Beyond the Count

Leveraging the 2010 Census to Build New Capacities for Civic Engagement and Social Change in California

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Funded by The California Endowment
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We owe our sincerest thanks to the philanthropic and organizational leaders who participated in this project. Whether it was filling out an online survey, answering our questions in an interview, or participating in a post-census convening, your reflections on how census work, civic engagement, and social movements can build on one another were invaluable.

We would also like to thank the evaluation team from Harder+Company Community Research, especially Paul Harder, Renée LaGloire, Linda Tran, and Dulcemonica Jimenez. We worked together when we realized we were both doing assessments, trying both to learn from the collaboration of community organizations in the census process and to spare those organizations the confusion of talking to two different research teams. We also benefitted greatly from Ted Wang’s early input and willingness to share information.

The California Endowment (TCE) deserves recognition for making this project possible and for providing us with the opportunity to study the long-term impacts of its philanthropic investment in the 2010 Census. It enabled us to apply many of the ideas that we have developed over the last several years – since TCE commissioned our first report on movement building in 2008 – to a real-time case study.

We would particularly like to acknowledge our Program Officer Gigi Barsoum. Although no longer with TCE, she brought a movement-building vision to the overall Census Initiative strategy and to this research project. We hope that this report does justice to that vision.

Although the authors listed did the primary research and writing – and take full responsibility for any errors – we could not have done the work without the involvement of many other people at the USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE). We especially thank Jennifer Tran, Vanessa Carter, Jared Sanchez, Jackie Agnello, Michelle Saucedo, and Madeline Wander (who is actually a graduate student at UCLA’s Department of Urban Planning but braves the inter-campus rivalry to work at PERE).

We hope that this report accurately reflects the experiences of all who participated in the Census Initiative, and, especially of those who contributed to this report. Although the 2020 Census is nine years away, we would encourage community organizations and foundations, irrespective of what issue you work on or type of work you do, to explore how the lessons learned from the 2010 Census can help advance your work in the cause of democracy and social justice.
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From San Diego to Stockton, over two hundred community centers, health clinics, community organizing groups, and others opened questionnaire assistance centers, knocked on doors, trained census workers, and produced public service announcements to ensure that everyone in California would be included in the Census 2010 count. Infused with over nine million dollars from seventeen private and community foundations, organizations trained and deployed volunteers to homeless camps, neighborhoods with high rates of formerly incarcerated people, and communities hosting limited-English proficient immigrant households ranging from Afghans to Africans and Slavics to Southeast Asians.

The immediate success of the Census 2010 outreach effort in California is partially reflected in the census data – which the U.S. Census Bureau began releasing in May 2011. With organizations, public agencies, and foundations working together, California’s numbers were up, partly because Los Angeles led the nation’s large cities in the census response and partly because the undercount was lower in rural areas than in years past. Organizations tapped into trust built over many years to convince immigrants and ex-offenders, otherwise fearful and mistrustful of government, to complete and send in the survey. Community-based organizations teamed up with national advocacy groups and government agencies to develop tailored strategies for outreaching to Cambodians, Central Americans, and migrant farmworkers. And funders found a way to stretch their dollars and reach neighborhoods in all ten counties with the highest numbers of hard-to-count populations.

While this is all to be celebrated, we focus in this report on the ways in which the Census 2010 effort may produce even more significant impacts down the road. The process of ensuring an accurate count itself strengthened and seeded new civic engagement capacities among a diverse array of organizations across the state. Many organizations, like Causa Justa::Just Cause in the Bay Area and Inner City Struggle in East Los Angeles, intentionally leveraged Census 2010 outreach to scale up their contact lists, train leaders in phone banking, and develop new partnerships. Others, like some direct service providers and community centers, also found staff and volunteers engaging with clients in new ways that could carry into future advocacy efforts.

One of the reasons such ripple effects were possible is that many of the funders and the organizations consciously applied a social movement and civic engagement frame to improving the count. A social movement frame tends to include a vision that unifies groups across issues, race and place; a mechanism to authentically engage constituencies in distressed communities; and a recognition that every specific campaign is but one step in a long march towards equity and justice. It goes beyond civic engagement in that it consciously seeks to empower those who might currently have the least voice and influence. The census was, as it turns out, a good movement building opportunity: it was a cross-cutting issue that was broadly inclusive; it was relevant to communities of concern; and it was a timely and time-defined effort that pointed to ways in which working together could increase the flow of resources to affected communities.

Not all grantees came into the census work with this frame but an important set did and the experience helped others see movement possibilities. Likewise, not all funders brought a
broader perspective but a significant share did. The main and immediate goal of foundation investment was to increase the response rate of targeted communities, direct more resources to low-income communities, and achieve a more accurate electoral representation. Yet many funders were looking to seize the opportunity to increase capacities for civic engagement, organizing, and collaboration so that capacities built through the census work could translate into future civic engagement collaborations.

In this sense, the census was about more than the census. The strategy adopted in California by key funders and organizations alike was designed to achieve short-term measurable goals (improving the count) while strengthening long-term capacities (connecting like-minded organizations that had never worked together before). Foundations, particularly The California Endowment (TCE), encouraged groups rooted in hard-to-count communities to collaborate with a statewide network of organizations with expertise in outreach strategies, communications, and data analysis and mapping.

Commissioned by TCE, this report lifts up the civic engagement and social movement capacities built or strengthened by activities related to the census and lessons learned. We assess the statewide coordinated effort as a case study for how to leverage a short-term, issue-specific campaign to strengthen social movement organizations and collaborations. Because this effort was coordinated statewide, we looked beyond TCE’s grantees to include all foundation-supported organizations in our analysis.

Many groups benefited from the opportunity to “skill up,” such as to develop leadership and research skills. Others also benefited by “scaling up” and making contact with thousands of potential members. Additionally, they “paired up” by coming together not only to craft a message and strategy about the importance of the census count for under-served communities, but also to begin building new collaborative relationships or deepen existing ones for their ongoing work. All are capacities critical to changing policies and politics in California.

And the census effort reflected a case where “do as I do” replaced “do as I say.” One of the most important aspects of the experience was how the funders themselves collaborated and coordinated. This was refreshing – more often than not, funders require grantees to collaborate with each other even as they continue with their own individualized and atomized efforts. And the foundations did this in an appropriate way: rather than creating a pooled fund, a more-common-yet-difficult arrangement, they formed a strategic alignment network. This meant that foundations came to a shared mission and engaged in joint strategy and activities while maintaining autonomy and independence in their grantmaking. Grantees appreciated the coordination – and that may have even made them more tolerant to the funder-driven aspects of the effort and the balance between being “hands-on” and “hands-off” that funders maintained.

We are, in short, impressed by both the short-term impacts of this work and the long-term implications of the strategies adopted. This was indeed about more than the count; it was an instance in which a social movement frame in grantmaking helped achieve a set of issue-specific, policy goals and also helped build the capacity for future collaboration. Broad-based change will not happen one issue campaign at a time, especially if individual policy or issue campaigns are disconnected from previous ones and not informing the next. Because some
approached the census project as part of a long-term effort to build a better California, it is a study for what a social movement frame can achieve – making progress on immediate issues (in this case, improving the count) while planting seeds for longer-term, larger-scale change.

Because we think there are important lessons to be learned, we go beyond an immediate assessment of the California effort to offer a set of recommendations on how both foundations and non-profit organizations can apply a social movement frame to issue campaigns. We argue that funders and non-profits alike should not look at their work as an “either/or” proposition – that is, a choice between either improving specific outcomes or building the capacities needed for movement building. Rather, there are opportunities to do both and the search for these should guide the choice of activities and investments.

We specifically suggest that both funders and organizers should respond to emerging opportunities to bring together both movement-oriented and issue-focused groups, identify and support intermediaries that can weave such efforts together, utilize such intermediation to strengthen regions with less-developed movement and civic engagement infrastructure, and develop and apply new evaluation tools aimed at assessing the longer-term impacts of short-term investments. But beyond all the specifics, we argue most strongly that we need a new vision for the state.

After all, the fundamental premise behind the census is that everyone counts. But the reality of contemporary California – an increasingly unequal economy, uneven participation in our political system, and a government increasingly disconnected from the state’s residents – suggests that we are falling short of that grand idea. We think the collaborations that came from the effort to improve the 2010 Census may, if properly nurtured, move us along back from the current precipice of dysfunction and toward the California many remember fondly if a bit distantly: a place where the challenges may be big but where opportunity always beckons and the voice of all is heard.
INTRODUCTION

As plans for the 2010 U.S. Census were underway, the nation was facing the most severe economic recession since the Great Depression. Hard-to-count communities – already struggling during better times – were particularly hard hit. Foreclosures and unemployment were forcing many people out of their homes and fueling the fiscal crisis that most states were facing. Finding and counting the floating victims of this economic storm was a challenge, particularly since the crisis itself was limiting the resources that had been deployed in earlier census counts.

Further complicating the 2010 U.S. Census was a highly-charged anti-immigrant sentiment. In April 2010, as the U.S. Census Bureau was mailing out its questionnaires, Arizona adopted SB 1070 giving authority to local police to act as immigration officers. For the immigrant community, already reeling from worksite raids by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency, this further increased fear of government and threatened the likelihood of their participation in the count. Meanwhile, a group of Latino evangelical leaders called for undocumented immigrants to boycott the census as an act of resistance to get the federal government to take action on immigration reform.

Despite trying times, organizations on the ground knew they needed to find a way to get an accurate count. Those most at risk of being left out of the count are those most at risk at being left out of our democracy – people of color, low-income and less-educated persons, homeless persons, formerly incarcerated individuals, and immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants.

Without an accurate count of everyone living in the United States, there cannot be equal representation. The results determine each state’s share of congressional seats and are used to redraw the boundaries of various political districts. The census has also become the basis for other issues central to full participation in our democracy. The data are used to determine the distribution of about $420 billion of federal funding for education, health care, housing and transportation services. For every person counted, approximately $1,140 comes back to a community each year (GCIR, 2009). Thus the census is a key cornerstone of our democracy and a key factor in securing community well-being, or as both an official from the Census Bureau and an organizer in the Bay Area stated in separate interviews, “the census is about three things: power, money, and justice.”

In California, the stakes were especially high. The state’s budget deficit surpassed $20 billion in 2010, translating into major cuts to critical health and social services – and to census funding. The state had only $2.1 million to allocate towards 2010 Census outreach, which was less than ten percent of the $24.7 million it had for the 2000 Census (GCIR, 2009). And California has a large number of “hard-to-count” areas, defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as places with a larger share of vacant units, multi-family housing, overcrowded apartments, poor and less educated families, recent arrivals, and linguistically-isolated households (among other characteristics). Ten of the top 50 hard-to-count counties in the country are in California and nearly one fourth of the nation’s undocumented population lives in the state (Passel and Cohn, 2011, 14).
With public funding drastically cut, private funding would be critical. But not a single California foundation had identified Census 2010 as a funding priority – the issue simply was not on the radar. Although The California Endowment (TCE) and several other foundations had funded census outreach in 2000, turnover in staff, a lack of documentation, and a decade of elapsed time meant that much institutional memory had been lost. And while the Census Bureau had a network of non-profit community partners stemming from 2000 outreach, it had not worked with, nor even considered approaching, the philanthropic community.

It was, in fact, the Census Bureau’s non-profit partners that saw the gap – and the opportunity to address it – and initiated conversations with foundations in California. Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC), the California Rural Legal Assistance Fund (CRLA), the National Association for Latino Elected Officials Education Fund (NALEO) among others approached several foundations with which they had relationships, as well as the funders’ affinity group Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR). Faced with the pressing demands of census outreach in the midst of the economic and political crisis, the organizations were concerned about their capacity, as well as that of the non-profit sector in general, to participate to the extent necessary given the limited public funding.

The initial philanthropic partners, including TCE, the Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund, and GCIR staff, came to better understand the census, the role of the non-profit community, and gaps that philanthropy could fill through a series of meetings and calls with non-profits and the Census Bureau. The learning process, which expanded to include a number of local and community foundations, resulted in a statewide, coordinated strategy outlined in the guide *California Counts: A Funders’ Guide to the 2010 Census* (GCIR, 2009). This guide provided a range of options for foundations, including funding community organizations, outreach and education activities, and policy advocacy, and served as an important tool for engaging additional funders.

The partnership between foundations, government, and the non-profit sector in California was extraordinary in terms of breadth and depth. A total of over nine million dollars was raised from private and community foundations across the state and supported a network of about 200 non-profits to outreach in all ten counties with high concentrations of hard-to-count populations. This was one of many statewide partnerships that bubbled up across the country. According to the national Funders Census Initiative, a nationwide total of $33 million and 600 grants were awarded by foundations from 2008 to 2010 – what it calls possibly “the largest public-philanthropic-nonprofit partnership in the nation’s history” (Crews, 2010).
Moreover, the initial California funders not only saw the importance of obtaining an accurate count but also recognized the potential in the census process itself to strengthen capacities that are essential for a healthy democracy. To reach hard-to-count populations meant engaging with partners that have earned the community’s trust and giving them the opportunity to seek out those most vulnerable among us – immigrants, homeless persons, non-English speakers, and those who are disconnected from democratic processes.

Census 2010 provided an opportunity to reach those typically unreached and to connect them to civic organizations with the capacity to lift up their concerns to policymakers, whether their concerns are regarding the need for immigrant inclusion, workforce opportunities for all, or broader access to health care. After all, many of the methods for increasing the count – canvassing, phonebanking, media events, pamphlets, presentations, one-on-one assistance and education – are the same for mobilizing residents around electoral or policy campaigns. And the capacities for census outreach could translate into other issues and efforts if such capacities stick.

**PROJECT OVERVIEW**

TCE allocated four million dollars in grants to increase the participation of hard-to-count populations in the 2010 Census count. But not only did it provide grants, it also leveraged its relationships and convening capacity to play a leading role in developing the statewide strategy.

TCE had learned key lessons from its smaller scale effort in 2000: the need for coordination at every level (rural-urban, local-state); the importance of trusted local, community-based organizations to conduct outreach; and the role of local ethnic media in effectively communicating with a diverse public (Barsoum 2009). For the Census 2010, TCE funded a set of anchor organizations to support a statewide structure (which is described in more detail in the following section) and dedicated one million dollars to support community-based organizations at the local level. It also emphasized and facilitated coordination between grantees, with government agencies, and among philanthropic partners.

While TCE hoped that coordination and collaboration would increase the count, it also hoped that it would increase overall civic capacity in hard-to-count communities and would advance a broader set of changes. If organizations and agencies built successful partnerships to increase the count, they could pivot from the census and find other opportunities to work together for community empowerment. When it realized that there were two sets of potential outcomes, TCE commissioned two evaluation projects. First, TCE hired Harder+Company Community Research (Harder+Co) for an evaluation of the collaborations and different outreach strategies on increasing the count. (Harder+Co also did similar work for Bay Area foundations and the Los Angeles-based California Community Foundation.) Then, realizing that there could be lasting capacities beyond the count, TCE brought on the team at the University of Southern California’s Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE). Our task was to assess whether the census process had an impact on the development of civic capacities to engage hard-to-count communities in public policy decision-making at the state level.
For PERE, this project was an opportunity to apply our social movement frame to the census initiative. In fact, our work on social movements originated from a request by TCE. As the foundation was developing the Building Healthy Communities Initiative, it commissioned PERE to help it gain a better understanding of movement building and what philanthropy’s role could be. Recognizing the expertise of organizers developing grassroots leadership to advocate for policy changes on their own behalf, we conducted a series of interviews and, in the spirit of David Letterman, developed a top ten list of characteristics of effective movements that we describe in the report *Making Change: How Social Movements Work – and How to Support Them* (Pastor and Ortiz, 2009).


For this project, we come back full circle to TCE to apply the social movement framework to assess the potential movement-building impact census-related activities have had. This was not a traditional evaluation focused on number of individuals reached and transactions completed; rather we looked for the themes and stories that could offer insights for funders, practitioners, and academics into the way in which an intentional, issue-based, grantmaking strategy could contribute to building a broad-based, well-skilled movement to improve the conditions for the nation’s struggling communities.

We began with a review of recent literature to build on the social movement theory outlined in *Making Change* and to set a broader framework for understanding the role and capacities of social movements in achieving policy changes. The themes from the literature review provided the foundation for our research and informed the questions that we asked in the data collection phase.

For the data collection phase, we first reviewed TCE-provided workplans from 52 grantees to gain a baseline understanding of the types of organizations funded, regions covered, and plans for collaboration. Based on the literature review and preliminary assessment of TCE grantees, we prepared four data collection tools: 1) an online grantee survey, 2) a grantee interview protocol, 3) an online funder survey, and 4) a funder and expert interview protocol.

TCE hoped its grantees would collaborate, minimize duplication of efforts, and maximize reach and effectiveness – and that spirit rubbed off on the evaluators. Early in the planning phase, we met with Harder+Co, and decided to consolidate our data collection efforts. Whenever possible, we combined interview and survey instruments to gather information for both efforts – and realized that by doing so, we would minimize the potential of annoying grantees by having two evaluators request surveys and interviews with similar questions.

Working together, we collected data through two online surveys, observation of activities, phone interviews, and one in-person convening. Based on a jointly-developed questionnaire
and a database provided by a consultant working with GCIR on the statewide strategy, Harder+Co administered an online survey to 188 organizations that received foundation funding from TCE and others to conduct census outreach. In total, 122 organizations completed the online survey.

We conducted follow-up phone interviews with 27 grantees; 21 were funded by TCE and six were funded by other grantmakers. Because TCE’s census initiative was part of a multi-funder collaborative strategy, we did not limit our analysis to TCE grantees. To complement the perspective of grantees, we collected data from foundation program officers. We conducted an online survey of 30 program officers from 11 foundations, 17 of whom responded (six of the 17 were TCE program officers responsible for grantmaking in specific geographic areas). To supplement the survey, we interviewed four program officers and staff from GCIR as well as representatives from the Census Bureau. For a full list of interviewees, please see Appendix A.

In September 2010, we facilitated a convening of 39 participants – 34 grantees and 5 funders – to preview preliminary findings from both Harder+Co and PERE’s research. More importantly, it was a space for grantees to debrief census outreach efforts and to explore ways to continue building partnerships post-census. We thought that if organizations expressed interest in moving beyond the count, it might be some evidence of longer-lasting impacts. For a list of convening participants, please see Appendix B.

We present our research findings in this report organized as follows. In the first major section, “California Counts: How the Census Became an Opportunity for Movement Building,” we begin with a description of the statewide Census 2010 strategy and participating organizations. For the purposes of this report, we borrow “California Counts” from the title of GCIR’s funder guide to refer to the statewide, collaborative strategy. After touching on the mechanics of the effort, we then describe one of the stories behind the story: whether this one-shot effort to improve the count could also enhance social movement and civic engagement capacities. Along the way, we detour through some of the literature on the role of social movements to set the stage for our analysis.

The next section, “From Census to Civic Engagement: Lessons for Building New Capacities,” highlights ways in which California Counts strengthened the state’s movement infrastructure. What capacities were built for transforming
constituents into change agents? What capacities for ongoing collaboration were built that can move organizations from working in silos towards solidarity? We focus on efforts to skill up, scale up, and smarten up – that is, examples of using outreach efforts for the census as practice runs for voter engagement, using new coalitions formed for counting residents to ensure that resident voices would count in public policy debates, and using the array of data and mapping resources made available for the count to better inform other community organizing efforts.

Foundations often call on grantees to work together even as they operate in their own philanthropic silos. One of the remarkable aspects of California Counts was the funder collaboration that took place, and so we dedicate a section of our report to this. This section, “The Pot and the Kettle: The Funders’ Story,” notes that the collaborating funders did not recognize their efforts as an initiative or project – thus possibly explaining the absence of any commonly-used name – but rather as a shared strategy. This distinction is important: Foundations shared a common goal to increase the count and participated in joint convenings with grantees and other census partners, yet foundations, for the most part, maintained their own autonomy and decision-making in grantmaking.

We conclude with our major take-away: Adopting a movement-building frame to a short-term, issue-specific campaign can meet immediate goals while building lasting capacities to advance changes in policy and politics. Drawing on lessons from California Counts, we offer ten practical steps for how to do so. Among those are: the need to be responsive to opportunities, to choose campaign issues wisely, and to develop a unifying story. It is also important to bring together movement-based and issue-based groups, to find the right intermediaries, to build ties across regions, and to facilitate yet not dictate collaboration. There are also specific skills and capacities to support: civic engagement, organizational capacities, and evaluation techniques that capture both the immediate gains and the longer-term improvements in collaborative capacity.

The last point is our overriding conclusion: Funders and non-profits alike should not look at movement building as an “either/or” proposition – that is, a choice between working on an issue campaign versus investing in movement building. Rather, it is a “both/and” endeavor. Movement capacities, such as the ability to collaborate, reach residents and frame a narrative, can improve the chances of making the short-term mark – and the short-term campaigns can and should be chosen with regard to whether they can contribute to a stronger civic and movement infrastructure.

The census worked well in this regard but other issues – the state budget, immigrant integration, and public education – fit the bill as well. While policy solutions are needed, lasting change will come when there is a deeply rooted movement that can help shape policy solutions and improve the prospects for California’s most vulnerable residents. Going beyond the count to what really counts – an engaged public that can change the trajectory of the Golden State – is critical.
CALIFORNIA COUNTS: HOW THE CENSUS BECAME AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MOVEMENT BUILDING

Every ten years, every person in the U.S. participates in one of the most fundamental exercises of our democracy; each fills out a form that helps the federal government meet its Constitutional requirement to enumerate the nation’s residents. Through this simple act, people make sure that they are “seen” in subsequent decisions about where to draw new electoral district boundaries and how to distribute fiscal resources. So much relies on an accurate count. Yet an event that happens only every ten years can be tough to plan for – organizations gear up for the census then turn their attention to other matters when the count is over; the institutional memory of what worked and what did not often fades over the subsequent decade.

On a less predictable schedule, social movements also rise and fall. The U.S. Constitution does not require such movements, but it needs them. The civil rights, women, and labor movements helped the nation live up to its democratic promise. More recently, the environmental, disability, and immigrant rights movements have expanded our notion of what might constitute a “more perfect union.” The connection between the count and movement building is not tight – each has different impulses, different goals, and different institutions – but a connection is possible, particularly because both share a common theme of ensuring that all voices are heard in our state and the nation.

California Counts: A Statewide Strategy for Increasing the Count

California Counts was designed to connect local, state, and national census efforts and to support an integrated network of organizations across the state (GCIR 2009, 5). Emphasizing collaboration and coordination on all levels, there were five major components of the strategy: 1) coordination between foundations, state agencies, and the U.S. Census Bureau; 2) a state-level network of anchor organizations to provide coordination, training, technical assistance, and other resources to community-based organizations in hard-to-count counties; 3) real-time data and mapping support; 4) ethnic media to target hard-to-reach populations, and 5) local outreach in hard-to-count counties by trusted community organizations.

Funder-State-U.S. Census Bureau Coordination

In total, 17 funders – spanning local to national, family to community foundations – contributed over nine million dollars. This far surpassed the initial goal of raising $2.5 million (Cha 2010, author interview). A list of all 17 foundations is provided in Appendix C. The California foundation partners that spearheaded efforts to develop the statewide strategy included:

- **Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR):** Established in 1990 as a network of foundations, GCIR launched its California Immigrant Integration Initiative (CIII) in 2007 as a forum for funders to explore current issues, connect with colleagues and collaborate on strategies concerning immigrant integration. California Counts evolved out of this forum. GCIR played an intermediary role by providing technical assistance and coordination support to both
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the collaborative and individual foundations in developing their own program. It also facilitated access to timely information with the Census Bureau.

- **The California Endowment (TCE):** Created in 1996, TCE is a private, statewide health foundation that has launched a ten-year initiative, Building Healthy Communities, to improve the health, safety and well-being in 14 communities across the state where both the need and the possibilities for change are greatest. At the same time, it has a statewide advocacy and strategic communications strategy to elevate local experiences to influence policies at the state level. Its $4 million investment in Census 2010 outreach was a significant increase over its $1.76 million in funding for Census 2000. It was, by far, the largest private funder of census outreach in California and played a leadership role in developing the strategy, coordinating with other funders and with the State and Census Bureau.

- **The Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund:** Founded in 1953, the Haas, Jr. Fund is a private family foundation that supports organizations primarily in San Francisco and Alameda counties but also funds national, state and regional projects that advance the movement towards fundamental rights and opportunities for all. Driven to the census through its interest in immigrant rights and immigrant integration, one of the Fund’s five focus areas, it also saw the opportunity to bring organizations together across issues, geography, and race/ethnicity.

Through a series of meetings and phone calls, the philanthropic community and the Census Bureau shared information and began developing a working relationship. Because of the size of the state, two regional offices of the Census Bureau were involved – the Los Angeles Regional Office, which covers 19 southern California counties, and the Seattle Regional Office, which covers all California counties north of Fresno.

Based on interviews with Census Bureau representatives, there were many benefits from the coordination and communication with the philanthropic partners. One major benefit was the amount of trust gained with foundations’ grantees. Having foundations help broker relationships went a long way in establishing credibility in communities, especially among those who are highly distrustful of government such as immigrants and ex-offenders. As one census representative shared in an interview:

Post April 15, when we sent out enumerators, they had very little difficulty gaining cooperation in the field because there had been outreach. The outreach with the grantees helped to ensure that we got a complete enumeration of everyone in that household. The trust factor, with the established leaders in the hard-to-count communities, meant that the doors opened up and there was a willingness to tell them exactly who’s in this household.

“The foundations gave our efforts local credibility with the community.”
- Census Bureau Representative
And by participating in working groups with foundations and grantees to develop census outreach strategies, staff from the Census Bureau connected grantees with complete count committees – which we discuss in more detail in the section “From Silos to Solidarity.”

Statewide Coordination for Outreach in Hard-to-Count Regions

Six organizations were recruited to provide support and assistance to local organizations and campaigns across the state. These included:

- **National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund (NALEO):** Established in 1981 to integrate Latinos into the U.S. political process, NALEO expanded its campaign encouraging naturalization and voter registration, *ya es hora (It’s Time)*, to promote census participation by Latinos, to *ya es hora ¡HAGASE CONTAR!* (*Make Yourself Count*). NALEO partnered with Latino media outlets to publicize the census, distributed campaign materials, assisted individuals directly, and provided technical assistance to partner organizations through webinars, train-the-trainer workshops, subgrants, and through attending meetings with complete count committees and community leaders (NALEO Educational Fund 2010).

- **Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC):** The Los Angeles-based civil rights advocacy and legal center funded 70 local organizations and 7 regional partners to outreach to different Asian American communities throughout the state. Some of the training efforts it conducted included providing best practices on organizing so as to engage a wide spectrum of stakeholders including students, business and religious leaders. It was also available to educate the local partners on how to work through some of the specific challenges confronting these communities. In some cases, it trained partners on how to be effective speakers or how to use the Healthy City platform, a set of mapping and data tools described in more detail below (APALC 2010).

- **California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA):** A legal services organization serving California’s low-income rural communities, CRLA provided trainings and coordination in rural communities, with a special emphasis on farmworker and indigenous populations. CRLA provided assistance with designing and developing outreach campaigns that were culturally and linguistically appropriate for indigenous, immigrant, and farmworker communities. In addition, it coordinated with local Census Bureau operations to identify high need areas or hard to reach communities and to hire culturally and linguistically responsive enumerators to reach these targeted areas.

- **Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF):** A national Latino legal civil rights organization founded in 1968, MALDEF developed and disseminated fact sheets and a DVD for organizations serving Latinos and Spanish-speaking individuals and helped to lead a media campaign to promote census participation among Latinos. It focused its work in Fresno, Imperial, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego counties (GCIR 2009, 8).
• **California Alliance / SCOPE**: An alliance of membership-based organizations that anchor regional coalitions in ten counties across the state, the California Alliance (now called California Calls), led by Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE), provided subgrants, capacity-building trainings, statewide coordination, and technical assistance and materials for phonebanking and door-to-door canvassing to 20 organizations in 8 counties: San Diego, Riverside, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, Bakersfield, Fresno, San Jose, and Oakland. The alliance also coordinated a media campaign to post promotional ads on 1,000 buses in four cities.

• **Mobilize the Immigrant Vote (MIV) California Collaborative**: A multi-ethnic coalition founded in 2004 out of a concern about immigrants’ low electoral participation and disenfranchisement, MIV provided coordination, trainings, and language-specific materials for their partners across the state. It provided subgrants to anchor organizations to support census outreach efforts and training for other organizations. Mini-grants were also provided to engage particular ethnic communities such as African and Arab immigrant communities.

With the exception of MALDEF, TCE awarded grants to support this statewide network of organizations. While this network of groups brought deep experience working in the Latino (NALEO, CRLA, MALDEF), Asian (APALC), and multi-ethnic (California Alliance, MIV) communities, no traditional African American organization (such as the NAACP) was involved at this level. While Black organizers and communities were involved, this gap raises a broader set of issues about the slipping strength of Black social service and social movement infrastructure in a changing California. These issues are explored in depth in a recent publication *All Together Now? African Americans, Immigrants and the Future of the Golden State* (Pastor, De Lara, and Scoggins 2011) but is worth noting here that investments are crucially needed for both equity and alliance-building purposes.

*Data and Mapping to Support Statewide Coordination and Local Outreach*

To help outreach efforts be as targeted and effective as possible and to minimize duplication of efforts, the Advancement Project’s Healthy City program was contracted to provide up-to-date data and analysis and easy-to-access maps.

• **The Advancement Project’s Healthy City program**: A web-based resource for service referrals and social change, Healthy City provided data and mapping support for statewide Census 2010 planning and coordination. Healthy City maintained a website with the Census Bureau’s real-time data on mail participation rates and where local partners were conducting outreach so that organizations could modify their outreach efforts to target the highest need and less reached neighborhoods. It also stepped into the role of facilitating coordination among the statewide groups, as well as with regional groups across the state. It had already been coordinating efforts with the Governor’s Office and thus it made sense to expand its efforts to include community-based organizations and the Census Bureau. It hosted a series of coordinating calls among the statewide groups over a nine-month period to share updates. As Census Day on April 15, 2010 approached, it worked more closely with a lead regional organization to host coordinating calls in seven regions to share census
response rate data towards facilitating coordination of outreach activities with organizations on the ground.

**Ethnic Media to Reach Target Populations**

Because ethnic media audiences are historically undercounted in the census, two primary media organizations were funded to run campaigns targeting hard-to-count populations. The two organizations were:

- **New America Media (NAM):** Founded by the nonprofit Pacific News Service in 1996 and headquartered in California, NAM is a national collaboration of 2000 ethnic news organizations. NAM developed media strategies relevant for California’s ethnic media audiences and partnered with organizations across the state specifically to target youth and American Indian and other indigenous communities in California.

- **Radio Bilingue:** Founded in 1976 with the purpose of using media to address the needs of farm workers and Latinos, Radio Bilingue ran a radio campaign to encourage census participation that included short educational messages, news reports, call-in programs, and “mini-marathons” specifically targeting indigenous Mexican Mixteco and Triqui audiences.

**Local Outreach in Hard-to-Count Regions**

A total of 200 community-based organizations, ranging from those that primarily engage in community organizing to those that serve as health care providers and work on immigrant rights, received foundation funding to support census outreach activities. These organizations outreached to diverse communities ranging from the homeless in San Bernardino to the Chinese community in San Francisco, from African immigrants in San Diego to indigenous Mexican farmworkers in rural Fresno County. For a list of awarded grants in California, see *Philanthropic Support for 2010 Census Outreach: An Overview of Grants Awarded* (Crews 2010).

Most grants supported on-the-ground efforts beginning in late 2009 through the summer of 2010. Grantees distributed materials, conducted presentations and workshops, organized events, set up questionnaire assistance centers, interfaced with the Census Bureau staff, and reached people...
on the phone, at their doors and through the media – all directed toward dispelling fears, overcoming indifference, and educating often-overlooked Californians on the why and how to complete the census.

Most foundations provided additional funding to their current grantees to take on census work or to re-grant through their networks. Because foundations came to the table relatively late, they found it preferable to support grantees with whom they had experience and who were well-positioned to carry out census-related work rather than seek out new organizations. But in some cases, foundations released a request for proposals to solicit the involvement of groups who could reach specific targeted communities. For example, Santa Cruz Community Foundation issued an invitational Request for Qualifications (RFQ). As part of their obligations, grantees were also required to meet, share what they were doing, and find opportunities to collaborate.

Not including its grants to statewide organizations and local foundations, TCE funded 35 community-based organizations to identify hard-to-count populations and serve as trusted messengers. TCE invested its resources to fill critical gaps. For example, when it became clear that San Francisco was relatively well-resourced and coordinated, it redirected its funds originally targeted for San Francisco to Contra Costa and San Mateo counties.

While evaluating the effectiveness of California Counts on the actual census count is not the focus of this report, it is worth noting that several studies report that the participation rate for hard-to-count populations in 2010 stayed consistent, or declined very slightly, with the 2000 rate. This holds true at the national, state, and county levels (U.S. GAO 2010, CA DOF 2010, Harder+Co 2011). CRLA’s evaluation of the undercount in farmworker and immigrant communities in rural California demonstrated dramatic improvements since 2000 (Kissem 2010). This is an outstanding accomplishment given the challenging circumstances mentioned earlier – including economic recession, the foreclosure crisis, anti-immigrant sentiment, and drastic cuts in public funding for census outreach.

Movements Count: A Framework for Assessing Lasting Capacities

The primary goal of California Counts was to increase the census participation rate among disadvantaged populations. This was a very specific, measureable (though difficult to measure) and time-defined objective. However, for many funders and grantees, there was a secondary goal: to build lasting relationships between organizations that could move from census onto other issues. That is, to put in place the basic building blocks of a social movement that would ensure that the people being counted could find their voices being heard.

The primary purpose of this report is to track whether progress was made – and what lessons are to be learned – with regard to this secondary, less

Ten Elements of Social Movements

1. Vision and frame
2. Authentic base
3. Long-term commitment
4. Viable economic model
5. Vision of government
6. Scaffold of research
7. Policy package
8. Recognition of scale
9. Strategy for scaling up
10. Willingness to network

Source: Pastor and Ortiz, 2009
understood, and less frequently measured goal. To do this, we take a moment below to define what we mean by social movements and social movement capacities. As we have written extensively about this, particularly in *Making Change: How Social Movements Work and How to Support Them* (Pastor and Ortiz 2009), our emphasis in this report is brevity in stressing the elements of social movements that are relevant to this analysis. Thus we focus on three elements: 1) a unifying vision and frame, 2) connection to an authentic base, and 3) commitment to a long-term transformation in systems of power.

**Unifying Vision and Frame**

Social movements tend to be anchored by a transformational vision, one that transcends narrow issues and interests and appeals to – and ultimately engages – a broad constituency base (Beamish and Luebbers 2009, Mann and Zemsky 2008, Nicholls 2009). The civil rights movement certainly tackled the specifics of housing and voting procedures, but the larger frame was around the nation’s need to live up to its promise of equal treatment. More recently, organizers working against gentrification in our major urban areas have shifted from the details of development to a more fundamental claim of a “right to the city,” effectively asserting the struggle of urban residents as one of securing a sense of belonging and identity in the context of a new global world (Leavitt, Samara, and Brady 2009).

Finding a unifying vision, a collective identity and common campaign can take years, even when the process starts with individuals and organizations that have a history of working together. And agreeing to work towards a common vision does not mean an end to internal conflict and tension around vision, goals and strategy, or a merging of organizations into a single and larger organization. What it does mean is that movement building is different than empire building – it is not about growing one’s own organization but about growing the infrastructure of organizations and the way they are networked together (Chetkovich and Kunreuther 2006, Mann and Zemsky 2009).

California Counts neatly fit this social movement element. It offered a unifying and simple frame: In a democracy, people should be counted. It was also clear that to be successful many organizations had to come together – and because it was so time-constrained and specific, there was no threat of one group subsuming another. Rather, this was an opportunity to create the type of networked ties critical to social movement infrastructure.

**An Engaged Constituency Base**

Successful movements require an organized and engaged constituency base that eventually sees itself as, and takes on the role of, change agents. Movement building is about building leadership from within the base that stays engaged over time. In the process of organizing, relationships – the “glue” or social capital – are built and sustained through the structures, strategy, and action provided by individuals, organizations, and alliances that emerge and may scale up from the local level (Nicholls 2009, DeFilippis et al 2010).

This differs from social change approaches driven by the belief that change is most effectively achieved through the arguments and advocacy of policy or legal experts (Roberts and King 1991, Minstrom 1997). This is not to diminish the role of such efforts but rather to argue that policy and legal expertise become more powerful when paired with an authentic base, when
coupled with those with “skin in the game.” And it is about not just engaging but stretching constituencies, not just about mobilizing people to a hearing but about lifting up the issues and solutions that emerge from the base and then transforming people’s awareness, knowledge and skills in the very process of developing and fighting for solutions (Pastor and Ortiz, 2009).

Again, California Counts lent itself well to this element. No amount of technical expertise in mapping or legal efforts to ensure a proper count could be successful without “boots on the ground” – that is, community members committed to the door-knocking, friend-calling, and plain persuasion that would ensure that those frightened about filling the form would, in the words of a famous advertisement, “just do it.” And as we describe in the following section, many organizations realized that this would be a portal to raising broader problems and solutions to many of the challenges facing California’s distressed (and thus hard-to-count) communities.

**Long-Term Commitment**

While social movement organizations wage campaigns to win changes in public policies, corporate practices, or government spending priorities, they are ultimately invested in moving the needle on underlying power dynamics and relations. Policy victories are essential building blocks to achieving long-term systemic change but are not sufficient to address the root causes of poverty, economic inequity, and social injustice.

The task of shifting the entire political terrain is enormous; and it requires a commitment to the long haul, as well as, a healthy dose of patience and pragmatic idealism. The capacities needed to achieve both policy changes and the larger-yet-slower social shifts include the ability to build long-term strategic alliances that span differences and distance, to communicate and move one’s base as well as the public at-large, and to analyze and wield power in systematic, strategic ways (Pastor and Ortiz 2009, Pastor, Benner, and Matsuoka 2009).

California Counts might seem at odds with a social movement frame because it was short-term, time-bracketed, and immediate. But this is exactly the fulcrum on which this assessment turns – movement-oriented organizations and their funders were thinking about the census work with regard to longer-term issues and broader strategic alliances. Not all were but we suggest that a critical mass was, and this created opportunities that may translate in social movement possibilities for the future.

**FROM CENSUS TO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: LESSONS FOR BUILDING NEW CAPACITIES**

California Counts provides important lessons for philanthropic strategies that can both bring organizations together around a short-term campaign and support alliance building for longer-term social change. How can an intentional grantmaking strategy to support joint action and short-term collaboration build capacities and plant the seeds for lasting impact? How can collaborations around one specific issue translate into other issues in the short term and into a broader social change agenda over the long term? And if a long-term goal is to
build alliances between organizations around a unified vision with strong connections to a base and a shared commitment to the long haul, what are the short- and mid-term indicators of progress?

We found that those who approached the work with a social movement orientation – Chinese for Affirmative Action in San Francisco, Inner City Struggle in East Los Angeles, the California Alliance, to name a few – strategically leveraged the census to strengthen existing capacities (build lists of contacts, train community leaders) or to test new ones (try out new phonebanking technology, deploy trilingual canvassing teams with new partners). Yet we also found that California Counts pushed some groups that do not usually base build – community clinics, cultural centers, and service providers – to pick up some new tools and practice new skills in direct community outreach.

Census 2010: Key Characteristics for Civic Engagement
There were three characteristics of the census that lent itself to be a good movement-building opportunity: a cross-cutting frame for bridging organizations across issues and sectors, grounding in communities of concern, and its timeliness.

Common Goal
California Counts brought together organizations through a shared goal. And because the census initiative goals were pre-defined, it circumvented the need for what is usually a long process of finding common ground and defining collective goals when trying to engage multiple organizations. The census message of “be counted” was a simple all-inclusive message that offered many entry points for organizations to be involved. Health providers, community development centers, advocacy organizations, organizing groups, and funders could make the connection. For some, the census was a civil rights issue; for others, it was an opportunity for civic engagement. Even organizations such as cultural centers that rarely step into the arena of politics and policy change could make the case for educating, promoting, and encouraging their client base to complete and return the census form.

Grounded in Community
A common interest in a community or population connected the organizations
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– and it was this connection in community that made them trusted and effective messengers. In addition, the skills and capacities to increase the census count are basically the same civic engagement skills and capacities needed for building a base of empowered individuals. From education and effective messaging to outreach and organizing volunteers, the activities to reach the hard-to-count populations are similar to those used by organizing groups to engage disenfranchised residents in policy, electoral or general community organizing efforts. For groups like Mobilize the Immigrant Vote, the census provided a good experiment in integrated voter engagement, or maintaining contact with voters in an ongoing, consistent way between election cycles.

**Timely and Time-limited**

California Counts was timely in that for civic engagement organizations, the March-April timeframe for census outreach fit well with the 2010 election cycle. Groups could use it to ramp up for the June primary and November general elections – test new relationships, experiment with technologies (automated phone dialing system, databases, texting), or train leaders to conduct outreach and education. And because it was time-limited and time-defined, census work allowed groups to “date” rather than “marry,” that is, to work with new organizations and unusual suspects in a relatively low-risk endeavor in which future commitments would be decided down the road. The time-limited nature of the census also lowered the risk for foundations – they could provide funding without making a long-term commitment to the issue.

**From Constituents to Change Agents: Capacities for Building an Engaged Base**

An organized and engaged constituency base is essential for a successful movement for change. While building a base of engaged individuals may start from immediate concerns stemming from shared experiences in their neighborhood, workplace or school, ultimately movement building is about building leadership that sustains participation over time as the issues – and systems – change. And building a base to scale increases an organization’s ability to make progress on its agenda and keep decision-makers accountable.

Based on our survey of foundations, the majority (70%) funded Census 2010 outreach because an accurate count would translate into more government funding to address issues of concern to both philanthropy and the distressed communities they often support – health, education, housing, job training, and other matters. So did it work? Harder+Co found that while overall census participation statewide was lower in 2010 than in 2000, it reported a much smaller decline in hard-to-count areas (Harder+Co 2011, 11). In short, the focused investment in the hard-to-count areas worked at insuring a more accurate count for those communities.

While the main foundation focus was on the count *per se*, a significant share of the respondents to our survey (60%) reported that they were also seeking ways to increase capacity for civic engagement, advocacy, and organizing. And this did work: In Southern California, for example, 33 percent of grantees believed their organizing activities improved

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* “The census was the perfect lead in [at the door] everyone was receptive to the census because everyone knew about the census.”
  - Njideka Obijiaku, Community Coalition
and 58 percent believed their outreach improved (Harder+Co. 2011, 21). This is not surprising given that many of the census strategies (phonebanking and door-to-door canvassing), skills (identifying target communities and developing a compelling message), and tools (tracking sheets and databases) are the same employed to engage residents in ongoing organizing efforts, grassroots policy campaigns, and electoral efforts.

Scaling Up a Constituency Base
Community organizing groups, such as Inner City Struggle in East Los Angeles and South Asian Network in Artesia to name a few, integrated Census 2010 outreach into their ongoing civic engagement program – which, for most, included a get-out-the-vote program for the November 2010 elections. By door knocking, canvassing, and phoning to educate people about the census, community organizing groups reported success in building out their contact lists from which they could recruit volunteers and members in their ongoing work. In some cases paid and in other cases on a volunteer basis, people were on the phones and going door-to-door three, four, and five days a week. Organizations reported an unprecedented level of scale in this outreach program. As some pointed out, unlike electoral or policy campaigns in which groups are often working against the tide of popular opinion and discourse, this was a campaign with a simple message: be counted. And as an organizer with the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) commented: “Having the government actually support your campaign was very helpful” – a first for many of the organizations.

Causa Justa::Just Cause expanded their universe of potential volunteers and members because rather than skipping doors to target voters as it does for electoral work, every door was knocked on for the census. Community Coalition (CoCo), based in South Los Angeles, conducted phone banks to engage households in hard-to-count neighborhoods – and ended up identifying about 1,000 residents interested in being part of its local campaign. Congregations Organized for Prophetic Engagement (COPE), which works with faith-based organizations, saw the census as a way to engage their congregations in a meaningful way. They worked with 22 volunteers who went door-to-door for three weeks in five neighborhoods in Riverside County and two in San Bernardino, expanding their visibility greatly.

The California Alliance coordinated two outreach campaigns in areas where it already had allies and anchor groups, including Los Angeles, Oakland, San Diego, and San Jose. Organizers there trained teams of people from target communities to make phone calls five days a week plus go door-to-door – starting with those neighborhoods with the highest concentration of hard-to-count populations. This was possible because of extensive phone banking operations in those areas. In emerging regions where there was not that infrastructure, people relied on door-to-door work. By the end of the census project, the California Alliance had contacted nearly 140,000 individuals in hard-to-count neighborhoods in eight counties – an unprecedented level of scale for the Alliance.

The funds and phone banking capacity (namely a predictive dialing system) that the California Alliance provided for groups like Inner City Struggle was critical in helping groups reach scale. The phone banking capacity is part of a statewide infrastructure for civic engagement that the Alliance is building – and this initiative was timely in providing an opportunity for some to test out the system and to see the possibilities for reaching scale.
And as it reported after the November 2010 general election, participating organizations reached over 170,000 occasional voters and of those identified almost 125,000 as supporters of its statewide policy agenda. And, most importantly, turnout among its identified supporters was eight percentage points higher than among all occasional voters. The turnout among young voters was about ten percentage points higher and the turnout of immigrants and people of color was about 15 percentage points higher than the statewide average (California Calls 2011).

Recognizing that engaging youth is especially critical for the future of the state, several organizations, including the Census Bureau, sought out specific ways to engage youth in census work. Young people, especially men ages 18 to 25, are among those less likely to return their census forms as well as are less likely to vote or be involved in civic organizations. Voto Latino developed a “Be Counted” census soundtrack and provided iTunes cards that were targeted for Latino youth. Visitors to the BeCountedRepresent.com website were asked to take a pledge to fill out the 2010 Census and were rewarded with an exclusive, 25-song Voto Latino soundtrack featuring platinum-selling and Grammy-winning artists such as Pitbull, Aventura, Los Tigres del Norte and Ozomatli. It distributed more than 30,000 iTunes cards in California to partner organizations, non-profits, schools, radio and television stations.

Scaling up a constituency base was not limited to organizing groups. For example, the Los Angeles Urban League (LAUL), an 89-year-old civil rights organization, canvassed 10,000 residents as part of its Neighborhoods That Work initiative which addresses safety, health, jobs, housing and educational outcomes. In Sacramento, Asian Resources, Inc. (ARI) was able to do more canvassing, to complement their regular service provision work. “We were given an opportunity to go out into the communities and develop stronger relationships with the residents in the area that have lasted even after,” said May Lee, Executive Director. The “even after” part is critical in converting a contact into greater civil engagement and participation.

Although a single campaign or issue will not, in and of itself, generate an army of change agents, we believe that significant and positive steps forward were made in engaging a broad base of constituents rooted in affected communities. Mainly, the census outreach effort allowed organizations to develop some hard skills in movement building; and it is to those skills—ability to identify, educate, and engage people—that we turn to in the next section.
Skilling Up Change Agents and Agencies

Established community organizing groups used the census to develop leaders. Contra Costa Interfaith Supporting Community Organization (CCISCO) developed census outreach programs explicitly to build grassroots capacity and leadership. It targeted 40 organizations that were in Richmond or had a constituency there; in turn, those organizations recruited volunteers, and engaged in a door-knocking campaign and coordinated several days of targeted canvassing in key census tracts. An Urban Strategies Council-trained community outreach team recruited members of the re-entry community to deliver the message and address the distrust that is prevalent in the community.

So through the census work, community leaders became more skilled at the work of organizing as well as talking about issues of concern to their neighbors. As in electoral or policy campaign efforts, organizers and community leaders answered questions and sought out verbal commitments from people to fill out the census questionnaire. Then they returned to those households to make sure they followed through on their commitment – in some cases talking to people two or three times over the course of their census program. And organizations used the opportunity to talk not only about the census but also about their ongoing work around immigrant rights, education, or housing. COPE engaged congregations from which they recruited walk teams who then went door-to-door in 5 neighborhoods in Riverside County and two in San Bernardino; in the trainings for canvassers, they integrated issues around healthcare and public education. South Los Angeles-based Community Coalition trained about 50 residents to talk about three different issues at the door: the history of tax and fiscal policy, the census, and the prison census.

Organizations, like cultural centers, that had never done direct community outreach canvassed door-to-door for the first time. In some cases, existing staff conducted the activities. In others, they used their grant funding to hire community residents to go door-to-door to educate their neighbors and disseminate materials. Some groups stretched beyond their own organizational culture. One cultural center reported in the grantee survey, “we were able to broaden what we offer to the community by helping to organize and outreach” into a new community.

And others learned the importance of a very specific skill set – media and communications. South Asian Network took a three-pronged approach – first a media campaign, followed by a door-knocking campaign in three neighborhoods of Artesia, Koreatown, and the South Bay, then supplemented with on-site canvassing at grocery stores and community events. They found that the media and communication blitz helped pave the way for conversations at the door. Because people had heard about them from the Public Service Announcement, they were able to have longer conversations at the doors – rather than being met by suspicion. This is consistent with what Harder+Co found: 50 percent of grantees believed their use of strategic communications improved as a result of the census work (Harder+Co. 2011, 21).

So while not the main goal of either the Census Bureau or some of the funders, the census effort provided an opportunity to increase the capacity of movement building organizations. As one interviewee said, it “set the ground in terms of both civic engagement...and also leadership development.” Outreach and media skills were either acquired or sharpened and members transformed into leaders through the process.
Smartening Up with Data and Maps

Research capacity is an important element of social movements. Through the census outreach, organizations were able to access and use mapping technology—skills that may translate outside of the count itself.

Integrating demographic data analysis and mapping technology into community outreach planning and coordination is a capacity that not many organizations have in-house. Healthy City was funded to develop and maintain a census-focused website that was available to all grantees in California as well as government agencies. Based on Healthy City’s count, 40 organizations used the Healthy City platform with results spanning a broad spectrum. Forty-two percent of Southern California grantees reported improvements in their use of data to inform activities (Harder+Co. 2011, 27).

On one end, organizations that already have a relatively sophisticated level of research and mapping capacity used the tool to make their outreach efforts more effective. The California Alliance and Right to the City Alliance mapped their organizing strengths in neighborhoods to make sure they were not duplicating efforts by covering the same areas. South Asian Network used the platform to create their own field work plans to target South Asian residents in Artesia, Koreatown and the South Bay in Los Angeles.

On the other end of the spectrum, there were organizations that did not access Healthy City because they lacked a basic understanding of how to use the mechanism. This does not mean that less technically sophisticated or experienced organizations lost out; in fact, two organizations without significant research capacity used the Healthy City platform not only to inform their census-related activities, but to better understand and organize their community.

One organization in the southern Central Valley noted in the grantee survey that “using the technology was one of the fastest ways to learn and understand some of the community that we were serving, something that we hardly used in the past.” And another reported in the survey that it used the Healthy City platform as a strategy for organizational base building. “Knowing how to use the data has helped us identify families in each tract and the hard to count area. We will use this data in the future in planning and developing programs for the agency.” For these organizations, the census effort increased their research capacity and community knowledge to be used for years to come.

While this was a once-in-a-decade effort for which it made sense to centralize the mapping capabilities in one organization, the point is that data skills useful to one purpose can be useful to another. Investing in a research infrastructure that can support a movement infrastructure is something often forgotten by funders—but the critical role of Healthy City in the census shows just how important this is. Such a research infrastructure for the longer haul would have multiple elements, many of which were not possible to support in this effort, given the tight timeline of the census such as: enhanced research capabilities within movement organizations, active efforts to engage and train community leaders on collecting,
using, and presenting data, and ties with academics who can add credibility and rigor to
cases being made for policy and social change.

From Silos to Solidarity: Capacities for Ongoing Collaboration

Building the vehicles and voices to target
the root causes of homelessness, high rates
of uninsured, and joblessness in the Golden
State will require connections between
communities that normally stand apart
and between organizations that are too
often in competition for limited resources –
a fragmenting, silo-effect that creates
“mini-movements.” Health-focused
organizations work predominantly with

others also interested in health. Immigrant rights groups wage campaigns alongside other
immigrant rights groups. But the “most effective movements are wide-ranging in their
constituencies and organizational types, bringing together not simply like groups with
common interests but diverse groups with common destinies” (Pastor and Ortiz 2009, 5). The
ability for organizations and communities to collaborate across race, place and issues is
critical for all movement building efforts.

The nature of California Counts gave organizations serving different populations an
opportunity to work together around a common vision and goal. In the grantee survey,
organizations responded at the highest rate that, in their work in general, they collaborate
with others working on the same issues – frequently collaborating across race/ethnicity and
approach to social change, such as service delivery, organizing, or advocacy. The lowest rates
of collaboration were across issues, i.e. immigration reform and health care reform. The
Census 2010 effort, however, brought together immigrant rights organizations, service
providers, civil rights groups, and others. In fact, Harder+Co found that 44 percent of the
grantees would call their work with others “collaboration” when referring to their closest
partner – as opposed to coordination (53 percent) or networking (3 percent) (Harder+Co.
2011, 18).

In this section, we attempt to describe a spectrum of outcomes from the census work that
demonstrate progress towards broader movement building collaboration. We start with the
outcomes that indicate the early phases of collaboration and end with examples that
illustrate more mature, strategic relationships. We found the most potential for ongoing
collaboration where 1) the partnerships were part of an organization’s strategic direction and
plan and 2) where the action was happening and coordination was critical – at the local
complete count committees.

Low-Risk Networking

As mentioned previously, collaboration is imperative to social movement organizing. But not
all collaborations have social movement potential. There are, after all, “thin” alliances about
particular issues and tasks – consider, for example, how conservative farmers and left-
leaning activists have both come together to support a change in the U.S. embargo against
Cuba, with one group seeing new markets and the other seeing new solidarities. If the
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embargo does lift, we are not likely to see these two groups find a new mutual cause – this is really the end of the collaborative line.

On the other end of the spectrum are “thick” alliances in which mutual interests are perceived and acted on. The new literature on organizing suggests that these can go beyond an interest frame and move on to a values frame, embracing not simply a group’s gains but also the way fundamental values are shared. Such alliances then become something deeper and more lasting – a commitment to common destiny and sometimes acting against one’s own immediate interests if you know it will further the well-being of an ally or the broader community (Chetkovich and Kunreuther 2006, Zemsky and Mann 2008).

But thick alliances start somewhere and we found signs that the funder-facilitated collaborations were effective in seeding new relationships. Around the Census 2010 table, some organizations were meeting for the first time. Participating in the statewide coordinating committee meetings, for example, at least put organizations on each other’s radar. As Mari Ryono of Mobilize the Immigrant Vote recalled, “it opened our eyes as to who we could be in relationship with in different ways that has cultivated our capacity and strategic thinking.”

Some grantees used census outreach to work with new groups also put some organizations in contact with others they had been wanting to get to know, but with whom they had been having trouble connecting. As one organizer shared, the organization was able to make in-roads with faith leaders – in-roads that are usually more difficult to make around issues, such as immigration, reproductive rights, on the road to justice. Having a shared experience creates the basis for a relationship that groups can now draw on for their own issues.

There is a tricky balance to strike. Funder-driven collaboratives often feel like forced marriages, and we have found that coalitions struggle when funders essentially require groups to work together (Pastor, Rosner, Benner, and Matsuoka 2009). In general, we think it makes sense to let collaborations grow organically – and have funders then support those that seem like they would persist even in the absence of significant support.

But the experience of California Counts suggests a middle path: do not force long-term collaborations through funding but play an active role in creating short-term and low-risk opportunities to network in common cause. This will require that funders shift their thinking and their expectations – and be absolutely attuned to which of the collaborations that emerge seem authentic and worthy of future funding.

Furthering Inter-Ethnic Collaboration

It is difficult to make much progress on anything in ethnic-specific silos. In California, that means crossing cultural/ethnic/racial lines, especially when organizing on matters of economic and social justice. California Counts brought together both individuals and organizations across ethnic lines. Some collaboration around the door-to-door work formed in order to merge capacities to build multi-lingual and multi-cultural outreach teams that would be reflective of the communities they were targeting. In Los Angeles, CHIRLA, which works primarily with Latino immigrants, coordinated with other immigrant communities, specifically Ethiopian and Korean, by partnering with an Ethiopian group and the Korean Resource Center. For one or two weekends, they walked Koreatown together and sent tri-
lingual teams of volunteer community members door-to-door. The benefits were not only the scale they were able to reach but the relationships between the members that formed while walking together or sharing lunch afterwards.

Through its census Public Service Announcement contest, the Los Angeles Urban League, an 89-year old civil rights organization, took steps to building bridges between the African American and Asian American communities with the hope to collaborate in the future. At a faith-based breakfast hosted by the City of Los Angeles’ mayor’s office, on the census, staff from the Los Angeles Urban League met Asian American communications expert Bill Imada and formed an informal partnership. Imada worked with students at Crenshaw High School in the design and production of their PSAs. He brought in others, including some from his firm IW Group, to provide feedback and direction. The Urban League hopes to build on this budding relationship in order to bring together Asian American with African American youth.

The big lesson here is that the Census 2010 effort brought together people across racial/ethnic lines to work toward a complete count. Most importantly, it was not the top leadership – grassroots members worked together. The literature suggests that coalition building that focuses only on tactical decisions without attention to some of the tough issues that typically divide communities, can shortstop the collaboration. Regalado (1994) found this to be particularly true for the coalitions after the 1992 LA riots. Warren (2001) found that for the IAF, trust between members was built because of cross-racial dialogues. Kurtz (2002) broadened this analysis to include all kinds of identities, finding that understanding the “intersectional” identities of their constituents could lead to a revitalized movement for workplace justice. Organizations participating in the census effort may have such dialogues on their horizon.

Solidarity and Strategic Collaboration

Coming together is a process of building trust, one organization at a time. Organizations work together in a variety of ways, including through thin, thick, and transformative coalitions. As noted earlier, thin coalitions are fleeting, issue specific, sporadic; thick coalitions are sustained, usually by a common interest and repeated interaction; transformative coalitions are built around a common interest but have a broader sense of common destiny (Pastor, 2010). The Census 2010 initiative revealed that organizations were in various places along this continuum, but that the census effort moved them more towards transformative coalitions, which are the building blocks of movements.

While dialogue is critical to building trusting relationships and strategic alliances, dialogue alone is not sufficient. Rather, it is through actual joint work and creating shared experiences—rolling up your sleeves to work on a shared goal—that partnerships become cemented. For example, some of the most promising relationships – of those between new and unusual partners – appear to have formed through the Complete Count Committees.
Beyond the Count

“The most effective movements are wide-ranging in their constituencies and organizational types, bringing together not simply like groups with common interests but diverse groups with common destinies. ... This requires building relationships and engaging in networks beyond an organization’s immediate constituencies.”

-Manuel Pastor and Rhonda Ortiz (2009)

These formations included a diverse set of stakeholders, met on a regular basis, and were focused on joint planning and coordination. Long Beach-based United Cambodian Community formed a Cambodian Complete Count Committee which provided an effective vehicle for bringing together organizations that, even though they are based in the same neighborhoods, often do not step back from the day-to-day work to learn about each other’s organizations, sectors, or cultures. At the time of the interview, UCC and its census partners were exploring the possibility of forming quarterly or biyearly meetings as a way to stay connected (Chavarria 2010, author interview).

Through its work on the Central American Complete Count Committee, CARECEN developed new relationships and through the census work, met every week to coordinate and plan activities to target indigenous communities, youth, and new immigrants. As of the interview, leaders were getting ready to move from introductions to solidarity; the group was planning a solidarity event to bring together different leaders to a dinner as a next step in future collaborations.

In San Francisco, the “Yes, We Count” coalition was formed with the expectation that it would be a launching place for further work. The coalition held several follow-up meetings to see what campaigns each organization was working on and how to “complement and maybe supplement each other’s movements” (Yeung 2010, author interview). Indeed, according to one interviewee, more than half of the “Yes, We Count” coalition members became part of an ongoing civic engagement coalition, San Francisco Rising.

Sometimes, this strategic collaboration took the form of more experienced organizations helping others to expand their civic engagement capacity. At the time of the interviews, CHIRLA in Los Angeles had begun providing campaign development and electoral engagement assistance to a newly-formed group of Ethiopian immigrants that came together around the census. API Count was interested in continuing with a capacity building model, which is particularly important because not “enough of us are looking at the infrastructure of our smaller community-based organizations” (Sharma 2010, author interview). In these cases, the census work provided funding and a common project through which to develop strong relationships, and these relationships are creating the foundation for more strategic collaboration and inter-organizational capacity building.

THE POT AND THE KETTLE: THE FUNDERS’ STORY

The Census 2010 effort shows how a short-term initiative can contribute towards larger goals of building a movement for equity. Through the census initiative, a statewide network of organizations was supported to reach out to hard-to-count constituencies – and movement capacities were nurtured as we described in the two previous sections.
Funders, we have stressed, played an important role in this effort. But perhaps unusually, they also modeled what they were looking for: they collaborated extensively, they relied on a trusted intermediary, and many were trying to make the connection between their short-term campaign and their long-term vision. In this section, we draw out lessons from California Counts that can inform strategic discussions regarding how foundations – irrespective of their areas of focus or strategic approach – can work together to implement specific issue campaigns and advance statewide movements for social justice and community empowerment.

Developing a Strategy

How did the foundations stick together to enable their grantees to do the same? Although foundations often seek to encourage grantees to work together, it is not often that foundations themselves collaborate, particularly with the short planning timeline of the census project. When funders do collaborate, it usually takes one of three forms: 1) a learning network, 2) a strategic alignment network, or 3) a pooled fund. A learning network is the least formal, usually an exploratory formation that may result in a strategic alignment network or pooled fund. Funders in a strategic alignment network share a common mission and engage in joint strategy and activities, but each participating foundation maintains its independence and autonomy in grantmaking. A pooled fund is the most formalized collaboration in which funders contribute to a common “pot” of money that is managed on a day-to-day basis by one organization or staff (Gibson and Mackinnon 2009).

California Counts is an example of a strategic alignment network that evolved out of an existing collaboration, namely the California Immigrant Integration Initiative (CIII), hosted by GCIR. As described earlier, a core group of funders, led by TCE and the Haas Jr. Fund, worked in concert with GCIR to develop an overarching strategy that was captured in its guide California Counts: A Funders’ Guide to the 2010 Census (GCIR 2009). Specifically, the guide provided a range of options and multiple entry points for how a foundation could participate in the census with whatever resources it had. As a result, foundations were able to develop a tailored set of activities and grantmaking priorities based on their institutional interests and capacity, knowing that they would align with a broader set of shared goals.

By collaborating together, funders were able to see how their investments could be leveraged for greater reach and impact and how duplication could be minimized thus enabling resources to be more strategically deployed. One other factor bolstered foundations’ willingness to invest: The time-limited nature of the census project meant that there was a pre-defined “exit strategy,” so the foundations did not need to be concerned about maintaining this level of commitment and like the community organizations, knew there was a quick way out if the collaboration did not work.
These factors all enabled the census project to exceed expectations in terms of the number of foundations that participated and the amount of resources raised. All told, 17 foundations invested a range of $5,000 to $4 million to support census outreach efforts—with a majority of foundations reporting that they increased their level of giving as a result of the collaboration. After all, it is easier to make the case for the impact a relatively small investment can make when it is tied to a statewide coordinated effort that leverages nine million dollars than if it were a stand-alone grant.

Most individual grants were small – less than $25,000 – with many under $10,000 that helped pay for an outreach worker or two. At the same time, the larger statewide foundations were able to make grants of several hundred thousand to support statewide groups. Moreover, by collaborating and operating under an overarching strategy, statewide funders were able to support communities where there was not a strong local philanthropic presence. The majority of foundations, especially the large foundations, are in Los Angeles and the Bay Area. As one statewide funder said, “We worked together to identify all the nooks and crannies in California. Then we gave additional money to our grantees to enable them to reach communities that otherwise would have been uncovered.”

The California Endowment, for example, funded the anchor organizations (excluding MALDEF), GCIR, and prioritized grantmaking in regions that have fewer philanthropic resources but were high-need, such as Contra Costa and Alameda in the Bay Area, Fresno, Riverside and San Bernardino counties. Meanwhile, community foundations in San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Los Angeles and the Silicon Valley focused on groups in their target geography. Other funders supported outreach to particular populations of concern. With the multiple points of entry, “no one had to give up their identity or specific goals,” said one program officer.

While it is important to acknowledge the success of the philanthropic collaboration, many small local or regional funders, particularly in communities outside of the Bay Area and Los Angeles, chose not to participate; in light of the economic downturn, other issues were higher priority. Moreover, several foundations outside of Los Angeles and the Bay Area that did participate reported that they did not experience the same level of collaboration and involvement, and felt somewhat isolated from the core group. One small community foundation believes that earlier and more aggressive outreach could have brought additional funders into the effort.

Connecting the Foundations
GCIR was instrumental to the success of the funder collaborative. As a funder intermediary, it brokered its relationships with funders, using its network to attract additional philanthropic partners. It also facilitated information sharing among the foundations, including grantmaking applications and evaluation and reporting templates to streamline documentation for grantees. As one grantee noted, “We liked the efficiencies that [the coordination of funds] created in organizations because the folks supporting us were doing coordinating work as well.” And, perhaps most importantly, GCIR retained an expert consultant to provide foundations with logistical and technical assistance, as well as to interface with Census Bureau officials.
Beyond the Count

The GCIR-facilitated collaboration, in effect, lowered the threshold for foundations to participate both in terms of the level of knowledge and expertise needed, as well as the level of resources to invest. For such a short-term, once-every-ten-years type of effort like this, it is not necessarily in any one organization’s ability to invest the time and resources to develop a census outreach initiative from scratch. With a funding strategy in hand, as well as technical assistance support – both provided by GCIR – foundations who were not previously aware of or involved with the census were able to quickly turnaround grants and contribute to the overall effort. Without this structure, it would have been difficult, if not prohibitive, for smaller foundations with limited staffing capacity to learn about and understand the issues and needs. By centralizing resources and knowledge, more philanthropic partners found it possible to get involved.

GCIR was well-positioned to play this role because it had been facilitating a group of funders to work together on immigrant integration issues for several years prior to the census. Through this effort, funders with disparate issues and interests came to know each other and built a foundation that enabled them to move quickly into action when the census emerged as an issue. In addition, GCIR had the capacity to do the research and provide technical assistance to others and could navigate effectively between diverse players.

Funder collaborations on the census also happened at the local level, and GCIR supported local and regional leadership. The collaboration in San Francisco became a hybrid between a strategic alignment network and a pooled fund. The San Francisco Foundation facilitated collaboration among local funders, including Gerbode Foundation, Akonadi, Asian Pacific Fund, and Mitchell Kapor. It worked with GCIR to engage interested funders, and its decision to open up its RFP process to other funders – thereby making it easier for other funders to participate and align its grantmaking – was key to recruiting and facilitating the collaborative efforts. These funders served on each other’s grant review processes and collectively decided which organizations to fund. One unique aspect of the Bay Area collaboration is the inclusion of the City and County of San Francisco which had made $300,000 available for community grants (Crews 2010).

Balancing Grantee-defined and Funder-defined Activities

Building a strong movement for change requires organizations to break out of the silos of their own mission, issues, and agendas and to be willing to network with others. Foundations can be instrumental in overcoming silos. Yet, it is a delicate balancing act between being too prescriptive, or “funder-driven,” and forcing collaborations either prematurely or where there is not a good fit, and being too hands off, or “grantee-driven,” so as not to challenge groups to step beyond their comfort zones. For the purposes of this report, we use the term “funder-facilitated” to describe the balance between the two approaches.

In California Counts, there was a mix of funder-driven, grantee-driven, and funder-facilitated collaborations. We categorize the statewide-local connection as funder-driven because TCE required grantees in each of the 10 counties to name at least one of the pre-

“The funder did a good job having vision and leadership but also not having such a strong agenda that folks felt like they would have decreased investment.”

-Staff from a grantee organization
identified anchor organizations that they would work with in carrying out their census plans. Funders decided which organizations to fund as a statewide infrastructure and required collaboration with those organizations. The instances of grantee-driven collaborations include anchors re-granting to partners that they had full autonomy in choosing and groups forming or joining census complete count committees, as just two common examples. We classify the statewide and regional coordinating committees and convenings as funder-facilitated collaborations. TCE facilitated the formation of a statewide coordinating committee but then handed it off to the Healthy City project to manage. As the census work ramped up, fewer organizations participated in the statewide coordinating committee so Healthy City switched gears and facilitated regional coordinating calls, using its data to inform strategy.

It is important to note that these definitions are for analytical purposes and that it can be hard to distinguish in practice. Is a convening that grantees feel compelled to attend (because it is hosted by their funder) funder-facilitated or funder-driven? The key point is that there are lessons to be learned from TCE’s push for groups to define their roles and coordinate as part of an overall strategy rather than funding organizations for a set of uncoordinated activities.

There is a wide range of opinions about how “hands on” foundations should be with grantees, and that was reflected in the way they carried out their census work. To the extent that grantees expressed a preference, they seemed to feel that some involvement was useful, but not so much so as to be overly prescriptive and inflexible. Many grantees reported that they appreciate it most when their funder shows them trust and respect by allowing them to figure out what is the best program or approach for their particular situation or community.

In particular, many grantees said that it was very helpful for funders to facilitate connections to other groups working on the census. One grantee said, “the foundation really helped us grow our relations with its network of anchor organizations. These are people and groups that I had very much respected and known for many years, but hadn’t really worked with closely until this project.” Moreover, knowing the foundations’ overall plans and goals enabled grantees to feel a part of the overall strategy and goals, such as building a long-term civic and advocacy infrastructure.

At the same time, the foundations left the specifics of how best to collaborate to the grantees themselves. As one advocate said, “funders essentially convened folks but then stepped out of the room – literally – and allowed the groups to self-direct.”

Several foundations specifically sought to promote relationship building between statewide and local grantees through grant requirements and active engagement with grantees—with mixed results. While there seems to have been relatively good coordination between state and local organizations in the Bay Area and Los Angeles, where there were some pre-existing relationships, that was not true throughout the state, where it was more difficult to gain the active engagement of the statewide organizations and build new relationships.

In order to facilitate more connectivity, several local and regional funders hosted convenings and other mechanisms to bring groups together. Even where the state-local relationships may not have been as strong as they could be, the local convenings were successful in
facilitating more coordination among local grantees. In San Joaquin and Santa Clara counties, the Sierra Health Foundation and the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, respectively, hosted convenings and facilitated relationships.

In San Diego, the Foundation for Change hosted convenings and focus groups to promote networking and collaboration over the course of the census initiative, including a post-census convening in which organizations and leaders could explore next steps. More than that, it saw the census as an organizing opportunity. It raised funds from eight foundations and local charities and re-granted to 21 organizations in five networks. It facilitated trainings and technical assistance with the goal of engaging and mobilizing a broad range of trusted community leaders to conduct census outreach to the immigrant, refugee and border communities (Fanestil 2010).

In Los Angeles, the California Community Foundation (CCF) convened a census task force—in essence, hosted a common table—which included public sector (city, county and the Census Bureau), grantees and other non-profits. The task force monitored progress on a weekly basis and held back a portion of their funding commitment in order to support the “non-response follow up” in the aftermath of the census mail-in deadline. It re-directed resources during a 10-day push in areas with the lowest participation rates, in Long Beach and the southeast part of the County. The CCF was the only foundation to have provided additional resources in this way, and many considered it a successful strategy.

Not all grantees, however, felt that funders did enough to foster coordination and collaboration. Grantees outside of Los Angeles and the Bay Area, in particular, reported more difficulty connecting to others in their region and, especially, with statewide groups. “We were under the impression there would be greater technical assistance and coordination, but we really had to find those things in our own way,” said one non-profit from the Inland Empire. One local funder concurred, saying that, in retrospect, she would have liked to bring grantees together earlier in the process to help forge relationships.

Moving Forward
The collaboration enabled a wide variety of funders to participate and accomplish their individual goals while also helping to advance movement building. It was not essential that

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1 “Counting on Change in San Diego: Building Networks in Immigrant, Border, and Refugee Communities through 2010 Census Outreach.”
all funders embrace a social movement lens to make a contribution. It was essential, however, to have an overall strategy which provided multiple entry points for funders with a variety of interests as well as technical support for foundations to integrate their grantmaking into the strategy. Funders who were interested in movement building were able to bring that framework to their efforts – hosting convenings, strategically connecting state and local groups, providing the space and means for building relationships and supporting groups to build movement capacities while carrying out their census activities. This intentionality helped leverage the census for social movement organizing.

There are upcoming opportunities to apply these lessons. With regard to the foundations, GCIR, is proposing a citizenship initiative as a next step to the California Immigrant Integration Initiative, and is modeling the approach on the 2010 Census project. That is, GCIR will provide the forum and means of collaborating, particularly at the local level, on an overall strategy, with the understanding that the strategy allows room for individual funders to pursue projects most aligned with their philosophy, experience and geography. GCIR will also provide leadership in raising philanthropic investments and connecting local, state and national funders together.

Separately, but related, a group of about 10 funders has been exploring the development of a targeted civic participation effort in four California counties where the demographics have shifted significantly over the last couple of decades – San Diego, Orange County, Riverside and San Bernardino Counties. The interested funders have taken joint site visits and are developing a strategy together to increase civic engagement. This approach of joint learning is in marked contrast to many funding collaboratives, which are often driven by the agendas of one or a small handful of foundations.

**Recommendations for Building New Capacities for a Better California**

The question remains: How can the promise of the census investments be realized? The answer lies in seeing the census project as part of a long-term effort to build a better California. Such broad-based change will not happen one issue campaign at a time, if individual policy or issue campaigns are disconnected from previous ones and not informing the next. Rather, foundations, civic leaders, non-profits, and movement builders must understand the interconnectedness of issues, organizations, and communities to advance social change – and more specifically strategize how particular campaign efforts can contribute to the broader task of creating movements that can link these issues, groups and communities.

Whether a foundation or non-profit’s goal is to achieve immigration reform, improve educational outcomes, or increase access to quality health care, infusing movement building goals into an issue-specific initiative may actually lead to greater short-term success while also tilling the field for longer-term gains. Funders and non-profits alike should not look at movement building as an “either/or” proposition—that is, a choice between working on an issue campaign or investing in movement building. Rather, it is a “both/and” proposition.
Approaching other projects or campaigns in a similar way could help advance short-term work while building lasting movement capacities. With that in mind—and building off our top ten list of effective movements—we offer ten recommendations for how to incorporate a social movement framework in a short-term initiative or campaign. Speaking to both funders and grantees, the recommendations are structured to answer three simple questions: What is the campaign? Who should be involved? How should it be implemented?

The first three recommendations are steps in figuring out the “what” of a campaign or issue:

1. **Be open to opportunity**

Part of what made California Counts a possibility, let alone a success, was the openness on the parts of both funders and grantees to take on the work. No California funder had identified Census 2010 as a funding area and, with limited exceptions, many grantees made last-minute adjustments to incorporate the census into their work.

Outcomes are often influenced by external opportunities, which are sometimes anticipated and often times not. But more important is the ability to recognize and act on opportunities as they arise. The ability to be flexible and nimble is much easier said than done. Organizations have to meet grant objectives and deliverables, and thus may be hesitant to change course or take on new work, especially when there are no or limited funds attached to the work.

Funders can remain open to how new issues may connect to their core areas of focus when there is an overarching need at stake. Moreover, by providing general operating support or otherwise build in some degree of flexibility into grants, they can enable grantees to be responsive to opportunities.

2. **Assess the issue**

The issue or campaign should resonate and have relevance with the target population and its organizations. Especially at a time when there are limited resources, there should be sufficient momentum so that working at the edges can have a large impact. The fact that there was a significant amount of census-related
activity already in progress meant that funders and non-profits were able to build on that energy rather than starting from scratch.

For garnering more philanthropic resources, the potential issue should also resonate with a range of funders, irrespective of their individual areas of focus. It should also be clear how victory in one issue area can be leveraged to create bigger and more significant change. An example is the Living Wage – the campaign to secure this in Los Angeles helped secure the labor-community alliances that eventually led to Community Benefits Agreements at the Staples Center and the Los Angeles International Airport, and those in turn created the possibilities for a ports campaign to clean up local air pollution, improve wages in trucking, and facilitate employment growth in logistics.

While understanding the sequencing of issues is important, it is also critical to analyze the timing and timeliness of any particular campaign. In the case of the census, the time period of activity was sandwiched between two election cycles which allowed it to fall nicely within an arc of activity (though it made for a very busy year for organizers). The timeliness was also related to the sense of urgency that was critical for engaging the range of funders and organizations, even those who were not initially focused on the census.

3. Develop an inclusive and unifying frame

If an issue has merit as an organizing issue (people are willing to take a stand and get involved), it should also have an overarching goal that is broadly inclusive and interconnected so that it can connect to a variety of organizations. Funders and organizations alike should be able to see how the issue or campaign fits with their organizational mission, agenda, and strategy. Specific outreach to funders to help them relate their priorities to the issue may be needed so they can make a connection and find an entry point.

For organizations, the need for a unifying frame was reinforced at the September 2010 convening on the census that PERE and TCE held. Participants, who came from a wide variety of organizations, identified several priority issues – redistricting, budget, and citizenship– that held promise for being the “next” issue around which diverse organizations can come together. However, it became clear that an important consideration was to be able to first agree on an overarching frame that can unify diverse agendas. One break-out group at the convening, for example, suggested “Putting Community Needs at the Center” as the unifying vision, after which participants then felt more able to prioritize specific issues.
Movements are anchored by a vision that is broader than any one organization’s issues, whether it is housing, education, or health. But the ability to advance a broad vision requires the capacity to shift from thinking within the box of one’s own organization to seeing one’s organizational box within a larger movement. This shift can take years – even among friends. But just because it takes time does not mean it should not be done; rather, funders can help support the conversations, particularly after the immediate work is done, to see how a targeted campaign (like increasing the count) can be more intentionally translated into a foundation for long-term change.

Once the “what” is determined, recommendations 4 through 6 are aimed at figuring out who, that is, which players should be brought to the table:

4. Incorporate movement and issue groups

Bridging a short-term issue campaign with long-term movement building requires the coming together of two groups: 1) those that are primarily focused on the issue or bring specific technical expertise, and 2) movement building groups who need to align with individual issue campaigns to broaden their reach. While it is often tempting for foundations to focus on the issue experts – after all, they are experts – the beauty of the census was that nothing could get done without actually activating the creative energies of those organizing on the ground. And it is the “sweet spot” of blending the two sets of actors that funders should be actively seeking for future efforts.

In the case of California Counts, NALEO was the “issue” expert that brought its national ¡HAGASE CONTAR! campaign resources to the table. Building on its efforts in the 2000 census, it developed educational materials, ran a national campaign, and had relationships and in-roads directly to the Census Bureau. For groups for whom it did not make sense to develop long-term relationships with the Census Bureau, they did not have to learn how to navigate the bureau or develop their own educational material, for instance.

All of this supported the grassroots organizing we have described. Funders helped by often pro-actively seeking out movement-oriented organizations who might not have otherwise been engaged; Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE), for example, would probably have not taken on the census had its program officer not actively sought out its involvement. The experience suggests that funders can facilitate this bridging by bringing together foundations – local, regional and statewide – that fund specific issue areas and with the smaller group of funders who have been working with a social movement frame and support social movement organizations.

5. Identify and support intermediaries

Working in collaboration can maximize and make efficient use of limited resources. For example, for organizations working in the same region, dividing up canvassing neighborhoods minimized the duplication of census count efforts. But working in coordination – bringing in new partners and even simply scheduling between
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There’s a general interest in collaboration around a more united grassroots voice around key public policy issues. California’s problems are so big, none of us have the one silver bullet strategy.”

-Mari Ryono, Mobilize the Immigrant Vote

multiple people – also requires time and resources. These intermediary functions are critical and should be funded – whether it means recruiting a third-party for the sole purpose of coordinating and centralizing efforts (like Healthy City did for the state coordinating committee) or funding an existing anchor to take on their functions.

In organizing the philanthropic partners, the intermediary role that GCIR played in centralizing knowledge, the strategy, tools, and consultant services was critical in lowering the threshold for new funders to step into the issue. Philanthropic affinity groups, like GCIR, are well-suited to this role, since they have relationships with a vast array of funders and have the collaboration and facilitation skills to carry it off. Foundations must invest in these functions for both the short-term success of the campaign as well as for building relationships and capacity for the long term.

There are similar intermediary-types of roles that community organizations play within their own sector, community or issue. Where the most success occurred was where organizations already had existing relationships that could anchor the work while bringing in new organizations. For example, the California Alliance regranted to organizations, like COPE and Time for Change, with whom it already had an existing relationship and commitment to working together.

6. Build and bridge regions

While having anchors and intermediaries that can coordinate and scale up reach to the state-level is important, they are only as effective as their local and regional partners. For example, the Bay Area and Los Angeles are two major population centers with the highest concentrations of foundations and organizations. But changing public policy over the long term will require the active engagement of the fastest growing regions of the state as well, such as the Inland Valley, the Central Valley, and San Diego, among others.

Although it is easy for us to say, we do not think that building regionally is an “either/or” investment but a “both/and” endeavor. Although well-resourced in comparison to the Central Valley and Central Coast of California, investments in the Bay Area and Los Angeles are still needed to strengthen and scale up already-established organizations as well as to nurture small and newly-formed organizations. In emerging regions, investments are critical to building strong local institutions and connecting them to like-organizations in other regions to become active participants at the state level.

For funders, it can be tempting when time is short to focus on the relatively well-resourced areas of Los Angeles and the Bay Area. But there may be big gains to paying attention to emerging regions – and to community foundations that may be
isolated from statewide strategies and discussions. Naturalization rates in the Central Valley and the Inland Empire are, for example, much lower than in Los Angeles and the Bay; helping those areas accelerate the path to citizenship for immigrants could have long-lasting impacts on services and political tone in those areas. Similarly, anchor organizations and trusted leaders in coastal California can use a campaign to bring in new partners in emerging regions for the short term and build relationships for the long term. It is important to note that collaborations will look differently in these areas. Regional capacities differ so the constellation of players, strategies, and outcomes may differ.

With the what and the who determined, the big question is how. To answer this, our last four recommendations are dedicated to this issue:

7. **Facilitate – not dictate - collaboration**

A movement frame means approaching collaboration on short-term projects as an opportunity to build and strengthen long-term working relationships – a critical element of social movement building.

However, with short timelines, organizations struggle with planning and relationship building, and being able to get the work done. Sometimes, funders can compound the challenge by requiring too much coordination among grantees without adequate time or resources.

Funder-facilitated coordination seems to strike the appropriate balance, particularly when time is tight, to bring disparate groups together without dictating partnerships. Specific strategies include convenings and conference calls to share information, identify gaps and recalibrate strategies.

8. **Fund civic engagement**

Building an organized and engaged base of constituencies is at the heart of a movement. Transforming a client into a constituent and agent for change may not seem important to a health care or community center (or their funders). Building the capacities of grassroots leaders to speak and advocate may seem less critical than improving the capacity of staff to deliver services. And since some funders may perceive organizing as too threatening or oppositional, perhaps all this social movement stuff – so colorful, so controversial, so confrontational – can just be put to one side.

We think not – community organizing and social movements have been critical to achieving civil rights, environmental protection, and worker well-being, among many other things. But we also understand that every journey begins with a set of steps – and just as the census was an entry point for many organizations to look to collaborate, the census was a starting place for some foundations as well. It was, after all, quite non-threatening – heck, it was supported by the government! – but it required investing in the same skills necessary for organizing and building a movement for change.
Creating opportunities to fund civic engagement is therefore important. In doing this, both lead foundations and the community organizations with whom they work should be aware of how best to communicate to funders new to the field what impacts capacity building in campaign-specific activities is having. This involves measurements and assessments, an issue to which we return below – but the key point here is that philanthropy should understand that civic engagement is not just naturalization and voting but also the sort of active organizing and community pressure that can cause policy change.

9. Skill up efforts

Communications and data / mapping skills are becoming increasingly critical in civic engagement and social change efforts. California Counts brought in external partners – ethnic media organizations New America Media and Radio Bilingue and Healthy City for centralized data and mapping functions – to bolster local, on-the-ground campaigns. Future efforts to build these and other organizations with specific research, policy, and communications capacity are important.

While organizations with specialized skills, like media messaging and database management, are helpful, so is building the in-house capacity of community-based organizations. Such organizations are best positioned to know what images and messages will resonate with their community and move constituents to action. Moreover, a movement that can persist over time will need to have internal capacities to be able to either do their own research or make best use of research provided to them.

While training was not a big part of the census effort, primarily because of the time constraints, it should be an important part of future efforts to utilize campaigns to build movement capacity. In this arena, training intermediaries could help as could larger anchor community organizations, university think tanks, and others. The point here: see everything as a learning opportunity.

10. Evaluate movement building

It is key to learn from what just took place. There is a growing body of literature, tools and methods for evaluating policy and advocacy campaigns. They stress the importance of taking a long view, identifying interim benchmarks that can indicate
progress, and using evaluation as a means to reflect and learn in real-time. However, they are often focused on the specific strategies and tactics to change public policy and do not sufficiently recognize the other essential elements of movement building.

A movement framework for evaluation would include benchmarks, for example, as to whether an overarching and interconnected frame was developed that sustains, whether both “movement” and “issue” organizations were brought together during the campaign, and whether civic engagement and other movement capacities were supported and enhanced. Also important is a realistic assessment of what can be accomplished during the course of the campaign and how progress fits into the “stage” of the movement.

For organizations, this means using metrics to promote internal reflection and learning about their strengths and gaps to help them refresh strategies for the long term. For funders, this means focusing their evaluations on whether their policy or issue campaign efforts are, indeed, contributing to building a broader movement for change and not just on the specific outcomes of the campaign. This, of course, is exactly what this report seeks to do – coupled together with the Harder+Co work on the more immediate outcomes, provide a big picture of what lasting changes may emerge from the specific investments in California Counts.
CONCLUSION

California has no shortage of challenges. As of August 2001, the state’s unemployment rate was the second highest in the country. A wide swath of middle-class wealth has been eroded by a real estate crash and foreclosure crisis. A strained state budget has been “balanced” by sharp cuts in public spending, many of which threaten the long-term viability of the state. Meanwhile, public confidence that we can turn things around is on the wane.

It will be a long haul to restore the luster of the Golden State. It will require new policies, new strategies, and new collaborations. It will require that Californians regain their faith in both their government and their own power to change things for the better. And it will require new forms of decision making in which the needs of every sector of the state – from rich to poor, from old to young, from urban Los Angeles to the rural Sierras – are considered and in which every voice counts.

We often proudly proclaim that our system is “one person, one vote” but many are disenfranchised and even more are disillusioned. Officials are elected and initiatives are passed by a minority of registered voters, with other residents and communities serving as bystanders (and sometimes victims) of the process. But the census is among the most democratic of our institutions: in the once-a-decade count, everyone is important and everyone is equal –

Recommendations for the 2020 Census

Although our main lessons relate to how to bring a movement lens to a campaign issue, we also gained what we hope are useful insights about the census itself and how to prepare for the next one.

• Start Early. The Funders’ Committee on Civic Participation – a national funders’ collaborative -- recommends beginning conversations in 2016, fully four years before the 2020 Census will take place. Planning meetings among core funders should focus on identifying resources, identifying potential grantees, determining who and how funders will coordinate and ensuring the philanthropic community has staff resources dedicated to the effort. Similarly, CBOs, especially lead statewide or national organizations, should begin planning efforts early with their funders and the Census Bureau.

• Stay engaged with the Census Bureau. Although the main focus of the Census Bureau is conducting the decennial census, it is involved in many activities during the intervening years to analyze the data, make it available to the public and help organizations use it for a variety of purposes. For example, the Census Bureau will train community organizations on how to use and analyze census data, such as for grant writing, free of charge. Moreover, the annual American Community Survey and other Census data could be mined for a variety of foundation and nonprofit purposes. Maintaining or building new relationships among foundation leaders, Census Bureau and community organizations early will enable a more coordinated response.

• Participate in the local Complete Count Committees. Funders should support grantees to participate in the local Complete Count Committees. These committees facilitated the most cross-sector coordination and collaboration and offer an inclusive “table” for organizations to come together around.

• Plan for activities in the “Non-Response Follow Up Stage.” By holding back a portion of funding, the California Community Foundation was able to analyze the data from the mail-in phase and direct resources to areas where canvassing and a high degree of follow up was needed. Building in a staged approach from the beginning would enable foundations and community groups to prepare for, and readjust activities, as necessary.

• Engage with GCIR to develop a coordinated and overarching strategy, building on the 2010 work. Given the turnover in foundation staff, GCIR could take on the responsibility for being the repository of institutional memory so that California funders do not “reinvent the wheel,” as they needed to do in 2010.
Beyond the Count

and getting where they live right is written right into our Constitution.

Of course, not everyone makes it even in the census. Those that are “hard to count” are often the same as those who are “unlikely to vote” or otherwise participate in our civic processes – the homeless, immigrants, ex-offenders, and others hard-hit by the ravages of economic distress. And the efforts to make sure that they get into the official count involve exactly the same sets of skills that can repair our ailing political system.

In California Counts, a range of foundations collaborated around a seemingly straightforward goal: improve the count and ensure that Californians would get their fair share of political power and federal resources. A wide range of non-profits were actually key to getting the initiative going, having noted that the shortfall in state coffers was likely to limit the efforts of the public sector to reach the hard-to-reach. And a set of strategic networks among both the funders and the non-profits eventually became a widespread attempt that managed to close the gap between the overall state population and those traditionally left out of the count.

The effort proved to be successful in reducing the difference in participation rates between the so-called “hard to count” areas and the rest of California. It created new acquaintances and new partnerships, with groups stretching across the lines of race, ethnicity, issue focus and geography to ensure that as many Californians as possible filled out their forms. It also introduced many organizations to key intermediaries, such as Healthy City and California Calls, and it represented an extraordinary moment in which foundations modeled what they often call upon their grantees to do: collaborate, align efforts, and maximize impact.

But there were also achievements beyond the count. Many organizations saw the census as more than an immediate opportunity and practiced new outreach strategies, lifted up other issues of concern to key constituencies, and laid the groundwork for new alliances. Some funders saw the possibilities as well and encouraged organizations to keep their eyes on the real prize: a broader social movement that could ensure that every California would count not just in the census but in the decision-making around resources and public policy that takes place in both Sacramento and Washington.

This notion of seeing how short-term strategies could lead to lasting changes in civic engagement – that is, eschewing the “either/or” proposition that pits issues organizing against movement building – is useful for other areas of philanthropy. Sequencing and coordination of steps requires forethought and funders could and should think through how research, public education, organizing, communications and advocacy can be combined to address a wide range of issues – and to build relationships and alliances for the long-term. Indeed, those involved in the census work have already defined several issues ahead – budget reform and naturalization among them – as well as a frame of “Putting Community Needs at the Center.”

Learning from the census work, funders and organizers should respond to emerging opportunities to bring together both movement-oriented and issue-focused groups, identify and support intermediaries that can weave such efforts together, utilize such intermediation to strengthen regions with less-developed movement and civic engagement infrastructure, and develop and apply new evaluation tools aimed at assessing the longer-term impacts of
short-term investments. But it is more than mechanics: what the census reminds us is that the current silos of organizing need to be complemented with new forms of solidarity across organizations working for social change.

We are, after all, one state with one future. While some point to the state’s divisions by region, community, and income level – the inland versus the coast, city versus suburb, the wealthy versus the struggling – Californians tend to share more than we let on. It is not called the Golden State just because of the sun: the state’s nickname also captures a sense of opportunity and possibility; hallmarks of a California Dream that has attracted migrants and helped us retain our home-grown residents. In the work ahead to restore that sense of possibility and inclusion, we all count and we should all be counted.
APPENDICES
Appendix A. Interviewees

Elaine Abelaye, Executive Director
Asian Resources, Inc.

Marvin Andrade, Executive Director
Central American Resource Center

Horacio Arroyo, Civic Engagement and
Community Education Director
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of
Los Angeles

Randolph Belle, Special Assistant to the
CEO
Urban Strategies Council

Theresa Brooks, Organizing Coordinator
for California Calls
Strategic Concepts in Organizing and
Policy Education

Mike Burns, Deputy Regional Director
U.S. Census Bureau

Raymond Chavarria, Associate/Project
Director
United Cambodian Community

Tricia Ciampa
People Assisting the Homeless

Sandy Close, Executive Editor and
Director
New America Media

Cathy Cha, Senior Program Officer
Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr. Fund

James Christy, Regional Director, Los
Angeles
U.S. Census Bureau

Christina Cuevas, Program Director
Community Foundation of Santa Cruz
County

Rebecca Dames, Project and
Communications Coordinator

Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants
and Refugees

Maria Erana, Director of Broadcasting
Radio Bilingue, Inc.

Arturo Frazier, Manager of Strategic
Initiatives
Los Angeles Urban League

Emily Goulding, Program Manager
Voto Latino

Ilene Jacobs, Director of Litigation,
Advocacy and Training
California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc.

Felicia Jones, Associate Director
Congregations Organized for Prophetic
Engagement

John Kim, Co-Director and Director of
Healthy City Project
Advancement Project

Adam Kruggel, Executive Director
Contra Costa Interfaith Supporting
Community Organization

An Le, Statewide Network Manager
Asian Pacific American Legal Center

May Lee, Executive Director
Asian Resources, Inc.

Vanessa Moses, Oakland Lead Organizer
Causa Justa :: Just Cause

Virginia Mosqueda, Director of Civic
Engagement
California Community Foundation

Njideka Obijiaju, Community Organizer
Community Coalition
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Organization</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Perez</td>
<td>Associate Director</td>
<td>Inner City Struggle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rona Popal</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Afghan Coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katy Robb</td>
<td>Program Manager</td>
<td>Mutual Assistance Network of Del Paso Heights</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. Alexia Salvatierra</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice of California</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preeti Sharma</td>
<td>Communications Associate</td>
<td>South Asian Network, Inc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latonya Slack</td>
<td>Senior Program Officer</td>
<td>The James Irvine Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michelle Yeung</td>
<td>Community Advocate –</td>
<td>Chinese for Affirmative Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuliya Zingertal</td>
<td>Director of Special Projects</td>
<td>Community Resource Project, Inc.</td>
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Titles and organizational affiliations at the time of interview.
Appendix B. Counting on Change Convening Participants
Los Angeles, California, September 15, 2010

Sahid Ahmed, President/CEO
Somali Family Service

Horacio Arroyo, Civic Engagement and Community Education Director
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles

Evan Bacalao, Senior Director of Civic Engagement
National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund

Pastor Benjamin Briggs, Riverside Lead Community Organizer
Congregations Organized for Prophetic Engagement

Theresa Brooks, Organizing Coordinator for California Calls
Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education

Eddie Carmona, Executive Director
Faith in Action Kern County

Christina Cuevas, Program Director
Community Foundation of Santa Cruz County

Rebecca Dames, Project and Communications Coordinator
Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees

Maria Erana, Director of Broadcasting
Radio Bilingue, Inc.

John Fanestil, Executive Director
San Diego Foundation for Change

Marqueece Harris-Dawson, President and CEO
Community Coalition

Hector Hernandez, Executive Director
Centro de Unidad Popular Benito Juarez, Inc.

Rachel Hoerger, 2010 Census Coordinator
California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc.

Haig Hovsepian, Community Relations Director
Armenian National Committee of America-Western Region

Daniel Ichinose, Director of Demographic Research
Asian Pacific American Legal Center

Felicia Jones, Associate Director
Congregations Organized for Prophetic Engagement

Nunu Kidane, Director
Priority Africa Network

John Kim, Co-Director and Director of Healthy City Project
Advancement Project

Maria Teresa Kumar, Executive Director/Co-Founder
Voto Latino

Jason Lacsamana, Director of Youth Initiatives and Special Projects
Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Alliance, Inc.

Jenny Lam, Director of Community Initiatives
Chinese for Affirmative Action

May Lee, Executive Director
Asian Resources, Inc.

Lizette Marquez-Escobedo, National Director for Civic Engagement
National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund

Elaine McLevie, Coordinator for Community Relations
Episcopal Refugee Network of San Diego
Abdi Mohamoud, Executive Director
Horn of Africa Community

Gina Montoya, Chief Administrative Officer
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Catherine Montoya, Field Manager
The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights Education Fund

Virginia Mosqueda, Director of Civic Engagement
California Community Foundation

Ana Palomo-Zerfas, Program Manager
Vista Community Clinic

Vincent Pan, Executive Director
Chinese for Affirmative Action

Sara Pol-Lim, Executive Director
United Cambodian Community (UCC)

Yamuna Poudyal, Employment Counselor
Lao Family Community Development, Inc.

Blanca Romero, Participant Evaluator for Census Campaign
Foundation for Change

Aparna Shah, Coordinating Director
Mobilize the Immigrant Vote

Mark Silverman, Director of Immigration Policy
Immigrant Legal Resource Center

Jacob Simas, Associate Editor/Projects Manager
Pacific News Service

Renita Smith, Vice President of Strategy
Los Angeles Urban League

Corrine Yu, Senior Counsel and Managing Policy Director
The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights Education Fund

Gigi Barsoum, Program Officer
The California Endowment Staff:

Paul Harder, President
Dulcemonica Jimenez, Research Assistant
Linda Tran, Research Associate

Harder + Company Community Research Staff:

Jennifer Ito, Project Manager
Barbara Masters, Consultant
Rhonda Ortiz, Project Manager
Manuel Pastor, Director
Michelle Saucedo, Project Assistant
Jennifer Tran, Data Analyst

Program for Environmental and Regional Equity Staff:

Jackie Agnello, Center Administrator
Jennifer Ito, Project Manager
Barbara Masters, Consultant
Rhonda Ortiz, Project Manager
Manuel Pastor, Director
Michelle Saucedo, Project Assistant
Jennifer Tran, Data Analyst

Titles and organizational affiliations at the time of the convening.
Appendix C. California Foundations that Awarded Grants for 2010 Census Outreach

Akonadi Foundation
Asian Pacific Fund
California Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Monterey County
Community Foundation of Santa Cruz
East Bay Community Foundation
Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr. Fund
James Irvine Foundation
Mitchell Kapor Foundation
San Diego Foundation for Change
Sierra Health Foundation
Silicon Valley Community Foundation
The California Endowment
The San Francisco Foundation
United Way of the Bay Area
Walter & Elise Haas Fund
Y & H Soda Fund
REFERENCES


PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS

Page 10: September 15, 2010, The California Endowment Census 2010 Grantee Convening, Photo by Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE)

Page 16: “Census 2010,” Photo by Melinda Shelton

Page 20: Photo by Ana Negoescu, CARECEN DC

Page 23: Photo by the Office of 14th District Councilmember José Huizar, City of Los Angeles

Page 34: September 15, 2010, The California Endowment Census 2010 Grantee Convening, Photo by Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE)

Page 36: “Census Curriculum,” Photo by Mike Mahaffie

Page 37: Equality Alliance and California Alliance Census 2010 Bus Poster, Photo by the California Alliance

Page 41: Photo by United States Census Bureau