antonio, an area rarely frequented by funders (as they have no staff or money or interest?), the ability to challenge grantmakers about their funding priorities was something I was willing to undertake.

Unfortunately, the role of the activist at the conference seemed limiting. I would be able to dialogue about

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From the Co-Chairs and Director

In 1996, NNG will focus our efforts on strategically planning for the 21st century, both around our internal infrastructure issues and to meet the challenges of promoting progressive social change. We have retained Nancy Franco, of the Management Assistance Group (MAG), to facilitate the process. We are delighted that the call in the last *Network News* and at our recent conference yielded more than 20 volunteers. The Executive Committee of the Board is selecting the Strategic Planning Committee, to begin work immediately in the new year.

We are growing at a rapid pace, with 126 new members in 1995, but at present have only two full-time staff. In addition to "servicing" the membership, we are committed to several ongoing and new projects. To highlight only a few of these NNG initiatives, the Philanthropic Reform Committee has obtained a grant from the Aspen Institute's Nonprofit Sector Research Fund to complete a study of "Exemplary Grantmaking Practices" which will result in a major publication. We are working with the "Joint Affinity Groups" of the Council on Foundations based on ethnicity/race, disability, gender, and sexual orientation on first-ever comprehensive research on the effects of staff and trustee diversity on grantmaking. And we have been funded by the C.S. Mott Foundation to launch a national program with the National Organizers Alliance to move more money into organizing. As a consequence of all this ambition and activity, our 1996 budget will almost double. We will be adding a third staff member in the office and hiring consultants, but NNG remains primarily a volunteer organization and we are counting on your support and work on these projects.

We welcome our newly elected and continuing Board members. We particularly want to thank our outgoing Board members: Ellen Furnari, formerly with the Ben & Jerry's Foundation, Larry Kressley at the Public Welfare Foundation, Rose Sackey-Milligan of the Peace Development Fund, and Gary Schwartz, with the Fund of the Four Directions. Ellen was commended by the Board for her work as Acting Executive Director while Terry was on maternity leave; as a Board member she was also one of our most dedicated for four years. Rose served as our Membership Committee chair for the last two years. Gary literally maintained NNG during the last search for an Executive Director and co-convened our most recent conference. Finally, Larry provided us with the leadership and vision to remain politically correct and stand for social justice values and action.

Wendy Johnson Terry Odendahl Ron White

Graciela Sanchez . . . Continued from Page 5

gender, Indigenous people, the Beijing Conference, Mexico etc., as long as I did not talk about the organizing work I was doing in the Southwest. We were to be seen but not heard. We were never to promote our work unless it was requested by the grantmaker. My enthusiasm soon turned into nervousness. Although some NNG members gave us the green light to challenge funders, it was not easy. I had to figure out what and how much I could say about my organizing experiences and think through every comment when I spoke to a funder lest I seem too anxious, too pushy, or too self-important.

Some of us broke the barrier between funders and activists on Friday night when we danced to Joy Harjo's music. As expected, those who took to the dance floor were primarily women. We came together because we shared our love for music, for dancing, and for pleasure.

Dancing made us equal to one another. We made room in the small dance floor for one another, shimmying and dancing salsa to the reggae rhythm or lo que sea. We were no longer activists or funders but, for the moment, a community of allies. These individuals became the people who I would continue to converse with throughout the conference because we had shared with one another.

Texas/the Southwest. This is the region/community where I organize. I was born and raised in San Antonio and have committed to struggling and creating change in my own home town, con la gente que yo conozco. Most of us are afraid to go back home. Some of us have been banished from our homes. Because I have a supportive family, I am able to survive in this conservative, colonized community. And what I want to create is an environment which is not so oppressive to those of us who work for social, economic and environmental justice in

this region, especially for people of color. Most of the people of color in my community who survived, completed high school and were lucky enough to benefit from Affirmative Action and attend colleges away from home, did not return home. We've lost our people to the East and West coasts where many of them feel safe or where they can at least find a job.

This region has been neglected by the funding world. Look at your dockets. Look at the dollars spent in the area and you will see that few monies are allocated to the organizing work being done in the Southwest. We haven't been discovered. Chicanas/os in particular have been relegated to the status of gente invisible. Although the Southwest's dominant racial/ethnic group is Chicana/o, I didn't see/feel/hear our presence at the conference except as entertainers. I looked through the conference agenda and looked for Chicana women who would be addressing the conferees. Unfortunately, I can only think of one woman who spoke. No mujer Chicana spoke of struggling/surviving/creating in this region. We were invisible, and this time in our own community. We were not included within the discussion of Indigenous people, aunque somos indio/mestizos. We are Mayan, Huichol,

Chichimecas and Otomis. We are indigena from both sides of the border, but our story didn't get told. When dialoguing about international issues, queer issues, women's issues, poor peoples issues, border issues, Prop. 187, English Only, Affirmative Actions, etc., why weren't Chicanas at the table?

It seems that the only people that I got to hear from were the activists. They told us their stories. We learned about issues, about different cultures, about struggles from various parts of the world and strategies for organizing. Several activists offered funding recommendations but we never had true dialogue with grantmakers about their reactions. Activists recommended having grantmakers fund more local based organizing rather than national based organizations. We were interested in having grantmakers fund operational vs. project support and we were interested in funding multi-issue, alliance building projects rather than single issue projects. And because most of the funders are based in the East and West coasts, we were interested in getting them to do more site visits, especially to areas and organizations that were not currently being funded.

Unfortunately, we had little, if any, time to dialogue about the issues presented or the questions and contradictions raised. Were there differences in views between funders and activists? Between participants living in the North, South, East or West? Between Straight, Gay, Bi or Transgendered? Between men and women? Between Indigenous, African American, Asian and Latino? The only time we had to discuss with one another was between sessions and unfortunately, it seemed like activists were the most likely to engage me in conversation, while funders hung with funders.

Well, I came to learn what funders are thinking and how they're defining their grantmaking strategies. I feel privileged because I was able to meet and understand some funders. I was also disenchanted because I also heard and felt that we weren't necessarily welcomed by all. But regardless, my own conclusion is that we need to be a part of the dialogue. This dialogue needs to happen on a continuous basis and not once a year. We need to become friends, struggle through power issues relating to class, race, gender, and sexuality, and begin a more strategic process for funding in the U.S. and the world.

Next time, let's sit down and really share time, ideas, and strategies. Let's also really listen to one another.

We are outraged at the brutal attack and rape of our NNG colleague, Cecilia Rodriguez in Chiapas, Mexico on October 26, 1995. Cecilia is the official U.S. representative of the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional and also coordinates the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico based in El Paso, Texas.

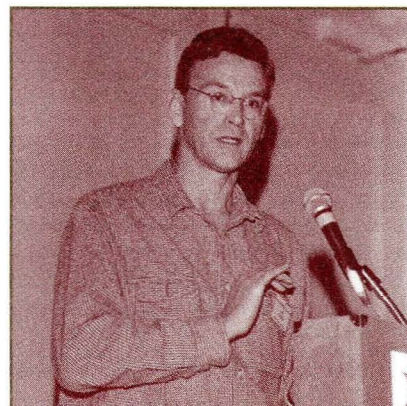


Photo by Jenny Warburg

Larry Kressley, Public Welfare Foundation, 1995 NNG Co-Chair, facilitating the Business Meeting.

Photo by Jenny Warburg



Wendy Johnson with Terry's baby Claire

Conference Reflections . . . Continued from Page 6

Ronald M. White, Campaign for Human Development, NNG Co-Chair

I felt like the beneficiary of a thousand generations of voices from points covering the globe. I overheard conversations in restaurants, plazas, workshops; noted conversations which greeted the morning sun and enlivened the still hours of the night with ideas passionately discussed. These conversations webbed together the diversity so characteristic of NNG and the presentations, discussions and conversations at this conference, I think, fashioned us into a global community of change agents.

This was also a conference where NNG caucuses and working groups got organized. I heard that women talked power, saw interfaith funders catalyze resources for congregation based organizing, participated with the people of color caucus as we began a strategic plan, listened to the donor activist network give birth to a real structure, and was enthralled by the lively back and forth of the Philanthropic Reform discussions. Together with some men (and a few women), I explored what it means to be a pro-feminist ally, and with youth and young adult funders I shared tactics and experiences.

At NNG's conference folks got their heads together. I was galvanized by a bevy of powerful speakers including our own Mallika Dutt and Larry Kressley, both of whom engaged in a challenging bit of "plain speak" that spiced the whole conference.

And finally, I remember people "getting down," dancing to the music of Poetic Justice, seeking the hot rhythms of salsa through the by-ways of Albuquerque, and moving to staccato hip-hop melodies and flashing lights in the Zone. ■

For the full text of Graciela Sanchez' Conference Reflections, contact the office.

Electoral Working Group . . . Continued from Page 3

"demystify the electoral process" for parents and community activists in New York City's four school districts. The May 1990 elections are particularly important given the strong showing by Christian Coalition-backed candidates in 1994.

Seth Borgos, from the Veatch Program, challenged the notion that all successful social change relies on mass action alone: "Change comes about through the complex interplay between social movement and electoral work that ultimately ratifies the grassroots agenda," he said. "Electoral politics is too often seen as unaccountable to base level organizations . . . Look at the criteria you use to evaluate and test strategies for successful social change. Then look at the various kinds of electoral work being done and see if there's a match. If there is, go and figure out what the technical and legal issues are so that you can fund it."

Sharon DeLugach, chief of staff to Los Angeles City Councilwoman Jackie Goldberg, described the successful efforts of that city's Precinct Leader Action Network (PLAN), which has trained thousands of neighborhood leaders and activists in basic electoral skills since 1984. "Without a long-term, ongoing and consistent strategy neither electoral nor direct action strategies will work," she explained.

Dan Cantor, political director for the New Party, also spoke of the need to build long-term political infrastructure. "We need to begin thinking now about the farm team of school board, county commission and city council seats that can fill the hundreds of state legislative seats that will come open when term limit rules kick in," he said. The New Party, which has won 83 victories out of 125 races run to-date, and has recruited 6,000 dues-paying members since 1993, has set its sights on winning 225 contests in 1996.

Recognizing that a major obstacle to funding advocacy-oriented organizing stems from foundation concerns about IRS regulations, the session also included presentations by Carol Siefert, of the Alliance for Justice and Tom Asher, an attorney and tax specialist who is the author of the Alliance's latest publication, "Myth v. Fact - Foundation Support of Advocacy." Both emphasized ways to provide funding for advocacy projects within IRS guidelines.

Individuals interested in more information about the EWG should contact Rob McKay at the McKay Foundation, 383 Rhode Island St., San Francisco, CA 94103. The phone number is (415) 554-0166.

This is the first in a series of columns on NNG caucuses and working groups. Interested groups call the NNG office before January 9. ■

*This newsletter was conceived by Ellen Furnari, Gilda Martinez, Isabel Olivera-Morales, and Communication/Publication Committee Co-Chairs Mike Roque and Jenny Warburg.
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Phoebe Valentine, founder of the Valentine Foundation and the Phoebus Fund, and an NNG member, died on the 19th of June, 1995. This issue of Network News is dedicated to her memory.

Keep me on your mailing list. Yes! I want to be a member!

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Welcome to our 1995 New and Returning Members

(an insert for members only)

NNG is growing bigger and better! This year we had 126 new and returning (lapsed) members coming primarily from the West, New England, and the Mid-Atlantic. We welcome all of you to NNG and hope that you find your membership a worthwhile experience. Together we can make a strong and effective impact in moving more money to progressive social change. (Call NNG for more information).

Photo by Jenny Warburg



Gilda Martinez is NNG's Membership Coordinator

- Bruce Abrams of San Diego, CA.
- Mary Altomare, Consultant to the Seventh Generation Fund in Arcata, CA.
- Bonita Anderson, Field Representative of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Berit Ashla, Program Assistant of the Tides Foundation in San Francisco, CA.
- Alexa Aviles, Program Assistant of the Fund for the Four Directions in New York City.
- Barbara Banks, Interim Director, Appalachian Community Fund in Knoxville, TN.
- Carol Barton, Director of Programs of Women and Philanthropy in New York City.
- Ann Bastian, Senior Program Officer of the New World Foundation in New York City.
- Constance Goldman Beresin, President of Women's Way in Philadelphia, PA.
- Laurie Betlach, Administrative Assistant of the Lannan Foundation in Los Angeles, CA.
- Gloria Blewett of Gouldsboro, PA.
- Erika Bliss, Program Officer of the Shaler Adams Foundation in Menlo Park, CA.
- Suzanne Brown, President of the Angelica Foundation in San Diego, CA.
- Renee Brereton, Field Representative of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Mary Bryan, Development Assistant of the Appalachian Community Fund in Knoxville, TN.
- Millie Buchanan, Program Officer of the Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation in New York City.
- Melissa Bunnan, Board Member of the Norman Foundation in New York City.
- Michael Burns of Branford, CT.
- Karen Byrne, Executive Director of the Angelica Foundation in San Diego, CA.
- Penelope Cabot of Langley, WA and the Threshold and Tides Foundations in San Francisco, CA.
- Wendy Call, Communications Coordinator of Grassroots International in Somerville, MA.
- Stephen Callahan, Economic Development Coordinator of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Rev. James Callaway, Jr., Deputy for Grants of the Trinity Church Parish in New York City.
- Nilo Cayuqueo, Director of the Abya Yala Fund in Oakland, CA.
- Helen Chauncey, Vietnam Office Representative for the Asia Foundation in San Francisco, CA.
- Donald Cohen, Board Member, San Diego Foundation for Change in CA.
- Diana Cohn, Program Officer of the Solidago Fund in New York City.
- Irene Crowe, Ph.D., President of Pettus-Crowe Foundation in Washington, DC.
- Patricia Cummings, Executive Director of the Jay & Rose Phillips Family Foundation of Minneapolis, MN.
- Hubert Dixon, Field Representative of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Gayle Williams Dorman, Executive Director of the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation in Winston-Salem, NC.
- Helen Doroshow, Director of the Max and Anna Levinson Foundation in Santa Fe, NM.
- Ann Dowley, Program Associate of Common Counsel in Berkeley, CA.
- Valentine Doyle, Trustee of the Lawson Valentine Foundation in West Hartford, CT.
- Marta Drury of Half Moon Bay, CA.
- John Eastman, Director of the Lucius and Eva Eastman Fund in Houston, TX.
- Martha Eddy of San Francisco, CA, and Board Member of Solidago Foundation in New York City.
- Brad Erickson, Projects Associate of the Tides Foundation in San Francisco, CA.
- Newell Flather, President of Grants Management Associates, Inc. in Boston, MA.
- Marjorie Fujiki, Executive Director of Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy in New York City.
- Rebecca Golden, Executive Director of the Ben and Jerry's Foundation in Waterbury, VT.
- Lisa Goodrich, Board Member of the Ben and Jerry's Foundation in Waterbury, VT.
- Leah Haygood, Director, Environmental Planning of WMX Technologies, Inc. in Washington, DC.
- Michael Hirschhorn of New York City.
- Susan Hoffman, Associate Director of the Shefa Fund in Philadelphia, PA.
- Nelson Holl, Executive Director of the California Consumer Protection Foundation in Berkeley, CA.
- Phyllis Jones, Program Officer of Share Our Strength in Washington, DC.
- Randy Keesler, Field Representative of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Mark Kimball, Board Member of Ben and Jerry's Foundation in Waterbury, VT.
- Kweli Kitwana, Housing Development Specialist of the McAuley Institute in Silver Spring, MD.
- Maralyn Kurshals, Program Associate of the Hawaii Community Foundation in Honolulu, HI.
- Jai Lakshman, Board Member of the Seva Foundation in San Rafael, CA.
- Winona LaDuke of White Earth, MN, and Environmental Program Director of the Seventh Generation Fund in Arcata, CA.
- Jennie LaFranier, Director of the Shawn Del LaFranier Scholarship Fund in Lame Deer, MT.
- Sarah Lawton, Associate Director of SHARE Foundation in San Francisco, CA.
- David Levine, Board Member of the Seva Foundation in San Rafael, CA.
- Leslie Lilly, Vice President of the Foundation for the Mid South in Jackson, MI.

- Spence Limbocker, Associate Director for Planning of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Lynelle Lindquist, Fiscal Officer of the Seventh Generation Fund in Arcata, CA.
- Rosalie Little Thunder, Board Member of the Seventh Generation Fund in Arcata, CA.
- Daniel Lizarraga, Field Representative of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Owen M. Lopez, Executive Director of the M.L. and P.D. McCune Charitable Trust in Santa Fe, NM.
- Terry Lowe, Interim Director of Common Counsel in Berkeley, CA.
- Suzanne Watkin Maas, Executive Director of the Boston Globe Foundation in Boston, MA.
- Melissa Magers, Director of the Greater Columbus Community Shares in Columbus, OH.
- Melinda Mann, Fundraising Coordinator of Grassroots International in Somerville, MA.
- Richard Mark, Director of Environmental Programs of the Nathan Cummings Foundation in New York City.
- Catherine Maternowska, Executive Director of the Lambi Fund of Haiti in Washington, DC.
- Annie Mayo, Program Officer of the Eagle Staff Fund in Fredericksburg, VA.
- Shaunna McCovey, Program Associate of the Seventh Generation Fund in Arcata, CA.
- Sunita Mehta, Grants Administrator of the Sister Fund in New York City.
- Benita Melton, Associate Program Officer of the C. S. Mott Foundation in Flint, MI.
- Jim Metzinger, Consultant to the Abelard Foundation-East in New York City.
- Julie Meyer, Development Director of the Lambi Fund of Haiti in Washington, DC.
- Frank Montana of Clearwater, FL.
- Nan Moon, Consultant/Program Officer of the Van Camp Foundation in Inverness, CA.
- Linda Moses, Executive Director of the Illinois Women's Funding Federation in Chicago, IL.
- Katharine Mountcastle, Trustee of the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, New Canaan, CT.
- Josephine Murray of Cambridge, MA and the Peace Development Fund in Amherst, MA.
- Steve Newcom, Executive Director of the Headwaters Fund in Minneapolis, MN.
- Rob Okun, Consultant to the Peace Development Fund in Amherst, MA.
- Katherine Pearson, Executive Director of the East Tennessee Foundation in Knoxville, TN.
- Rosalind Pierson, Program Officer of the California Wellness Foundation in Woodland Hills, CA.
- Carmen Prieto, Assistant Director of the Wieboldt Foundation in Chicago, IL.
- Wendy Puriefoy, President of the Public Education Fund in Washington, DC.
- Nicole Taylor Ricketts, Development and Program Officer of the East Bay Community Foundation in Oakland, CA.
- Hector Rodriguez, Field Representative of the Campaign for Human Development in Washington, DC.
- Alexandra Rome, Co-Director of Sustainable Futures at the Jennifer Altman Foundation in Mill Valley, CA.
- David Rosenmiller of Williamsburg, MA, Executive Director of the Solidago Foundation in New York City.
- Sidney Shapiro of Brookline, MA.
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- Hillary Smith, Program Director of the Unitarian Universalist Funding Program in Boston, MA.
- Don Sodo, Executive Director of America's Charities in Fairfax, VA.
- Barbara Somerfield of Santa Fe, NM and Threshold Foundation in San Francisco, CA.
- Alta Starr, Program Officer of the New World Foundation in New York City.
- Nan Langen Steketee, Director of the Center for Responsible Funding in Philadelphia, PA.
- Linda Stout, Executive Director of the Peace Development Fund in Amherst, MA.
- Karen Stults, Consultant in Washington, DC.
- David Suzuki, Chairman of the David Suzuki Foundation in Vancouver, BC Canada.
- Charlotte Talberth, Executive Director of the Max and Anna Levinson Foundation in Santa Fe, NM.
- Dimitra Tasiouras, Program Officer of the Chicago Foundation for Women in Chicago, IL.
- Charles Terry, Director of Philanthropy with Rockefeller Family Associates in New York City.
- Chet Thompson of the Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock in Manhasset, NY.
- Dagmar Thorpe of Prague, OK and the Tides Foundation in San Francisco, CA.
- Martha Toll, Executive Director of the Butler Family Fund in Washington, DC.
- Martha Jo Trolin of Albuquerque, NM.
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- Andrea Tuch, Program Officer of the Lannan Foundation in Los Angeles, CA.
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- Tim Wise, Executive Director of Grassroots International in Somerville, MA.
- Miranda Wright, Vice President of the Doyon Foundation in Fairbanks, AK.
- Caprice Young, Panel Member of the Unitarian Universalist Funding Program in Boston, MA.
- Anne Zill, Program Associate of the Stewart Mott Charitable Trust in Washington, DC.