

BY HEATHER MCLEOD GRANT

Dineers



USTICe BUILDING NETWORKS AND

MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

PUBLISHED BY LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

Pioneers in Justice

BUILDING NETWORKS AND MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

BY HEATHER MCLEOD GRANT



Pioneers In Justice

Building Networks *and* Movements *for* Social Change

> By Heather McLeod Grant with Amanda Bower & Jenny Johnston

Published by Levi Strauss Foundation © Copyright 2014

Creative Commons License Attribution 4.0 (International)

YOU ARE FREE TO:

SHARE — copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format.

ADAPT — remix, transform, and build upon the material for any purpose, even commercially.

The licensor cannot revoke these freedoms as long as you follow the license terms.

UNDER THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

ATTRIBUTION — You must give appropriate credit, provide a link to the license, and indicate if changes were made. You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.

NO ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIONS — You may not apply legal terms or technological measures that legally restrict others from doing anything the license permits.

NOTICES:

You do not have to comply with the license for elements of the material in the public domain or where your use is permitted by an applicable exception or limitation.

No warranties are given. The license may not give you all of the permissions necessary for your intended use. For example, other rights such as publicity, privacy, or moral rights may limit how you use the material.



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER 2
THE PATH TO SOCIAL JUSTICE 2.0 18
CHAPTER 3
EMBRACING SOCIAL MEDIA
CHAPTER 4
DEVELOPING NEW LEADERSHIP
CHAPTER 5
CATALYZING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE
CHAPTER 6
BUILDING NETWORKS
CHAPTER 7
SPARKING MOVEMENTS
CHAPTER 8
LOOKING BACK, LOOKING FORWARD 138
CREDITS
BEHIND THE BOOK

A LETTER FROM LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

DEAR READER,

We like to believe that the Levi Strauss Foundation has been engaged in pioneering work since its founding in the 1950s—and this has involved taking some risks. Most recently, we've spent the past few years investing in next-generation Bay Area social justice leaders, creating an initiative called Pioneers in Justice to support these leaders as they work to use social media more effectively, transform their organizations, create peer networks, and build "social justice 2.0" movements.

The investment we've made in this program has been substantial—both in terms of financial support and the leveraging of our other resources, such as space, staff time, and partnerships. But our learning has been equally significant. In mid-2013, at the midpoint of this five-year program, we decided it was time to pause, take stock, and capture and share our emerging lessons with the larger social justice and philanthropic fields. It is our hope that our experimentation with a new kind of social justice grantmaking will be of interest to other foundations seeking to explore this new frontier.

We commissioned social impact expert and author, HEATHER MCLEOD GRANT, to help us with this task, and she quickly involved several colleagues in the research, writing, editing, and design of this report (see bios on p. 154). The authors had full access to program documentation, staff, partners, and of course our grantees—the "Pioneers"—and their organizations. They conducted research in the summer and fall of 2013. The end result of their efforts is the report you are holding in your hands—part narrative, and part analysis, by design. While we fact-checked and approved the final manuscript, and provided input throughout, the authors retained editorial independence, and the opinions expressed herein represent their own points of view.

As a result of the past few years of running this program, and this interlude of reflection, we have learned a tremendous amount about how to invest in and support leadership networks as a tool for transformative social change. This kind of work is messy. It involves embracing both complexity and emergence, and it doesn't lend itself to linear logic models, anticipated outcomes, or overly narrow metrics. But when it works—as we believe this program is beginning to demonstrate—it holds enormous potential for increasing our social impact on multiple levels of the larger systems we seek to transform.

We invite you to read this report and embark on a journey with us and with the Pioneers—exploring how this program came into being, who these unique and inspirational leaders are, and what we have all learned together along the way. We welcome your feedback and would love to hear back from you.

WITH REGARDS,

Daniel Jae-Won Lee EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR Levi Strauss Foundation

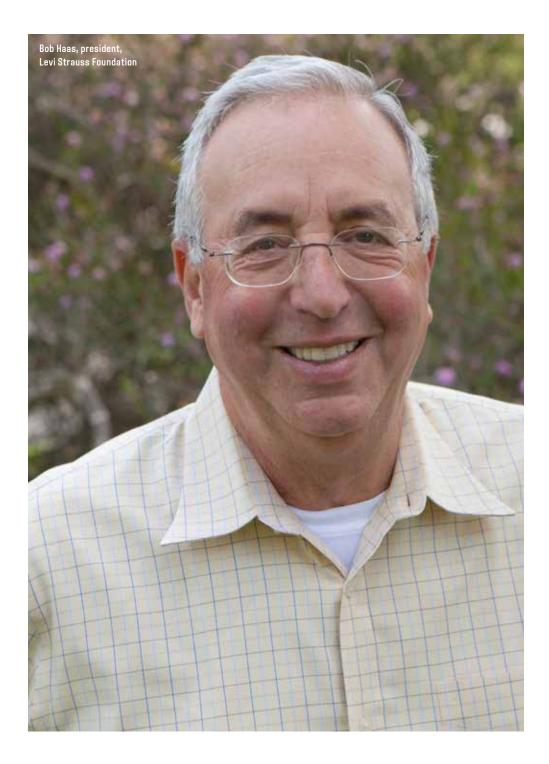
"OUR FOUNDER" AND WE LIKE TO THINK OF O As pioneers at th

BOB HAAS, PRESIDENT OF LSF SINCE 1990 AND THE GREAT-GREAT-GRANDNEPHEW OF LEVI STRAUSS (PICTURED, RIGHT)

NAS A PIONEER, URSELVES E FOUNDATION."



Introduction



ASK ANYONE AT THE LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION (LSF) TO DESCRIBE THEIR FOUNDER

and the company that stands behind their name, and one word will come to mind: pioneering.

In 1853, a Bavarian immigrant named Levi Strauss opened a wholesale dry goods company in San Francisco. Twenty years later, his company revolutionized the clothing industry by introducing the world's first blue jeans. But Strauss wasn't just known for his jeans—he was also known for his bold, generous, and vocal support of social causes and people in need. Today, Levi Strauss & Co. still aligns itself with its founder's deepest values—empathy, originality, integrity, and courage—viewing its signature product not merely as an item of clothing but as a "symbol of freedom and self-expression in the face of adversity, challenge, and social change."

So it is no surprise that the foundation that bears Strauss's name would also take on a mission—"to drive pioneering social change that brings our values to life in communities around the world"—that is bold and progressive.

For more than 60 years, LSF has been deeply involved in promoting the rights and well-being of the low-income and marginalized around the world. LSF was the first U.S. corporate foundation to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic, contributing approximately \$45 million to HIV/AIDS advocacy organizations in more than 40 countries over the last three decades. Its efforts to advance the rights of workers in the apparel and textile industries continue to reach approximately 300,000 people annually in 15 countries. The foundation has also funded numerous anti-poverty programs designed to help families and individuals build their assets and plan for a better future.

"Our founder was a pioneer, and we like to think of ourselves as pioneers at the foundation," says Bob Haas, president of LSF since 1990 and the great-great-grandnephew of Levi Strauss. "We're willing to step out and take risks on behalf of what we believe is the right thing to do."

In 2009, Haas and the leaders of LSF decided to embark on a new type of risk-taking. For decades, the foundation had operated like many traditional grantmakers, with most of its impact coming from grants given to nonprofits. Now, the foundation aspired to drive systemic change in new ways—not just among its constituents, but across the field of philanthropy itself. It wanted to develop a signature "hometown" strategy that would use all the tools at its disposal to help local social justice organizations advance and accelerate their work.

A number of factors influenced this thinking. First, the San Francisco-based LSF had increased its global grantmaking significantly in the last 15 years, at times eclipsing its domestic grants—but now it wanted to bolster its presence closer to home.¹ Second, while the foundation already had credibility as a social justice grantmaker—in 2009, LSF was one of only four corporate foundations to make it onto a list of the top 50 U.S. social justice funders—its leadership felt that there was even more to do. Third, many at the foundation wanted to test new approaches that might help to amplify LSF's impact and reach. "We didn't want to just give money," says Haas. "We wanted to do something that would move the dial."

Still, the foundation wasn't yet sure what that "something" would look like. So LSF's board formed a committee to develop a vision for a new kind of San Francisco-based social justice strategy. As it happened, their timing couldn't have been better. Because at that very moment, something else was happening in the Bay Area that would help clarify the foundation's path forward.

Legacy Organizations Meet Gen-X Leadership

Given its progressive culture, the San Francisco Bay Area is home to many leading social justice nonprofits that have been around for decades. Around the time LSF was contemplating its next steps, a number of these legacy organizations were undergoing a significant transition. While their traditional ways of operating were still effective, the digital age had ushered in new tools and approaches that many had not yet fully embraced—and weren't sure how to embrace. Recognizing that they needed to update their methods, the boards of five prominent, local social justice nonprofits had hired new executive directors—all of them "Generation Xers"²—whom they hoped could lead their organizations into the twenty-first century (see full bios on p. 154):

- In 2006, Chinese for Affirmative Action hired then 33-year-old VINCENT PAN, the cofounder of Heads Up, a \$1.6 million AmeriCorps tutoring program in low-income schools; Pan had also helped the William J. Clinton Foundation establish HIV/AIDS programs for children in China.
- In 2008, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights hired LATEEFAH SIMON, then 32 years old. Simon had become executive director of the Bay Area-based Center for Young Women's Development at just 19, making her one of the youngest ever leaders of a nonprofit.
- In 2008, Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus,³ the nation's oldest organization advocating for the civil and legal rights of Asians and Pacific Islanders, hired TITI LIU, then 35 years old, who had led human rights initiatives for the Ford Foundation in China.
- In 2009, Equal Rights Advocates hired ARCELIA HURTADO, then 38, a former public defender who had made her reputation by

² Members of the Baby Boomer generation were born during the post-World War II "baby boom" spanning from 1964 to 1964. Members of Generation X, or Gen X, were born after the boom, from the early 1960s to the early 1980s. Millennials, also known as Generation Y, were born between the early 1980s and the early 2000s.

"WE DIDN'T WANT TO JUST GIVE MONEY. WE WANTED TO DO Something that would move the dial."

BOB HAAS, PRESIDENT, LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

working to secure the rights of working class and marginalized people.

 In 2009, the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California hired then 35-year-old ABDI SOLTANI, the former head of Californians for Justice who had led numerous high-profile social justice campaigns related to statewide policy and ballot initiatives.

These five leaders came from a range of personal and professional backgrounds, with different ethnicities and leadership styles. But they also had a lot in common: all of them wanted to help their nonprofits adapt to a rapidly changing world; all of them were devoted to making a difference; and all of them had a similar mandate. They were charged with evaluating the state of their field, formulating a vision for their organization's future, and then executing on it—in short, helping to transform the nonprofits they had inherited.

Very quickly, each learned that change would not come easy. Soon, they began reaching out to one another and talking about their shared challenges. "The irony was that we were leading organizations that are supposed to achieve social change, and that were so resistant to change themselves," says Advancing Justice's Titi Liu. "All of us saw that and were trying to push it."

Tim Silard, president of the San Francisco-

based Rosenberg Foundation and a prominent figure in Bay Area social justice, had noticed the wave of new hiring and quickly recognized it as a critical inflection point for local advocacy groups-a "changing of the guard." So he invited these five new leaders to lunch to get to know them better. "The idea was not to have any formal agenda, but to create a sounding board, a place where they could kick ideas around with their peers," Silard says. At that first lunch, the group talked about relationship building and staff and board issues. At the end, Silard asked if they wanted to continue meeting: he offered to be present, or just foot the bill for lunch. Either way, he sensed that it was important for these young leaders facing daunting challenges to have the time and space to talk together and learn from one another.

In the fall of 2009, around the time that these lunch meetings started, Merle Lawrence, senior manager at the Levi Strauss Foundation, and CJ Callen, a consultant to LSF, were busy interviewing "key informants" in the social justice sector, gathering information about how the foundation might retool its strategy to effect greater change in the field. Among the leaders they interviewed were former LSF grantee Lateefah Simon and the new executive director of the ACLU of Northern California, Abdi Soltani, who told them of the lunches.

Lawrence and Callen interviewed the pair in September, floating the nascent idea of an LSFfunded program that would convene a network of

³ In June 2013, Asian Law Caucus affiliated with three other progressive Asian and Pacific Islander social justice organizations under the new umbrella name Asian Americans Advancing Justice. ALC now goes by the name Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus. We refer to it throughout by its new name, often abbreviating it to "Advancing Justice."

"THE IRONY WAS THAT WE WERE LEADING ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE SUPPOSED TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL CHANGE, AND THAT WERE SO RESISTANT TO CHANGE THEMSELVES."

TITILIU, FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ADVANCING JUSTICE

young social justice leaders and help build their capabilities to use social media and collaborative action to advance their missions and movements. Soltani's reaction? "I already have a network, a 'crew' of people under 40: Lateefah, Titi, Vin, Arcelia, and me," he told them.⁴ Astutely, Lawrence sensed an opportunity and asked what this cohort needed to amplify its work. Over the course of that initial conversation, the main themes of a new program emerged—one that would both match the needs of these new executive directors and engage LSF in cutting-edge work.

The young leaders' wish list resembled that of many legacy nonprofits across the country. They requested "time and space" to figure out how they wanted to lead and how they might collaborate with one another. They also wanted to find ways to empower their constituents to speak for themselves while broadening and diversifying their aging membership base. Lastly, these leaders wanted to address what Simon called the "crisis of translating social justice work" into social media in order to influence public perception.

In November 2009, after several interim committee meetings and lots of iteration on the idea, Lawrence and LSF executive director Daniel Lee presented their initial vision to the full LSF board. They recommended that the foundation support a group of young leaders looking to shape the next wave of social justice work for bedrock civil rights organizations. "We wanted to help equip them and their organizations with the technical skills to use social media to full effect," says Jennifer Haas, LSF trustee. "We also wanted to help them harness the power of collaboration and their people-to-people networks as a way to maximize their impact."

While no one was clear yet exactly what the program would look like, which specific individuals should be in it, or how it might evolve as the leaders and LSF learned along the way, the LSF board recognized the plan as a significant opportunity for the foundation to shift into deeper grantee engagement. And funding a broad platform that focused on leadership development and coalition building was just the sort of high-risk, high-reward strategy that the LSF board had in mind. Plus, with its strong nonprofit infrastructure, San Francisco would be "an ideal laboratory for testing new approaches to increasing the effectiveness of the field."⁵

As for the name of the initiative? Naturally, it incorporated one of the foundation's favorite words: Pioneers in Justice.

"Pioneers in Justice" Is Born

Between the spring and fall of 2010, LSF refined its definition of who should be in the program, deciding to focus exclusively on San Francisco-based

⁴ Notes by Merle Lawrence from an LSF meeting held September 24, 2009.

⁵ CJ Callen, "A Social Justice Response in Challenging Times: A Leadership Role for the Levi Strauss Foundation in Strategic Hometown Giving," the Levi Strauss Foundation, 2009.

organizations and ultimately on the leaders who were already part of the nascent cohort that Tim Silard had convened. They extended invitations to the five individuals identified above: Vincent Pan, Lateefah Simon, Titi Liu, Arcelia Hurtado, and Abdi Soltani. (The cohort would change during the course of the program, with a few members leaving and a few new members being added. For a full list of participants over time, see the Pioneer biographies beginning on page 154.)

LSF senior manager Merle Lawrence, who retired in 2013, attended one of Silard's lunches and laid out the program to four of the five young executive directors (Pan was not present) to gauge their reaction and gather their input. The program aimed to spark change on several different levels, by strengthening their leadership, helping their organizations transform, and giving them the time and space—and the funding to experiment with new ways of spreading their reach and building social movements.

Recognizing that this kind of change would take time and commitment, the board initially approved the initiative to run for three years and agreed that the LSF staff should be highly involved and hands-on.⁶ In fact, the Levi Strauss Foundation explicitly did not want to run the program like a traditional grantmaker. Instead, it wanted the relationship between itself and the program's grantees to be a partnership. LSF would not dictate the terms and conditions, but rather commit to working with the cohort to structure the emergent initiative as it evolved.

The young leaders listened to everything Lawrence said—and were thoughtful, challenging, and positive in response.⁷ Abdi Soltani suggested LSF "consider expanding its definition of 'social media' to include new and ethnic media" because "Twitter is the wrong way to reach women in the rural Central Valley." Arcelia Hurtado liked the cross-sector emphasis. "We talk about cross-sector alliance building but we don't have time to create it," she says. "We need to force ourselves to think through what we want to change, proactively." Lateefah Simon liked the fact that the capacity building grants were connected to developing new tools and approaches for operating in the 21st century world of social justice: "That will help me convince my board why I am devoting time to this."

In November 2010, the LSF board met the five Pioneers for the first time, learning more about their backgrounds, their stories, and their passion for driving change in their organizations and in the world. Based on what they heard, the board unanimously approved to extend the initiative to five years in order to give the cohort more time to bring about the kinds of transformation they wanted.

LSF's bold attempt to equip the next generation of social justice leaders with new tools, strategies, and ways of working had begun.

⁶ Lawrence herself would end up devoting about 80 percent of her time to the program.

⁷ Notes by Merle Lawrence, March 23, 2010.



The Path to Social Justice 2.0





THE SOCIAL JUSTICE SECTOR IS AT A CRITICAL INFLECTION POINT,

a moment in which many of its fundamental assumptions and old ways of operating are being challenged. Leadership is transferring from Baby Boomers to a new cadre of ethnically diverse Gen Xers—like the Pioneers—with deep connections to their communities and new perspectives on how to lead the field to greater impact. Meanwhile, there is a growing recognition that new tactics, tools, and strategies are needed to strengthen a sector that is still largely invested in "analog" and "siloed" ways of working—especially at a time when loosely organized groups of individuals (think "Occupiers" and the "DREAMer" undocumented youth movement) can wield just as much influence as large, legacy nonprofits.

But before getting into how the field is changing—and how the Pioneers' journey is actually a story about the transformation of the larger sector it makes sense to first understand what social justice philanthropy is, and how the Levi Strauss Foundation's Pioneers in Justice (PIJ) program differs from more traditional grantmaking approaches.

Defining Social Justice Philanthropy

Through PIJ, the Levi Strauss Foundation (LSF) is not just experimenting with a new way to fund social justice nonprofits. It is also hoping to create a new model for what philanthropic support of the field might look like. "To me, the term 'social justice philanthropy' is shorthand for responding to multiple trends simultaneously affecting the sector," says LSF president Bob Haas. And, Haas adds, it requires moving beyond the basic awarding of grants. In this sense, it's not that different from what some call "strategic philanthropy."

According to a white paper commissioned by LSF to help inform the program, "Social justice philanthropy encourages a foundation to use all the leadership tools at its disposal—that is, acting as convener, organizer, relationship broker, constituency builder, listener, policy promoter, and knowledge disseminator. It creates a platform for a more honest exchange between foundations and practitioners and aligns with what many consider 'high-touch' and 'strategic' grantmaking." More specifically, social justice philanthropy:

- Focuses on the root causes of inequality
- Strives for lasting systemic and structural change
- Aims to bridge divisive differences (race, class, language, region, generation) toward a vision of the common good
- Emphasizes grantmaking practices that foster nonprofit success, including multiyear commitments and building leadership capacity

- Employs a combination of tactics (policy advocacy, grassroots organizing, litigation, and communications) that together are more likely to yield results
- Strengthens and empowers populations to advocate on their own behalf

According to these definitions, social justice philanthropy stands at the leading edge of where the larger field is headed, with a greater focus on root causes, systems-level change, community empowerment, boundary crossing, and the use of multiple tools and tactics. The Levi Strauss Foundation's Pioneers in Justice program is anchored in the belief that the larger social justice field is moving—and must move—in this new and bolder direction. "There is always a need to change with the times to have impact," says LSF trustee Jennifer Haas.

Because there is no clear roadmap for how to help social justice organizations move from a "1.0" model to a more "2.0" world (there are few existing case studies or best practices showing the way), LSF's work with the Pioneers has been breaking new ground. To be sure, many 1.0 social justice leaders have long acted in 2.0 ways, and some of the characteristics of social justice 2.0 are not new. What's different is that the tools for spreading and scaling social justice movements are far more advanced than they've ever been before. In that respect, the Pioneers are on the

WHAT IS Social Justice 2.0?

→SOCIAL JUSTICE 1.0

LEADERSHIP CENTERED ON A SINGLE CHARISMATIC LEADER (OFTEN THE ORGANIZATION'S FOUNDER)

FOCUS ON OUTREACH AND EDUCATION

RELIANCE ON ONE-WAY COMMUNICATION

COLLABORATION AS THE EXCEPTION

THE "CRASSROOTS" (COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION) DISCONNECTED FROM THE "TREETOPS" (TRADITIONAL POLICY ADVOCACY)

LOOKING INWARD FOR INSPIRATION AND PARTNERSHIPS

SOCIAL JUSTICE 2.0

SHARED LEADERSHIP WITH DEEP ROOTS

FOCUS ON BUILDING GRASSROOTS POWER

RELIANCE ON DIALOGUE

COLLABORATION AS THE RULE

THE "GRASSROOTS" CONNECTED TO THE "TREETOPS"

LOOKING OUTWARD FOR INSPIRATION AND PARTNERSHIPS

"OUR SENSE OF PURPOSE WAS TO BE THE FIRST MOVERS IN HELPING TAKE THESE ORGANIZATIONS TO A 2.0 LEVEL. WE WANTED TO FIRE ON EVERY CYLINDER AND TRY EVERYTHING WE COULD."

DANIEL LEE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

frontier of helping organizations that have not been systematically working in these new ways to embrace practices and tactics that hold the promise to greatly boost their reach and effectiveness.

Pioneers Program Building Blocks

From the start, LSF envisioned the program as one that would be co-created with the Pioneers, starting from a place of empathy and inquiry. "This work is animated by really basic questions: What do you all need? What would you like to try?" explains Linda Wood, senior director at the Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr. Fund and an advisor to the LSF staff as they developed the PIJ program. She also notes how distinct this approach is for most funders: "It takes a really humble funder to help leaders and their organizations learn what they need to learn through experiments and through one another."

It was clear to LSF from the beginning that this was not the kind of grantmaking that would have a tangible list of deliverables with fixed timelines. Nor would the PIJ program easily lend itself to traditional impact assessment. Rather, it would be emergent and filled with experimentation. "Our sense of purpose was to be the first movers in helping take these organizations to a 2.0 level," says LSF's executive director Daniel Lee. "We wanted to fire on every cylinder and try everything we could."

Whenever the Pioneers and LSF describe the unpredictable journey of this work, they regularly use the words "messy" and "risky." In August 2010, when PIJ officially kicked off, each of the five organizations and leaders were at different points in their journey toward social justice 2.0. They knew that some would get further than others, faster, and failures could and would occur. But throughout the process, the Pioneers have been honest about their challenges and frustrations and embraced their setbacks, allowing all of them to learn valuable lessons as a result.

Despite the innovative and experimental nature of the PIJ program, LSF knew it had to create some sort of handrails or "container" for the work to happen. They deliberately designed the program around several building blocks, without overly prescribing how each one would evolve:

• BIMONTHLY, HALF-DAY FORUMS dedicated to peer-to-peer learning, case studies, and training. These were opportunities for the Pioneers to share their experiences, learn together, and support one another. LSF was both the organizer and a participant in these sessions, often bringing in leading experts on networks, social media, and more to help the Pioneers move from theory to action. (See

PROGRAM FOCUS (YEAR BY YEAR)

YEAR 1:

LAYING THE GROUNDWORK, Building relationships

Building relationships and capacity

Exploring and learning about social media and new forms of collaboration

Building capacity to get the cohort to baseline competencies (one-on-one technical assistance from ZeroDivide, and ZeroDivideled social media/technology training workshops)

YEAR 2:

PLACING SMALL BETS

Rebuilding relationships in the new cohort (after executive director exits and job changes, new Pioneers entered the group)

Running experiments in new ways of working

Putting intensive social media training and learning into practice

YEAR 3:

TAKING ACTION

Growing both the confidence and visions of the Pioneers and LSF staff

Evolution of the Pioneers' hometown strategies: using their positioning in San Francisco to affect statewide and national issues

Building the capacity of Pioneers'staff to support social media work

YEARS 4 & 5:

ASPIRATIONS INCLUDE:

Elevating the Pioneers" voices within social movements

Implementing, executing, evaluating, and adjusting their social media and movement building strategies, with a constant eye toward adapting to changing conditions and new opportunities as they emerge

Supporting 2.0 collaborations and social media/ technology gains to achieve sustainability

Sharing lessons learned and best practices with funders and social justice organizations sidebar, p. 30, for a list of dates and topics.)

CAPACITY BUILDING GRANTS to help the Pioneers create the requisite technology infrastructure, strategies, and communications skills needed to integrate social media more deeply into their organizations. LSF's technical partner, ZeroDivide (see p. 46 for details), provided social media training for both the Pioneers and their staff, helping them build a sustainable, integrated social media practice within their organizations.

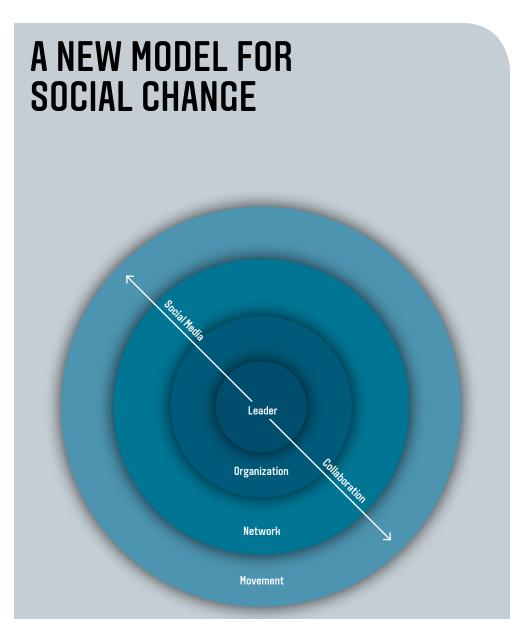
© COLLABORATION GRANTS to support project-based work and "experimental" collaborations that reached across sector, field, issue, and constituency, using networks of both trusted and "unlikely" allies to drive change.

The early bimonthly forums focused on the tools and strategies of social media and storytelling, then shifted over time to include the human dynamics of networking, collaboration, and leading organizational change. It's not surprising, then, that three years into the program, the Pioneers have made greatest headway on establishing sophisticated social media communications at their organizations. In addition to setting up the "plumbing" for digital communications, all have now infused into their organization's culture the need for strategic storytelling, although some are still finding their way on execution. (For a more thorough accounting of outcomes from this program, see Chapter 8.)

There is still more work to be done on coalition-building and collaboration, and on elevating the Pioneers' individual voices within the social movements they are helping to catalyze and sustain. So far, only three organizations have been awarded funding for larger collaboration initiatives—but that may change in the program's final two years, as they pursue new pathways for coalition building.

A New Model for Social Change

In the first two and a half years of the five-year program, LSF invested close to \$2.9 million in 44 grants, including \$1.72 million for capacity building and \$580,000 for collaborative projects. LSF is a modestly resourced foundation, with an annual budget ranging from \$7 million to \$8 million; the PIJ program represented 18 percent of its giving and 80 percent of one staff member's time (with two other staffers also contributing). The program was therefore a significant investment for the foundation—but its staff and leadership believed that the investment needed to be substantial because of the complexity of



The Levi Strauss Foundation's theory of change can be visualized as four concentric circles, with the leaders at the center, then their organizations, then their networks, and finally the broader movements they are helping to spark. The goal of the program is to help transform each of these circles, with social media and collaboration acting as a driving force that can increase the speed and scope of the changes taking place in all circles in the system'not in a linear fashion but in each circle simultaneously. the program and the ambitiousness of its desired outcomes.

Indeed, the Pioneers in Justice program aims to do much more than help a handful of emerging social justice leaders in San Francisco, though that is its critical, core piece. Its larger goal is to test out a theory of change that has the potential to impact the entire field of social justice—and how foundations might best support their work.

The Levi Strauss Foundation's theory of change can be visualized as four concentric circles, with the leaders at the center, then their organizations, then their networks, and finally the broader movements they are helping to spark. The goal of the program is to help transform each of these circles, with social media and collaboration acting as a driving force that can increase the speed and scope of the changes taking place in all circles in the system—not in a linear fashion but in each circle simultaneously.

Over the next five chapters, we will examine the progress made and lessons learned so far by the Pioneers in each of these areas: social media and collaboration, leadership, organizational change, network building, and sparking movements.

Embracing Social Media

- Building new organizational capabilities around the use of new technologies and media
- Understanding how social media can break down silos and boundaries and change the

way nonprofits work

 Helping organizations adapt more quickly through the catalytic effect of new tools

Developing New Leadership

- Managing leadership transitions
- Sharing leadership at the top and with the board
- Becoming 2.0 leaders and developing new ways of working

Octalyzing Organizational Change

- Creating an outward-looking organization that embraces collaboration
- Letting go of organizational ego in service of a larger cause
- Ensuring staff and board are aligned around more "networked" approaches
- Nurturing new leaders and distributing leadership across the organization

Ø Building Networks

- Facilitating collaboration between and across organizations
- Working at the "intersections" and collaborating across issue areas
- Transitioning to being more networked nonprofits

Sparking Movements

Catalyzing broader, more effective social

justice movements

- Engaging new voices and constituents
- Building on social justice values of the past but using new tools to accelerate change

BIMONTHLY PIONEERS IN JUSTICE FORUMS: Topics & Speakers

AUGUST 2010

KICKOFF AND Social Media

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Tessie Cuillermo EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ZERODIVIDE

Laura Efurd Chief Strategy and INNOVATION OFFICER ZERODIVIDE

Amro Radwan DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY ZERODIVIDE

Kevin Weston Director of New Media And Youth Communications New America Media

Jacinda Abcarian EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR YOUTH RADIO

Ken Ikeda EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR BAY AREA VIDEO COALITION (BAVC)

OCTOBER 2010

SOCIAL MEDIA And voice

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Kevin Weston New America Media

Wellington Bowler INDEPENDENT DOCUMENTARIAN AND FILMMAKER

DECEMBER 2010

2.0 COLLABORATION AND SOCIAL MEDIA

PRESENTATION BY ADVANCING JUSTICE STAFF

JANUARY 2011

OPPORTUNITIES FOR Collaboration and Issue Mapping

NO GUEST SPEAKERS

MARCH 2011

SOCIAL MEDIA: Theory to action

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Laura Efurd ZERODIVIDE

Amro Radwan DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY ZERODIVIDE

Sherbeam Wright PRINCIPAL ANDA COMMUNICATIONS

JUNE 2011

NETWORK THEORY And group mapping

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Heather McLeod Grant FOUNDER MCLEOD-GRANT ADVISORS

Noah Flower Consultant Monitor Institute

JULY 2011

SOCIAL MEDIA 'LIVING Case studies

GUEST SPEAKER:

Beth Kanter COFOUNDER OF ZOETICA AND COAUTHOR OF *THE NETWORKED NONPROFIT*

SEPTEMBER 2011

NONPROFIT Branding and Organizational Identity

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Christopher Stone

FACULTY DIRECTOR AT HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL'S HAUSER CENTER FOR NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AND CUGGENHEIM PROFESSOR OF THE PRACTICE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Johanna Chao Kreilick

MANAGER, JUSTICE AND HUMAN RICHTS THE HAUSER CENTER FOR NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

30

Shert

JANUARY 2012

YEAR 1 REFLECTION **AND YEAR 2 GOALS**

GUEST SPEAKER:

Laura Efurd ZERODIVIDE

MAY 2012

2.0 COLLABORATION: **MOVING TO ACTION**

Peer learning session led by Pioneers Vincent Pan, discussing his work on Asian Americans for Civil Rights and Equality (AACRE), and Abdi Soltani, talking about immigrant rights and criminal justice projects

JULY 2012

2.0 COLLABORATION: MOVING TO ACTION

Peer learning session focusing on Advancing Justice's work on the TRUST Act and ERA's Women's Reentry Project

SEPTEMBER 2012

SOCIAL MEDIA AND TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT: PHASE 2

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Laura Efurd ZERODIVIDE

Amro Radwan ZERODIVIDE

Sherbeam Wright ANDA COMMUNICATIONS

JANUARY 2013

COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Cathy Cha SENIOR PROGRAM OFFICER FOR IMMIGRANT RIGHTS AND INTEGRATION EVELYN & WALTER HAAS, **JR. FUND**

Marielena Hincapie EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR NATIONAL IMMIGRATION LAW CENTER

MARCH 2013 TAKING STOCK AND LOOKING AHEAD

GUEST SPEAKER:

Laura Efurd ZERODIVIDE

MAY 2013

CAPTURING AND SHARING LESSONS LEARNED

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Heather McLeod Grant MCLEOD-GRANT ADVISORS

Amanda Bower STORYTELLER AND COMMUNICATIONS CONSULTANT MCLEOD-GRANT ADVISORS

JULY 2013

BOARDS AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANCE

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Tessie Guillermo ZERODIVIDE

Jan Masaoka CEO CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION **OF NONPROFITS**

SEPTEMBER 2013

CAPTURING AND SHARING LESSONS LEARNED

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Heather McLeod Grant MCLEOD-GRANT ADVISORS

Amanda Bower MCLEOD-GRANT ADVISORS

NOVEMBER 2013

ONLINE ORGANIZING AND MOBILIZATION

GUEST SPEAKER:

lan Inaba **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR** AND COFOUNDER CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT LAB



Embracing Social Media

Protesters with ASPIRE, a youth activist group supported by Pioneer organization Advancing Justice, block the path of a bus filled with individuals about to be deported.

NOTE

ore

57

IN AUGUST 2010, AT THE VERY FIRST PIONEERS IN JUSTICE FORUM, ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING

Justice-Asian Law Caucus executive director Titi Liu learned something revelatory: every day, more young people type search terms into YouTube than Google. In fact, YouTube reaches more adults ages 18 to 34 than any cable network and has more than 1 billion unique visitors each month.

When starting the PIJ program, none of the Pioneers needed convincing that technology and the online social networking it enables are changing the way people work, connect, and communicate. Having seen the way that social media fueled Barack Obama's 2008 fundraising campaign and helped scale the Arab Spring in real time, it was clear that social media could do more than deliver shareable pictures of cute kittens. But the fact that the written word had been displaced by video for millions of young Americans—the new generation that the social justice Pioneers are trying to engage—was a surprise.

It was also a little scary. At the beginning of the PIJ program, most of the five participating Pioneer organizations did not have a robust, dynamic website, let alone social media capabilities or a YouTube channel. A few had Facebook pages or Twitter feeds, none of which were well subscribed. Only one had a full-time communications person on staff.

All five organizations, and their leaders, had some serious catching up to do.

"We have done this work for many years now, and the longstanding organizations involved with social justice and civil rights have really been the slowest and most resistant to adapt," says Tessie Guillermo, executive director of ZeroDivide, the San Francisco-based nonprofit that served as the Levi Strauss Foundation's technical partner for the PIJ program.

For decades, Guillermo says, legacy civil rights organizations excelled with a decidedly analog way of working: boots on the ground, building movements. And despite what they knew about the power of social media, some Pioneers worried that entering the brave new world of instant, two-way communication might alienate their traditional Baby Boomer base. Yet social media isn't just another communications tool—and in social justice 2.0, not embracing it is not an option.

"With the advent of television, social justice groups didn't suddenly reinvent themselves to get on TV, but they did see how TV was changing the way they could change the world," says Pioneer Vincent Pan, executive director of Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA). The same is true now, he says. "Social media is fundamentally changing how people interact with the world and that has tremendous implications for all social justice groups."

Today, social media empowers people in ways that were never before possible—and presents social justice organizations with an opportunity to advance their work with unprecedented speed and scale. "We're not going to be doing this cutting edge, innovative work by sending faxes back and forth to each other," says Kate Kendell, executive director of the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR) and an informal advisor to the Pioneers on the effective use of social media. "The social justice landscape has become much more collaborative and interconnected because social media has broken down the walls. You can now access any organization online; you can figure out who the main players are on an issue by doing a Google search; and you can follow the most important human interest stories on your Facebook feed."

Social Media Assessments

At the outset of the PIJ program, LSF's technical partner, ZeroDivide, conducted extensive assessments of each organization's technology resources and social media capabilities. Based on those findings, LSF then awarded annual capacity building grants to help each organization acquire the specific tools and skills that it needed. Not surprisingly, the Pioneer organizations started at different places, with different levels of capacity, experience, and organizational "buy in" for boosting their social media presence. Throughout the program, all have progressed at different paces according to their organization's priorities and resources. Yet from the outset, there were strong similarities among the organizations in terms of their basic needs. Seeing these similarities, ZeroDivide identified a set of broad, sequenced technology and social media goals for each year of the PIJ program.

YEAR 1

Help the Pioneer organizations establish the basic infrastructure, policies, and staff capacity for social media work. Each organization first needed the basic technology to do social media work, like functioning computers and stable internet connections. At the outset of the PIJ program, only seven of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights' 22 computers were up to date, and its broadband connection was expensive and limited. Meanwhile, some organizations had policies in place that actually inhibited their ability to use social media to full effect. For example, the American Civil Liberties Union's (ACLU) national policy originally dictated that the ACLU-Northern California could link only to other ACLU sites, which limited its ability to engage with social media. ZeroDivide also urged each organization to establish a clear social media strategy and policy for staff to follow.

• YEAR 2 Enable the Pioneers and their organizations

"WHAT FOUNDATIONS REALLY HAVE TO UNDERSTAND IS THE TRIAL AND ERROR ASPECT OF THIS.'PARTICULARLY AROUND SOCIAL JUSTICE ORGANIZATIONS, THERE IS A NEED TO ITERATE."

TESSIE GUILLERMO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ZERODIVIDE

to move from awareness to practice in their social media use. ZeroDivide spent a lot of time training the Pioneer organizations' staff to view social media as an integral part of their work. This required a significant cultural shift within most of the organizations, especially those staffed by lawyers concerned with client confidentiality and privacy issues. The communications staff of each nonprofit also received storytelling training, which emphasized the importance of using aspirational language and telling real people's stories to "show, not tell" the need for social change; they also learned that photographs and video were far more likely to be shared and "liked" on social media. As a result, each organization began to experiment with employing these strategies.

• YEAR 3

Create measurement tools for understanding what is and is not working. Measuring the impact of social media on an organization's reach and effectiveness is difficult at best. But at this stage, the Pioneer organizations began tracking and measuring their social media effectiveness through new tools and metrics suggested by ZeroDivide. Some of them also established "targets" around things like updates to Facebook and what types of information to share and how frequently.

• YEARS 4 & 5

Establish processes and internal capacity to ensure social media and technology sustainability. In the program's final two years, the Pioneers will work toward further integrating their technology and social media plans into their overall organizational strategies. They will also experiment with more sophisticated analytics, adding a new layer of understanding to how their constituents are interacting with their websites and social media campaigns-and how they might use that data to better identify and engage their target audiences. Each organization will also aim to establish formal processes for reviewing the rich data that these analytics yield and integrating lessons learned into new campaign development.

A mid-program assessment, conducted by ZeroDivide in August 2013, found that each organization had by that time developed the tools and abilities to work more efficiently both with and through social media. "The Pioneers of today are not the Pioneers of 2010," wrote ZeroDivide in its assessment. "The organizations have a greater confidence and more strategic outlook in regards to how social media can be leveraged to 'move the needle,' both internally and externally."

The Pioneers as individuals have also in-



"THE WARRIOR"

ARCELIA Hurtado

POLICY ADVISOR, NATIONAL CENTER FOR LESBIAN RIGHTS (NCLR)

BORN: June 1971

alma mater: UC Berkeley

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Deputy director, NCLR; executive director, Equal Rights Advocates; trial and appellate lawyer

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

How uncertain the outcomes are when you undertake 2.0 collaboration approaches. You have to have a great deal of faith (1) that your hard work and efforts will achieve a tangible outcome that furthers social change and (2) that your alliances will be long-lasting. Neither one of these things is guaranteed, which can be difficult when you have limited time and energy and are trying to justify spending it in this way. It is also very difficult to explain what you are trying to do to staff, funders, boards, and constituents who may not all be on board with a social justice 2.0 way of working.

creased their online presence, and a broad cohort of staff at each nonprofit has been empowered to use social media to advance their organization's mission and values. Their use of social media has become far more strategic as well, both in terms of content and analysis. And yes, they have all set up a YouTube channel.

But these changes have come more slowly than ZeroDivide, LSF, and the Pioneers had initially hoped. Despite capacity-building grants of almost \$1 million spread across the whole cohort, none of the Pioneers' social media campaigns has "gone viral"-which had been their initial expectation. The problem, they learned, was more with the expectation than the results. "We've had many sober conversations in the program about our sense of progress and results in social media," says the ACLU-Northern California's Abdi Soltani. "Beth Kanter has a great metaphor of crawling, walking, and then running, and that reset the idea for us that everything was going to instantly go viral. You have to do things incrementally; social media is not a silver bullet."

It also became clear to them that social justice issues simply don't generate the same level of buzz as, say, celebrity videos. Indeed, "going viral" is the wrong benchmark for social justice social media campaigns. Success actually looks more like making solid progress toward getting their message out to the right constituents; for the Pioneers, employing a social media strategy is a "slow burn" requiring sustained commitment. Still, they have made—and will continue to make—progress. For example, Advancing Justice has seen its media hits double every year since the start of the program, thanks to more sophisticated and effective media tools and a stronger social media presence.

The concept of crawling then walking applies to funders of this work as well. "What foundations really have to understand is the trial and error aspect of this," says ZeroDivide's Tessie Guillermo. "Particularly around social justice organizations, there is a need to iterate. For LSF to purposely say, 'We're going to take this slow and steady, and build the confidence of these leaders, their management, and their boards' is really brave and risk-taking. This isn't just about funding a couple of trainings for executive directors, or developing a single campaign. It takes building muscle."

The story of the Pioneers' explorations in social media, then, is not one of cutting-edge online innovation. While social justice organizations born into the "2.0" digital world—like Kiva, MomsRising, and MoveOn.org—are driven almost entirely by their ability to spur online support and activism, the Pioneer organizations are creating social movements that have more of a balance between the offline and the online, the physical and the virtual. "We are not the organizations that LSF would have chosen to tell that story," says Advancing Justice's co-executive director Hyeon-Ju Rho. "But we do have a deep connection to a certain set of values and community—and finding and developing the intersection of those values with social media is worthwhile."

The rest of this chapter explores some of the Pioneers' first forays into using social media to scale their impact.

From Faxes to Facebook

In 2010, at the beginning of the Pioneers in Justice program, more than half of Equal Rights Advocates' (ERA) computers were at the end of their lifecycle. The organization had recently declined a media interview over Skype because none of its laptops had a camera. Additionally, its DSL speed was insufficient to push out video; there was no DVD burner for creating, copying, or sharing video; and the organization's website had little functionality. Basically, they were starting at zero.

"I credit the funding from LSF with revolutionizing ERA's communications," says Noreen Farrell, ERA's former legal director who became executive director in 2012, after Arcelia Hurtado moved to its sister organization, the National Center for Lesbian Rights. Still, there was much work to be done. In hindsight, Farrell says,

"I CREDIT THE FUNDING FROM LSF WITH REVOLUTIONIZING ERA'S COMMUNICATIONS."

NOREEN FARRELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, EQUAL RIGHTS ADVOCATES

ZeroDivide's initial interviews with ERA staff were hilarious. "They asked, 'Do you know what Facebook is? Do you know what social media is?' I was looking at them like, 'Well, kinda.'"

Initially, the organization had reservations about whether social media could really help it change the world. But Farrell and others realized they had to invest in it, no matter the outcome. "This is how young women and men today are speaking about gender justice," she says. "We can stick our heads in the sand, but we would be missing an amazing opportunity to engage them and to be informed by what they're saying."

PIJ funding helped ERA build a new technology infrastructure and also paid for a new interactive website that Farrell says has "allowed tremendous community building beyond our wildest dreams." The organization now keeps its supporters updated in a more dynamic way through its blog and celebrates loyal supporters on its community page.

ERA's social media capacity has also allowed it to play a leadership role in a new national coalition of 15 women's rights groups working to remove persistent obstacles to women's economic security. In June 2013, the coalition launched its first campaign, "Equal Pay Today," designed to galvanize online activism around the gender wage gap in the U.S. The campaign was the brainchild of ERA, which hosted its website and helped broker agreements among coalition organizations—some of them small and state-based, others large and national—that let everyone feel they had an equal voice in the project.

In addition to its online education efforts around the gender wage gap, the coalition also reached out to all 50 U.S. governors to ask them what they were doing in their states about the issue. On August 26, 2013, 10 weeks into the campaign, the coalition posted the governors' responses, calling out those who hadn't participated. The campaign also sent messages to 186,000 people on various social media platforms that day—and the governors of Washington and Illinois even joined a live tweet-chat. Farrell wrote a blog about the campaign for *The Huffington Post*, which drove even more traffic to the ERA site.

Looking back, Farrell says, "It's inconceivable that several years before, we were sitting there at the fax machine, faxing press releases. The public had no direct access to what we were talking about. Social media truly has had a transformative impact on this organization's voice in the national discourse about women's rights."

Beyond Clicktivism

On October 17, 2013, a group of about 60 young, mostly undocumented Asians and Latinos milled about in a park near the TransAmerica building in downtown San Francisco. Many were members of ASPIRE, a youth activist group supported by Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus. Soon, the text message they were waiting for arrived: a big white bus, loaded with shackled passengers—individuals in the process of being deported—had just left the nearby Department of Homeland Security's Detention and Removal Field Office.

As the bus began to pull out, another, smaller group of activists approached the vehicle, wearing neon yellow safety vests and waving their arms in the air. On the ground in front of the bus, they laid down a long white banner that read "No More Deportations." Then they sat down on it. Federal officials wearing bulletproof vests tried backing up the bus, but the activists quickly ran behind the vehicle, blocking it from both sides. Singing "We Shall Not Be Moved," they laid down another banner behind the bus that read: "Shut Down ICE! (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) Keep Families Together."

Then the bigger crowd of activists waiting in the park descended on the area, peeling off outer layers of clothing to reveal T-shirts with the slogan "#notonemore." They circled the bus, chanting "Shut down ICE!" over and over. More banners were laid down on the street, including one, with blood-red letters on black fabric, proclaiming "We Will No Longer Remain in the Shadows." The crowd's chant changed to a call-

"THE Visionary"

VINCENT Pan

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION (CAA)

BORN: January 1973

ALMA MATER: Harvard University

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Consultant, William J. Clinton Foundation; cofounder and director, Heads Up; fellow, Stanford University's Center for Social Innovation, the Echoing Green Foundation, and the Stride Rite Foundation

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

Finding language to describe concepts that are still new and emerging in a manner that helps people understand what we have been trying to do. In order to describe what social justice 2.0 is, we need our own language. We struggle to help some people understand what 2.0 networks are and why they are different and important. Ultimately I am invested in getting to a place where we are showing rather than telling, but it is not easy to manage varied expectations while we work to close the gap between concept and practice.



and-response: "Undocumented" ... "Unafraid."

As daylight waned, San Francisco police officers told the protesters blocking the bus that they needed to move, or face arrest. Advancing Justice staff attorney Anoop Prasad consulted with the young activists, and they decided to stand firm. One by one, they were led away by federal agents—although they were ultimately neither arrested nor charged. The bus, with its passengers still shackled inside, drove away.

The Bay Area protest was part of a nationwide movement to pressure President Obama to halt immigration deportations—and the activists did their best to highlight both their cause and their actions to the world. During the protest, the coalition set up a live-stream that was pushed out through email blasts, press releases, Facebook, and Twitter (hash tag: #notonemore)—and promptly captured the attention of traditional media reporters, says Advancing Justice communications director Mariam Hosseini. The protest was covered by radio stations, English and ethnic print media publications, and a dozen television news outlets, including two Spanish-language stations and The Filipino Channel.

The updates that Hosseini and others shared on their personal social media accounts also drew attention. A photo that Hosseini took and posted on Instagram garnered 12,595 "likes" and 876 "shares" and was picked up by a leading national campaign, Reform Immigration for America (RIFA). "The person who manages RIFA follows me on Instagram," Hosseini explains. "It's an example of what can happen when personal and professional lives converge on social media."

While social media amplified the anti-deportation protest both before and after the event, Advancing Justice co-director Hyeon-Ju Rho argues that it was the event itself—a physical act of defiance—that drove the online engagement. "The DREAM movement has been facilitated by social media, increasing the ability to network, share information, and mobilize outside of traditional organizational structures," says Rho. But "the reason why this movement has been transformative still goes back to the kind of personal sacrifice and personal courage that defined the activism of a pre-social media era."

Others have noted the same phenomenon: while online campaigns may get "likes" or lead to donations, the engagement they create is often only "as deep as the width of an iPad," writes Raj Jayadev, an organizer for the Albert Cobarrubias Justice Project. People see something on their Facebook feed, "like" it, share it, and maybe donate to the cause—and then move on. "The truth is, ever since the '60s, social justice campaigns have tried to imitate the movement of that era," Jayadev writes. "But despite using the same chants, carrying similar banners, even voicing similar demands, most lacked the same level of personal sacrifice, the key ingredient. Many

STATISTICS ON SMS AND MOBILE PHONES



AMERICANS WHO HAVE A MOBILE PHONE



MOBILE PHONE OWNERS WHO TEXT, UP FROM 58% IN 2007

4,000

49%

92%

SMARTPHONE USERS Who text, sending an

AVERAGE OF 111 Messages per week

PEOPLE WHO USE Social Media Daily Who Would Rather Receive a text Than a Call

SMARTPHONE OWNERS AGES 18 TO 24 SEND AND Receive 4,000 messages per month

SOURCES: PEW RESEARCH CENTER, ACISION, EXPERIAN, PERFORMICS.

ABOUT ZERODIVIDE

ZeroDivide is a social impact consulting organization that began as a community foundation called the California Technology Foundation; it has stayed true to its original mission of improving the health, opportunities, and engagement of underserved communities through the innovative use of technology. The organization works as a thought partner and capacity builder with a range of clients, including foundations, government, and businesses, helping them design technology-infused strategies and projects to build strong community leaders and organizations. ZeroDivide brings a wide range of expertise — in research, planning, program design, implementation, evaluation, cultural competency, and grants management — to its partnerships. The organization has 15 years of experience working with individuals, youth, and families in low-income and culturally diverse communities and from other traditionally underserved groups.

displays of civil disobedience had become political theater—organization directors and even elected officials in a staged 'arrest' and out of jail within an hour for the planned press conference."

The ASPIRE protest was not imitation or political theater; the activists involved—most of them undocumented—faced a serious personal sacrifice in their own possible deportation. In social justice 2.0, it's the combination of real offline activism and online broadcasting that can drive the greatest impact. Online platforms amplify the audience for '6Os-style activists, and may help them raise money and bring more like-minded people to the cause. But the transformative nature of their work lies in the power of putting their physical safety, liberty, and even lives on the line.

Pushing Power to the Edges

On February 7, 2012, the Ninth District Court of Appeal in San Francisco was scheduled to hear a challenge to California's Proposition 8, which limited marriage to heterosexual couples. Shortly before the hearing began, the court announced that the proceedings would not be televised, contrary to initial expectations. Fortuitously, the American Civil Liberties Union-Northern California (ACLU-NC) had already convinced several of its attorneys to live-tweet from the courtroom. Their tweets offered a level of expert analysis—instantly delivered—that the ACLU-NC's communications staff could not have provided. By the end of the day, the nonprofit's Twitter followers had doubled.

In fact, the organization's communications department had invested enormous amounts of time and energy before the trial convincing its attorneys that they should live-tweet, an idea that was initially met with skepticism. "We are a legal organization, so there was a lot of concern about ethics, accuracy, and approval," says ACLU-NC communications director Rebecca Farmer. "Social media is supposed to be rapid response, so you have to be nimble. You have to have people who know what the messaging is, and you have to be legally accurate."

At the beginning of the Pioneers in Justice program, the ACLU-NC was the furthest along in its social media capacity among its peers, thanks to a strong national brand, appreciation of social media by its leaders, and the large number of staff already skilled in online platforms and tools. But the organization's content experts—predominantly attorneys—didn't participate in its social media efforts. They either considered it a waste of their time or were unsure of how to tweet or post to Facebook effectively. They saw social media as an "extra" not as something that needed to be integrated into the organization's bedrock communications.

With executive director Abdi Soltani's backing, Farmer brought in ZeroDivide to conduct Twitter training with a group of ACLU-NC attorneys and program staff. All were in their 30s and 40s, but none considered themselves "digital natives." After the training, Farmer assigned each person a "Twitter buddy"—a member of the organization's five-person communications team more practiced in social media—so that the group could learn the ins and outs of tweeting one-on-one, from how to use hash tags to remembering to always include @ACLUNorCal in their messages.

Today, members of the ACLU-NC's "Twitter Corps" tweet regularly on their issue areas, both on the ACLU-NC's handle and on personal Twitter accounts where their profile clearly states their employer. "The ACLU has gravitas, but their personal voices bring more engagement," says Farmer. One of her proudest moments was when the ACLU-NC's free speech and privacy attorney live-tweeted at a board supervisor's meeting about a sheriff's proposal to purchase and fly a drone in the Bay Area's Alameda County. "She tweeted until her phone died," Farmer says. The tweets were covered by bloggers and news media alike.

Meanwhile, analyzing the metrics of social media engagement has been a powerful way for the ACLU-NC communications team to both illustrate impact to the broader organization and help them learn about what's working and what's not.

TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, the ACLU-NC's website.

Metrics made it clear that visitors found visual posts that used a storytelling approach far more engaging than long, fact-filled treatises. "It was a reality check about how people use our website," says Farmer. "Lawyers and policy people are deep in the details and want to provide all that information. We have had to go back to them and say, 'We know you worked hard on that blog post, but it only got 15 or 30 views. That's not enough for how much time you put into it."

The ACLU-NC has now redesigned its website, moving from an extremely text-heavy design to one that that features fresh, relevant, and timely content that makes more use of photos and video. More people in the organization are posting to the site, so that a few people in the communications department aren't forming a bottleneck by creating content for 65 people. "It's changing the way we work and how our staff works," says Farmer.

Farmer also says it's been particularly important to get staff to appreciate the importance of telling stories that emphasize the human side of policy. "The way we do communications and media relations has changed so much over the last several years and has definitely been supported by the Pioneers in Justice cohort and the LSF grants," she says. "As newsrooms shrank, and at the same time social media was exploding, we all of a sudden had these new tools."

In fact, the Pioneers in Justice program has

itself been a tool to show staff members that even funders appreciate the value of social media. "It's not a kooky communications thing, it's real," says Farmer. "And having an executive director who understands why we keep talking about this, why it's important, has really boosted what we are able to do."

Online Fundraising

The Pioneers have also started exploring the new fundraising possibilities that social media enables—which have the potential to be extremely valuable to small and medium-size nonprofits in particular. Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA), for example, receives almost all of its \$1.5 million budget from progressive Bay Area donors and very little from state or national foundations.

During the PIJ program, CAA executive director Vincent Pan helped start Asian Americans for Civil Rights and Equality (AACRE)—a network comprising eight Asian American social justice groups (described in more detail in Chapter 6). Most AACRE members have significantly smaller budgets than CAA and are even more reliant on grassroots fundraising.

Still, AACRE's member organizations are cautious about how and when they use social media for fundraising purposes. For example,

"THE TIME THAT YOU SPEND TWEETING MAY BE TIME THAT YOU DON'T SPEND TALKING TO REPORTERS. SOCIAL MEDIA CAN BE HIGH RETURN, BUT IT CAN ALSO BE LOW RETURN, AND YOU NEVER FULLY KNOW UNTIL YOU DO IT."

VINCENT PAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

CAA thought carefully about the timing of its fundraising linked to two recent campaigns one centered on comprehensive immigration reform and the other on saving San Francisco's City College—"out of concern about appearing to be exploitative," says CAA associate director John Fong. Yet CAA received significant donations from supporters in part because of its work on those two campaigns.

In April 2013, AACRE member organization API Equality-Northern California launched a month-long fundraising campaign for its summer intern program, which in the past had been supported through general funds. On top of email solicitations and phone banking, API Equality had former interns share their personal stories on Facebook and ask for donations. The campaign's \$7,000 goal was modest, and so were its social media efforts: just six Facebook posts in total. Yet even with such light social media engagement, API Equality exceeded its fundraising goal by more than \$3,000 and increased its Facebook fans by 10 percent (to 1,200). Its Twitter account and email list subscriptions saw similar spikes.

Another AACRE member, APEX Express which produces a weekly Asian and Pacific Islander-focused radio show—successfully crowd-sourced funding through the fundraising sites Kickstarter and Indiegogo. The organization raised almost \$4,000 to send a correspondent to the Philippines to conduct interviews. Fellow AACRE member *Hyphen* magazine raised \$6,000 through Crowdrise-via-Facebook to fund a project with photojournalist Mia Nakano, documenting the faces and stories of queer and transgender Asian Americans.

Fong acknowledges that none of the AACRE member organizations have come close yet to fully realizing the fundraising potential of social media—but their capabilities are growing. Only three of the network's seven members had active Facebook pages before joining AACRE. Now they all do. In March 2014, AACRE launched a shared website aimed at helping raise awareness of each member organization and motivating the groups to create fresh content and cross-link posts to mutually drive traffic. Social media will be integrated into the website, so that each group's Facebook and Twitter accounts experience a boost in followers.

Challenges

Despite the Pioneers' successes using social media to broadcast activist actions, engage individual supporters, and raise funds, adopting these tools has not been without significant challenges. For example, it remains hard for all of the Pioneers to find the right balance between social media and other forms of communication, and to figure out how much time and effort to spend on social media versus doing other aspects of their work. "The time that you spend tweeting may be time that you don't spend talking to reporters," says CAA's Pan. "Social media can be high return, but it can also be low return, and you never fully know until you do it."

In addition, says the ACLU-NC's Soltani, the explosion of online news and opinion outlets makes it more difficult to monitor issues—even issues that are in the organization's sweet spot. "So many people now can communicate in so many different ways," Soltani says. "We have to keep up with so many more channels, not just opinion-leading newspapers and local TV. You can't make a nice press list with 30 outlets—it's infinite."

On the flip side, some of the audiences these organizations are trying to reach still have limited access to technology. Facebook and Twitter can't always reach women prisoners, immigrants with limited English, or low-income families with little to no access to technology in the home. While some will never be reached through social media—a lesson in and of itself—the Pioneers have tried to maximize their ability to "virtually" connect with these harder-to-access audiences through tools such as WeiBo (a Chinese hybrid of Twitter and Facebook) and Meltwater, which enables the tracking of foreign-language media stories.

Finally, the format of some social media platforms can limit how much nuance or detail organizations can provide through their stories. Many Pioneer organizations are engaged in complex legal and advocacy work that cannot be reduced to 140 characters or a breezy two-line caption and call to action. However, those 140 characters can drive traffic to more comprehensive content on the organization's website. Moreover, an image posted to Facebook or Instagram can draw the attention of traditional mediawith no words necessary. When Advancing Justice posted an infographic about immigration reform on its Facebook page, it was blasted across social media, picked up and shared by Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and filmmaker lose Antonio Vargas, and led to coverage by The Wall Street Journal and CNN.

embracing social media Key Takeaways

For social justice and legacy nonprofits struggling with how to adapt to social media and use these new tools to drive greater impact, there are a number of lessons specific to technology that the Pioneers have learned in this process:

CRAWL, WALK, RUN — AND GET HELP!

One of the most important lessons the Pioneers learned was that adopting social media as a tool, and using it effectively, takes real time. As social media expert Beth Kanter says, organizations need to crawl before they can walk, and walk before they can run. Nonprofits should take it one step at a time. It also helps to have the assistance of a technical consultant (in the Pioneers' case, ZeroDivide). For nonprofits just starting down this path, it may make sense to attend trainings or get some capacity building help at the outset.

2 START WITH THE RIGHT TECHNOLOGY INFRASTRUCTURE.

Effective social media communications, especially those using video, require having basic technology infrastructure in place. For the Pioneers, those basics included broadband access; essential hardware (up-to-date computers with cameras, etc.); updated software programs; applications to help facilitate social media use; collaborative content management systems; and integration of their content with mobile phones.

3 Set up a social Media Policy and Empower staff.

The Pioneers learned to identify, train, and empower key staff to engage in social media on behalf of the organization and on their own personal accounts. To do this, they first established a clear social media policy laying out professional and personal guidelines. ZeroDivide suggests that organizational leaders spend half an hour on social media per day, once they have set up the tools to enable efficient social media monitoring and posting.

G Remain Agile, and Respond Quickly.

News today happens fast in a 24/7 cycle; the Pioneers had to ensure that their teams were equipped to respond quickly to breaking news events. "If you're not on it within the first hour, it's basically non-news," says CAA communications director Susan Hsieh. For example, when the George Zimmerman verdict was handed down on a Saturday, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights communications director Candace Francis was at home, but she was ready to respond with a short post, which quickly gained traction. As a result, LCCR legal director Oren Sellstrom was invited to appear on local public radio later that week to discuss the verdict.

5 Create Data-Driven Feedback Loops.

Sustained social media effort is only possible when you feel that there's a worthwhile return on the investment, which requires tracking and measuring results. The good news is that this can be easier to do in the online world than offline, where outcomes can be harder to measure. With the help of ZeroDivide, the Pioneers learned how to use the appropriate analytic tools to measure their social media impact. For example, they learned to look not only at how many followers they have online, but whether they have followers with influence.

6 TEST AND ITERATE TO LEARN.

The Pioneers learned that the best way to become more skilled at social media is to try things out and learn. For those seeking to emulate their approach, questions to ask include: Have you chosen the right issue at the right time to create impact? Are the right people tweeting/posting? Are they delivering a powerful, shareable message? Are they using pictures, infographics, and video? Are the messages going out at a time when your target audience is listening?

BRIDGE ONLINE "CLICKTIVISM" WITH OFFLINE ACTION.

The Pioneers learned that the best social media campaigns bridge the online and offline worlds, and include a real call to action. Social change will not come about only through "likes," and "clicktivism" alone will never sway a legislator's opinion as much as showing up in her office. "We're on the hook to produce legislative and policy outcomes," says the ACLU-NC's Soltani. "That happens through very careful legal work, careful communications work, and targeted persuasion on the right person at the right time." Social media is just one piece of the larger social justice puzzle.



Developing New Leadership

Many of the Pioneers are finding new ways to engage Millennials like those pictured here—in social justice work.





WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO LEAD SOCIAL JUSTICE 2.0 WORK AT THE

multiple levels of self, organization, network, and movement? For the Pioneers, it has meant having the courage to embrace new ways of thinking, acting, and organizing. It has meant helping their nonprofits—and helping themselves—find their voice in a world full of noise. And it has meant leaving behind the model of the executive director as heroic leader who can be everything to everyone, and instead elevating the "we" above the "me."

Over the last three years, the Pioneers and the Levi Strauss Foundation (LSF) have worked hard to redefine what social justice leadership in a networked world can look like: dealing with executive transitions, experimenting with shared leadership models, changing job descriptions by sharing power with others, and grappling with how to maintain a sustainable balance when social media has accelerated the pace of change and blurred the lines between "work" and "life." None of it has been easy: while their breakthroughs have been significant, so have their challenges. But any one of them will tell you that having the support of the other Pioneers in the cohort has made an enormous difference in their confidence and their ability to continue pushing their organizations and themselves into new territory.

All of this, of course, is happening against a backdrop of a larger social sector in which leadership transitions are occurring at an increasingly rapid pace. As Baby Boomers retire, and as orga-





CHRIS Punongbayan

CO-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-ASIAN LAW CAUCUS

BORN:

August 1976

ALMA MATER:

Brown University UCLA Law School

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Deputy director, Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus; advocacy director, Filipino Advocates for Justice; staff attorney, Positive Resource Center

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

Part of the challenge in thinking/ acting social justice 2.0 is that it's like learning a new language. Unlike net natives who grew up with the internet, I started using email in college. I had no cellphone back then. While technology has vastly improved and is more accessible than ever, the social justice movement where I got my chops did not use these methods. So, for me, it is a matter of daily practice and forming new habits. I'm much better now but I'm still learning, the same as my organization.

nizations are forced to navigate more turbulent waters—economic recession, disruptive technologies, a world that is "always on"—many social justice organizations find themselves learning how to operate in a new kind of landscape. In fact, the Pioneers have embodied the many leadership challenges facing the sector, including the disruptions that executive transition can present to any nonprofit.

Moving On

"Can we chat?"

It was the email subject line that former Levi Strauss Foundation senior manager Merle Lawrence had learned to dread. The first one came from Pioneer Titi Liu, who informed LSF in mid-2011, only a year into the PIJ program, that she would be leaving her position as executive director of Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus to take a post in academia, which she hoped would provide better work-life balance. The second email arrived just a few weeks later, from Lateefah Simon, who wanted to come early to the next gathering so that she too could "chat." She informed Lawrence that she planned to leave her job as executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and return to graduate school.

When Simon's departure was announced to

LEANING IN — OR Opting out?

When Titi Liu, Lateefah Simon, and Arcelia Hurtado simultaneously announced they were leaving their executive directorships, then senior manager Merle Lawrence, a Baby Boomer and veteran activist, looked at the other two Pioneers — both of them men — in dismay. "'No offence to anyone in this room," I said, 'but why is it always women who bear this?" she recalls saying. "Here we are, these progressive social justice leaders who all believe in gender equality, but at the end of the day, it's the elephant in the room."

All three departing Pioneers were mothers (or mothers-tobe), and all three said that their decision to leave was informed by, but certainly not limited to, the challenges of balancing a leadership role with family. Hurtado notes that the three women had spent "hours" talking about how to find that balance. Soltani, also a parent of young children, acknowledges that his wife takes on many of his family responsibilities, and that "my ability to have the flexibility I have to do my job, which is pretty demanding, is made possible by [her]. I think we all need to be mindful of those dynamics." Says Pan, who does not have children: "Gender equity is an issue, both in terms of unequal responsibilities at home and as a systemic problem within professional sectors, including our own."

Liu says that today's young leaders are not willing to devote every waking minute to work, as their predecessors often were. "My generation and the generation coming behind us, we think more about how to achieve balance," she says. "Work is more demanding now, and the cycle is much shorter."

Hurtado adds that being both a woman and a person of color adds further complexity to holding down the top job. "There are real challenges to being a leader when you are not white and/or male, which has implications not just for individuals but for larger social change," she says. "I think at the time I was the only woman of color in a leadership position in an LGBTQ organization and one of two in the country leading a national women's rights organization, which I think is detrimental to the movement as a whole."

Hurtado's move from Equal Rights Advocates to the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR) was motivated in part by her struggle to balance the demands of her family against those of her job. She had hoped that taking on the deputy directorship at NCLR would be easier on her personal life, and allow her to spend more time with her two young sons. But one year in, her marriage hit a roadblock. Hurtado switched down to part-time hours to try to work on her relationship, with her executive director's blessing, and took on a new role as NCLR's policy advisor. Unfortunately, her marriage did not last. But while making the difficult decision to end the relationship allowed her to refocus on work, she says, "I don't want to get sucked into a job that's 80 hours a week again."

Meanwhile, NCLR continues to value Hurtado's expertise and perspective — regardless of her title or work hours. "I want to make this work, because we're an organization that needs Arcelia's voice and leadership," says NCLR executive director Kate Kendell. the cohort at their next bimonthly convening, Equal Rights Advocates executive director Arcelia Hurtado added yet another voice to the conversation. "I may as well let you know I'm leaving ERA," Lawrence recalls her saying. She was taking the number two job at ERA's sister organization, the National Center for Lesbian Rights.

The original Pioneer cohort members were going to turn over by 60 percent in one fell swoop—with all three women leaving. Merle Lawrence and LSF executive director Daniel Lee hadn't seen it coming.

In fact, these transitions had a significant impact on the entire cohort, because the learning that they were doing together and the support they were providing to one another were a form of shared leadership that they had quickly grown to rely upon. Now, only two members of the original cohort were continuing in their roles: Vincent Pan of Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA) and Abdi Soltani of the American Civil Liberties Union-Northern California (ACLU-NC). But Pan and Soltani said they knew that their personal relationships with the three women would endureand, just as importantly, that much of the existing collaborative work between the original Pioneer organizations would continue. "There was a lot of cohesion in the program in terms of our organizations working together," says Soltani. "Our collaboration runs pretty deep, so removing the executive directors from the top did not have an

unsettling effect on the whole program."

But Pan did lament a missed opportunity: "As part of the Pioneers program, I thought that Lateefah and I might have a more formal platform to build on our rare convergence of shared political analysis, overlapping relationships, and personal commitment to addressing issues and opportunities between the African American and Chinese American communities." With Simon leaving the cohort, that opportunity did not materialize.

While no one had anticipated the sudden change, it did force the group to start talking about yet another dimension of leadership 2.0: constant transition. Executive directors of social justice organizations used to stay in their jobs for 20 years or more. In fact, many of the largest social justice groups founded in the 1960s or '70s still had their original leaders at the helm or on the board until quite recently. "The old-style executive directors in these organizations led in ways that were transformative, but you had the sense that they held everything together themselves," says Titi Liu. "If they were to leave, no one could imagine how the organization would survive."

But this style of long-term, positional leadership was clearly changing with the transfer of power to the next generation—and the Pioneers were now helping the field figure out a "new normal" for which there were few best practices. In a world where nonprofit leaders change jobs every four to five years, the Pioneers were cognizant that they could help the sector rethink its notions of leadership development, succession planning, and organizational sustainability—not to mention career development for leaders in it for the long haul.

Meanwhile, the announcement also raised other, more practical questions—specifically for the Levi Strauss Foundation as the program's funder. Should Pioneers remain within the cohort after they left their jobs-in other words, should the foundation "follow the leader" rather than the organization? Or should the new executive directors at participating organizations be invited to take part in the PIJ cohort? And what about the grants that these leaders' organizations had received as part of the program? The messy reality of leadership transition presented LSF with challenges they hadn't anticipated confronting-especially so early in the program. And these challenges were wreaking havoc on their thinking about leadership, capacity building, and grantmaking, not to mention linear logic models and theories of change.

In retrospect, LSF acknowledges that it was naïve to believe that—in today's tumultuous times—five young executive directors would remain at the helm of the same five organizations for five years. Yet the foundation now had no choice but to adapt. Ultimately, LSF decided that Lateefah Simon and Titi Liu would not remain in the cohort. Simon went back to graduate school full-time and then joined the Rosenberg Foundation, while Liu

"THE BRIDGE BUILDER"

HYEON-JU Rho

CO-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-ASIAN LAW CAUCUS

BORN: September 1972

ALMA MATER:

Swarthmore College, NYU Law School

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Country director, American Bar Association's Rule of Law Initiative in China; trial attorney, civil rights division, U.S Department of Justice; staff attorney, Urban Justice Center

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

Needing to be fluent in many different modes of speaking and communicating. We are a bridge between incredibly diverse parts of our community and our movement, whether it's our millennial staff and 60s-era activist founders: recent immigrants and second- and third-generation Asian American professionals; or marginalized communities in and outside of the API umbrella who don't necessarily see their struggles as interconnected. While social media and technology have opened up new ways of connecting, there are people who are excluded from it as well. We have to ensure that we don't leave important voices out of the conversation.



took an academic job at Stanford University. Both of these career pivots took them too far afield from LSF's work to justify ongoing investment.

HURTADO, ON THE other hand, remained with the Pioneers cohort, which helped smooth her transition to her new organization, the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR), where she became deputy director and then policy advisor. Although the PIJ program was initially designed for executive directors, the Pioneers had talked a great deal about flattening hierarchy and distributing leadership, so they decided Hurtado should stay in the cohort despite her new role. Says LSF's Daniel Lee: "When it comes to grantmaking, you see a leader, the vision they have, and you stick with them."

LSF also made the decision to award a tyingoff grant to ERA after Hurtado left, since the nonprofit was in the middle of transforming its website and logo as part of its work with PIJ. As a result, ERA staffers were able to remain in a parallel peer-learning group that ZeroDivide had established to provide social media training to the staff of all Pioneer organizations.

The new executive directors of Advancing Justice and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (LCCR), Hyeon-Ju Rho and Kimberly Thomas Rapp, were invited to join the PIJ cohort. "It really was a loss to us as a group when Titi and Lateefah left, but in some ways that was mitigated by the fact that they were both replaced by wonderful and talented colleagues who stepped right into the collaboration with such grace," says Soltani. In 2013, Rho took on a co-executive director, Chris Punongbayan, who was invited to join the cohort as well (see "Sharing the Lead," below). All three had to go through the same interview process as the original Pioneers and had to be approved by the cohort.

Today, though they are no longer part of the formal program, both Simon and Liu continue to feel its positive effects, and both remain close with the other Pioneers. "I've been through a lot of fellowships or cohort processes that were funder driven," says Simon. "This was the most meaningful to me. I learned a ton of new skills, my politics advanced, and it provided a real, honest space that allowed us to do more than vent. It was more than collaboration. It was really developing a new, forward-thinking community."

For its part, LSF has every confidence that the program's impact will grow as a result of Liu and Simon's participation. "We know they will continue to be influential voices for social change and justice," says LSF president Bob Haas.

Sharing the Lead

"Shared leadership" sounds compelling—but what does it actually look like, and how is it

"I LEARNED A TON OF NEW SKILLS, MY POLITICS ADVANCED, AND IT PROVIDED A REAL, HONEST SPACE THAT ALLOWED US TO DO MORE THAN VENT. IT WAS MORE THAN COLLABORATION. IT WAS REALLY DEVELOPING A NEW, FORWARD-THINKING COMMUNITY."

LATEEFAH SIMON, FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

achieved? The only way to break with historical notions of top-down, individual leadership is to actively experiment with new paradigms, for which there are few role models. As the PIJ program progressed, the Pioneers explored a host of ways to distribute the power that comes with their positions: by taking on allies within their organizations, giving away responsibilities that could better thrive in the hands of others, and beginning to lower the walls between their organizations and external leaders doing related work. This enabled shared leadership to take place not just at the level of the executive director but at the level of the organization and larger network as well; it also put the focus on leadership as a behavior practiced by many rather than on "leader" as a formal position.

In one Pioneer organization, the notion of shared leadership took very literal form—in the shape of a co-directorship. In 2012, after leading Advancing Justice for one year, Hyeon-Ju Rho,* who replaced Titi Liu, invited Chris Punongbayan, the organization's deputy director, to become its co-executive director. The invitation came around the same time that the organization was formalizing its affiliation with three other Asian American civil rights organizations—a move that not only changed the organization's name (from Asian Law Caucus to Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus) but also shifted it to an even more networked form. In their public announcement, Rho and Punongbayan noted that in many ways their move toward shared leadership was a natural evolution. Unlike several other Pioneer organizations, Advancing Justice had a longstanding emphasis on cooperative leadership. Still, the plan was unusual, even for them. "It's very bold," says former Advancing Justice executive director Titi Liu. "Everyone's usually so focused on this one [leader] in the organization. Donors, foundations, and even government officials giving grants or contracts need to meet with the executive director or they don't feel special. It's so hierarchical, and so different from what you'd expect to find in a progressive organization."

Both Rho and Punongbayan initially approached the co-leadership idea with caution for just this reason. Sharing power and responsibility can be complicated. They also worried that it could potentially slow the organization down when it needed to respond nimbly to the needs of its constituents and a rapidly changing environment. Still, it was clear to many at the organization that an unconventional solution could be just what Advancing Justice needed, given that it had been through 10 executive directors in 20 years (including three interim executive directors). Clearly, the old model was no longer working.

Indeed, Titi Liu had left the executive director job in part because the way the role was structured had become untenable for her. She was at

^{*} As this book went to press, Hyeon-Ju Rho announced that she was stepping down as Advancing Justice's co-executive director and moving to Los Angeles with her family. Beginning in June 2014, Chris Panongbayan will become the organization's sole executive director.

the office late every night, and representing the organization at community events meant even later nights and weekends away from family. Even when she took time to enjoy a rare moment with her family, duty called. One time, when Liu shut off her phone for an hour to be more present with her kids at a swimming pool, a local Chinese-language newspaper called her for a comment on a story. The story, critical of Advancing Justice's cross-racial alliances, went live an hour later, under the headline "ALC Is Weak" and with no quote or defense from Liu. The presumed lesson was to be available 24/7.

In fact, when Liu started at Advancing Justice in 2008, she says, there were no staff members with young children, in part because of the intense pressure of the job. "People would get married, have kids, and leave," she says. "It was a combination of not being paid very well and being super busy. We had one staff attorney, more than 10 years out of law school, who we were paying \$50,000 a year. Every Saturday for 12 years, after working a long week, he would drive around the Bay Area, pick up law students, and go somewhere to hold a legal clinic, so that clients who were working during the week could come and get help. When his wife was about to have a baby, I said, 'We need to talk about whether this is sustainable."

Today, by contrast, there are many staff members with young children at Advancing Justice, including the two co-executive directors. It is another way they are leading by example and piloting new ways of working that are much more doable for a younger generation with young families. "We saw how it's just too big of a job," says Advancing Justice board member Marjori Fujiki, adding that the board was pleased with the co-directorship proposal because they didn't want Rho to burn out. "It did require more communication and coordination. But because they don't have big egos and could share the leadership position, it made a lot of sense."

The pair had already proved to be a powerful team even before sharing the top title, says board chair Larry Lowe. "Under their leadership, we now have the largest staff and budget in our history, and have grown our litigation and development teams." Clearly, co-leadership is paying off in terms of greater impact and sustainability for the organization.

To support the transition into their shared role, the Levi Strauss Foundation provided Rho and Punongbayan with professional coaching, which helped them work through the many questions that they, their staff, and their board had. As part of that coaching, the pair created a 62-item list of all the traditional responsibilities of an executive and deputy director—and then chose who would take the lead on each, according to their respective strengths as leaders. In the end, Rho chose to lead the communications, development, and finance and administration

"PART OF OUR WORK IS TO BUILD ENOUGH SAFETY THAT FOLKS CAN DO THE WORK. SO WE DEALT WITH THE POWER DYNAMIC BY NAMING IT. WE TALKED ABOUT IT AND GRAPPLED WITH IT."

AKAYA WINDWOOD, CEO, ROCKWOOD LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE

departments, while Punongbayan took charge of programmatic work, which had historically been his area of expertise. Both of them share responsibility for strategic planning, cultivating and maintaining relationships with donors, and being the public faces of the organization.

At the heart of making this intense partnership work is trust, self-awareness, and strong communication. "The PIJ program really challenged me to think about how to live out my values through this position," says Rho. "It helped me to bring the focus on whether co-directorship is consistent with what I think the organization stands for, and to be more open to the part of leadership that's about vulnerability and authenticity." In social justice organizations, she adds, "the lines between professional and personal are already blurred, because you are living out your personal values in the work that you do. In the co-leader context, that means opening up to the other person about my fears, my concerns about myself, and my concerns about them. It wouldn't be possible to do this if we couldn't have those conversations."

She also believes that by "right sizing" their leadership roles, Advancing Justice can now see and celebrate all of the other things that make it resilient beyond the commitment of its executive directors. It is truly a shift to thinking of leadership as distributed rather than as a concentration of power. "A movement can't be dependent on a single organization," says Rho, "and an organization can't be dependent on a single individual." Moreover, adopting a co-executive director model has demystified the concept of leadership within the organization, she says. "It's no longer something that magically does or doesn't work, but rather something we can shape into what we need it to be. And it's opened up the space for staff to think about and step into their own leadership—another aspect of building resiliency."

Rho and Punongbayan weren't the only Pioneers to realize during the course of the PIJ program just how intertwined the personal and the professional have become. It's a throwback to the old '60s mantra "the personal is political," but with a new twist. In social justice 2.0, much of who you are and what you do blend together when the goal is to spark a larger social movement grounded in shared values. Both Pioneers were innovative enough—and bold enough—to find a new balance by opting for co-directorship.

Equalizing Power — with the Funder

One of the Pioneers' most interesting leadership lessons has been around the trust and relationships established with the Levi Strauss Foundation. Even though LSF's stated goal was to cocreate the PIJ program in collaboration with the

ABOUT THE ROCKWOOD LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE

The Rockwood Leadership Institute was founded in 2000 to provide individuals, organizations, and networks in the social benefit sector with powerful and effective training in leadership and collaboration. Each year, Rockwood delivers its programs to nearly 400 leaders working in important grassroots and policy reform sectors that help improve the well-being of communities and the world. Rockwood teaches skills and tools that help leaders overcome organizational challenges; inspire and align individuals and organizations toward producing quality outcomes; develop collaborative skills; decrease burn-out; and create organizations that celebrate sustainability and diversity.

Today, Rockwood has nearly 4,000 alums, making it the nation's largest provider of multi-day, transformative leadership trainings for social change nonprofit and philanthropic organizations. Pioneers, the foundation was still the Funder with a capital F. As with all foundations, it held both the purse strings and the ultimate decision rights—a tension that can often create a power differential between funders and grantees. Indeed, when the program began, the Pioneers were initially hesitant about just how honest they could be in the presence of LSF staff.

Although the power dynamic will never be 100 percent equalized, the level of trust between foundation staff and the Pioneers deepened significantly after they attended a five-day retreat at the Rockwood Leadership Institute together. LSF's executive director Daniel Lee had attended another Rockwood program and thought that the 360-degree feedback, visioning statements, and other hallmarks of the institute's process would be helpful to the Pioneers' own growth as leaders. So he approached Rockwood about creating a custom experience for both funders and Pioneers together. When Rockwood indicated it could only run the program for a larger group, Lee suggested that each Pioneer invite a board member and a key staff member to attend the retreat with them.

"It was new for us to have a mixed group; we had board members, executives, team members, and funders all in this intensive experience together," says Rockwood CEO Akaya Windwood. But the leadership retreat proved a big success and helped the group cross many boundaries. "Part of our work is to build enough safety that folks can do the work," says Windwood. "So we dealt with the power dynamic by naming it. We talked about it and grappled with it."

Lee agreed that it was an atypical experience: "Having a funder in such an intimate space like that is quite an undertaking," he says. "But it really solidified a sense of us all being in this together. I know I'm not in the Pioneers' role. They are voices of movements, they raise money, on top of managing staff and guiding strategy. At the end of the day I'm in a corporate private foundation. But I really felt like we started engaging as friends and peers, which helped open doors to more honesty. Before that, it was collegial respect." As a result of the Rockwood retreat and the relationships that it helped develop—all parties felt that a new level of trust and partnership had emerged.

To take one example, the experience helped Kimberly Thomas Rapp establish a deeper partnership with her board chair, Pamela Price, at a critical juncture. At the time of the Rockwood program, Thomas Rapp had just become executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights, was in the thick of addressing organizational changes, and needed the support of her board. As it happened, one of the goals of the Rockwood retreat was to help participants cultivate a collaborative leadership style. "Collaboration is about recognizing that there are many agendas. I have a purpose and you have a purpose, and together we can create something greater than what either of us can create separately," says Windwood. In this case, the retreat deepened the shared leadership and partnership between an executive director and her board chair.

"It's in all of our best interests that everyone thrives," says Windwood. "We are not in the business of developing competitive leaders. Leadership is inherently relational, and collaboration really requires that no one needs to be alone."

Finding Their Voices

Like others in their generation, the Pioneers have largely opted to lead behind the scenes rather than adopt an individualistic leadership model in which they became iconic and identified with their movements. All seem to prefer for the spotlight to shine on "the work," or the work of others, rather than on themselves. But in the social justice sector, leaders also need to have their own voice, and that voice needs to be both personal and engaging. Call it the paradox of networked leadership: needing to claim your own voice and power—even while sharing that power with others.

In their social media work, the Pioneers found new ways to tell the stories of their organizations and to lift up the voices of the people whose rights they were all fighting for. But sometimes they neglected to find their own story. "They've always been about building other voices," says former LSF senior manager Merle Lawrence. "The hard part was around the notion of their own voice being out there. They feel very negative about creating a cult of personality, and they've bent over backwards to go the other way."

But the reality is that even in the 2.0 world, funders, media, and conveners still look to executive directors as the voice and personality of an organization, and at certain times that voice needs to be clear and powerful. NCLR executive director (and Baby Boomer) Kate Kendell says it's their job to assert their voice in the larger conversation on behalf of their cause. "It's ludicrous to me when I hear stories about executive directors who don't like asking for money or are reticent about communications, because that tells me that they're driving their directors insane."

It wasn't as if the Pioneers were shy or restrained about their passions. LSF president Bob Haas remembers his first meeting with the Pioneers, listening as they went around the table sharing the deep and personal connections they had to social change work. "It became clear that their life experiences drove their commitment," says Haas. Indeed, each Pioneer has been motivated by a personal experience that transformed and shaped their lives. Part of their leadership journey has been learning to claim those stories as foundational to their own work.

- The summer that ABDI SOLTANI turned eight, his family left Iran as the country was going through a turbulent internal change and being drawn into war with its neighbor. "I remember looking out the plane window, knowing that I'd just left a country in a great deal of conflict, and that I now had this tremendous opportunity. I had to do something with it."
- ARCELIA HURTADO went to law school in California in the mid-1990s, when antiaffirmative action propositions were sweeping the state. "Everyone assumed if you were a person of color, you were there because of affirmative action. I got hate mail from some white students—it was really terrible. My class is unusual in that a lot of us have gone on to do social justice work, and I think it's because of that experience."
- For Korean-born HYEON-JU RHO, immigrating with her family to the white and black world of 1970s Columbia, South Carolina, gave her a very personal understanding of what it means to be outside the mainstream.
 "We were seen as 'Orientals,' not Americans. It gave me a deep identification with others who are excluded because of difference."
- CHRIS PUNONGBAYAN grew up next to a dairy farm in a small town in rural Mas-

"THE HARD PART WAS AROUND THE NOTION OF THEIR OWN VOICE BEING OUT THERE. THEY FEEL VERY NEGATIVE About creating a cult of personality, and they've Bent over backwards to go the other way."

MERLE LAWRENCE, SENIOR MANAGER, LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

sachusetts (population: 10,000). Other than his family and a very small circle of Filipino friends, he felt as though he were in racial and ethnic isolation until he took his first Asian American studies class in college. "I remembered feeling that I was finally part of something larger, part of a community that had deep roots in this country." Soon after, he led a campaign advocating for an ethnic studies department at the school.

- VINCENT PAN's father came to the U.S. from Taiwan for law school but was prohibited from taking the bar exam upon graduation, because he wasn't yet an American citizen. A few years later, the Supreme Court ruled that non-citizens couldn't be blocked from taking the exam, and his father was able to begin a professional career. "I think about how that one decision really changed everything for the trajectory of my family and for me."
- KIMBERLY THOMAS RAPP grew up in a community with intense economic disparities and where everyone was impacted by the law. "I was always trying to figure out: Why are some people stopped by the police and others aren't? Why is it easy for some people to gain employment while others struggle?" Her grandparents grew up picking cotton in Texas in the pre-Civil Rights era. "We have

opportunities they didn't have, yet there are still all kinds of barriers to advancing. It may not be as overt and challenging as it was back in their day, but it's real."

- LATEEFAH SIMON grew up surrounded by the crack and AIDS epidemics in her San Francisco neighborhood. "I saw that tragedy, and I became political." It's what drove her to become the executive director of the Center for Young Women's Development while still a teenager. "I said, 'We are all ghetto girls, we all have babies, and we will change the face of San Francisco.""
- TITI LIU was just graduating from high school when the Tiananmen Square massacre occurred. Many Chinese student leaders had gotten asylum and were spending time at Harvard, where Liu attended college. "I had a chance to get to know them, and they were very inspiring." After law school, she got a job with the Ford Foundation working on human rights issues in China and supporting individuals and organizations making an impact on the ground.

Despite their reluctant to highlight their own stories and experiences as a way to engage others, this is starting to change—albeit slowly. "They're all kind of introverts, in a way," says Merle Lawrence. "It's been a challenge to work with them on their own voice."

When Arcelia Hurtado became executive director of ERA, she knew that she was taking on a more public role. "I struggled with being in the spotlight primarily because I had never been either encouraged nor trained to do it," she says. "And I had a sneaking sense that it was egocentric to try to speak for a movement." But now, four years later, she has come to understand the importance of elevating her own voice and perspective in service of a greater good. "I know now how unique my perspective is, as an immigrant, as a queer woman, and as a lawyer representing poor people accused of crimes. If I don't put it out there, it's a lost perspective that cannot be replaced."

Abdi Soltani says that at first, the notion of "putting yourself in the story" ran against every bit of training he had as a community organizer. But through the Rockwood retreat and the Pioneers program, he, like Hurtado, has become more comfortable with the concept. Meanwhile, Vincent Pan has tried to separate his reluctance to share his personal story from the need to be more "out there" with his voice. "Via Facebook and in the Chinese language media I have, for better or worse, developed some semblance of a public personality," he says. But he still struggles with how to balance the opportunity cost of sustaining a public presence. In the final two years of the PIJ program, LSF is exploring new ways to help the Pioneers express themselves as leaders. For example, LSF has provided Arcelia Hurtado with a writing coach and editor to help her find and elevate her voice. In the meantime, the Pioneers have come to believe that sharing their individual stories and experiences is not about ego: it's an important part of moving their cause forward. And all have become more accomplished in telling stories from their own personal experiences. "If they talk about their immigrant story, it really makes a difference," says ZeroDivide's Laura Efurd.

• Key Takeaways

EXPECT TRANSITIONS AND PREPARE Accordingly.

One of the biggest surprises to the Levi Strauss Foundation was the fact that three of the five Pioneers changed roles within the program's first two years. LSF hadn't anticipated or prepared for these leadership transitions-nor, in fact, had the nonprofit organizations where they worked-and all of them had to adapt in real time. But in a world where leaders change jobs much more frequently, any cohort leadership program, and any nonprofit organization, should be prepared to address this challenge and have backup or succession plans in place.

2 EMBRACE LEADERSHIP As a team sport.

All of the Pioneers have experimented with ways to share leadership more broadly within and outside their organizations. Rather than seeing themselves as heroic CEO who have to "control" everything, they have embraced a more networked and fluid form of leadership. In some cases, this has meant hiring a strong team to complement their skills, empowering top staff to take on more responsibilities, or building a strong partnership with their board chair. In other cases, it has meant building external networks where leadership and staffing are distributed across organizations, creating greater flexibility and resilience. In the case of Advancing Justice, it has meant creating a co-executive directorship.

3 FIND YOUR OWN VOICE AND POWER.

Despite being very democratic when it comes to sharing leadership, each of the Pioneers has paradoxically had to learn to find their own power and voice as a leader as well. Because they have shied away from creating a "cult of personality," it has been difficult for them to learn to share their own stories. Over time they have come to realize that it's not an either/or but a both/and: they can claim their own voice and power and share that power with others at the same time. With this subtle shift, they are modeling a new way of thinking about leadership for the larger social justice field.

The Pioneers have worked hard to find a more sustainable work-life balance for themselves and for their staff. They have seen from their predecessors, and even their peers, how difficult it can be to maintain boundaries when "the personal is political," and to not let work become a 24/7 endeavor. This has been particularly tricky for several women Pioneers, who found that starting a family was what forced them to leave their jobs. Many of the Pioneers are trying to cultivate truly "just" and resilient workplaces where nothing is dependent on a single individual, enabling their staff—especially those with young children—to have greater work-life balance as well.

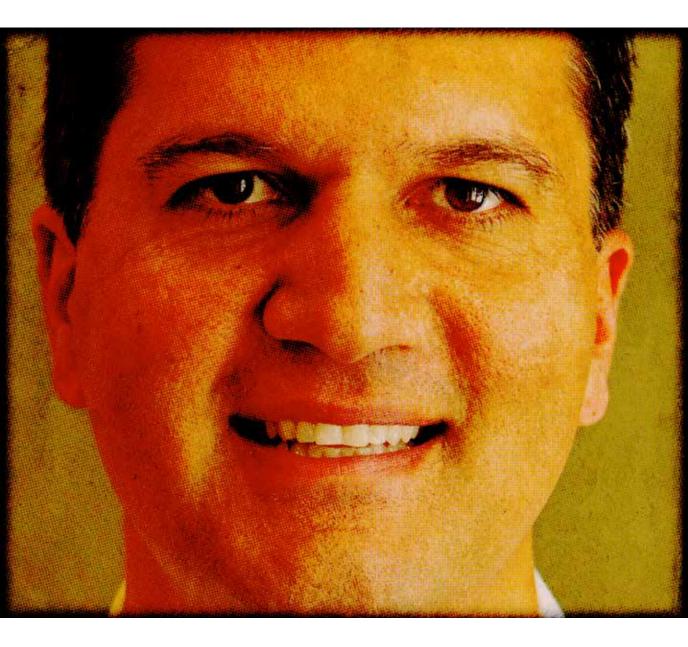
5 SHARE LEADERSHIP WITH THE FUNDER.

One of the most radical elements of this program has been the ways in which the Levi Strauss Foundation has chosen to share power and leadership with its grantees. LSF still provides resources and acts as the funder and convener, and the Pioneers still execute the work. But the power balance has been greatly equalized, and leadership of the overall program has been emergent and shared. From the beginning, LSF asked the Pioneers to help "co-create" the program, and it has often followed their lead in identifying the content or program elements that are most needed at a given point in time.



Catalyzing Organizational Change

"There is tremendous racial and cultural diversity in our region, and we need to make sure we're inclusive of everybody," says Pioneer Abdi Soltani (below), executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California.



IN THE SAME WAY THAT THE PIONEERS ARE WORKING TO FIGURE OUT AN AUTHENTIC

leadership style that fits with their times, so too are they trying to lead their organizations through a period of transformation to become social justice 2.0 nonprofits. In order for these legacy groups to embrace new technology, become more networked, and work more fluidly within social movements, they have needed to fundamentally rethink how they function as organizations—in part, by letting go of some of their own organizational ego and boundaries.

As Pioneer Vincent Pan puts it: "Maybe the story here is that leaders and organizations are recognizing how the world is changing. They're being as intentional and thoughtful as they can about finding their place in the larger movement, where they can both lead and support. They understand at the core who they are, and are not mistaking the organization for the movement." Shifting to the collective Pioneers' voice, he adds, "We want to be of service—to use our egos in service of the movement, and to find our space, our place, within it."

The social movements of the 1960s and '70s were broad, powerful, and resulted in significant systemic changes. But in the 1980s and 1990s, many of these movements became embodied in more hierarchical organizations; power (especially for advocacy nonprofits) consolidated to Washington, DC, inside the proverbial beltway, and pulled away from the grassroots. These organizations' members wrote annual checks in exchange for a newsletter or calendar, rather than engaging in direct action. As a result, the "movement" energy was lost, and the "treetops" became disconnected from the "grassroots."

At the same time, the focus of the nonprofit sector shifted to building strong organizations, with an emphasis on nonprofit management and looking to business approaches and frameworks as the models to emulate. "I think we went awry in the 1980s and 1990s with the big push to equate strong communities with strong organizations," says Pan. "Embedded in that frame was an overly competitive view of the world that inhibited some networks from developing. Now these new tools exist, and it's easier to work in ways that blur the lines between organizations, networks, and movements."

New technology is the wedge driving this change—enabling new ways of working and movement building. It cuts across boundaries and breaks down silos, internally and externally, which drives disruption. "Old businesses die off in the private sector, but in the nonprofit world they don't," says Pan. "If you want to help legacy groups adapt, they have to have the will. Then it's a matter of having an analysis of what you're adapting to." This adaptation requires a "network mindset"—a new mental model, new values, and a new way of seeing the world, where organizations are a means to the end rather than the center of the story. It also requires creating horizontal, not just vertical, linkages; building new relationships; and replacing control with trust.

It's not surprising, then, that transforming their organizations has been among the Pioneer's greatest challenges. As Generation Xers—also known as the "sandwich" or "bridge" generation—the Pioneers are caught between their predominantly Boomer boards, who sometimes resist these new ways of operating, and their Millennial staff, who often view organizations as an afterthought or not entirely necessary.

The Pioneers have to straddle these tensions. They've had to figure out how to make their programs more accessible and more relevant to new audiences; reorient their organizational strategies and structures for this new networked era; and shift their internal cultures, aligning their boards and staff to the new normal.

This chapter explores how the Pioneers have worked to create social justice 2.0 organizations that operate as an important part of a larger ecosystem of actors, and how they have moved at different paces through this complex change. As former LSF senior manager Merle Lawrence puts it, "This is a leader-focused initiative; they are leaders at the same stage of willingness to make change. But we knew going in that their organizations were at different levels of readiness, and in all sorts of different places. We've had to work at different levels of being cooked."

Creating a Network Mindset and Culture

Perhaps the most significant barrier to becoming a networked nonprofit is the least tangible and most difficult to describe: it requires shifting the mindset or culture of the organization, including the informal ways of working that are ingrained in the mental models and daily routines of its leaders and staff. In fact, much of this new way of working flies in the face of conventional wisdom about what makes a nonprofit organization strong.

"Most of our impact revolves around our ability to provide direct services on the ground and do high-impact legal work at the same time," says Pioneer Kimberly Thomas Rapp. "But that's also a weakness for us when we think about working in more networked ways. Literally, across our organization we've had to rethink our board governance model and structure; it is a limitation to 2.0 networking if our board comprises only lawyers at certain types of firms."

Pioneer Vincent Pan agrees that organizational centricity can sometimes work at cross-purposes to network values, a tension he also struggles to manage. "One of the jobs of leadership is to understand that if you become overly organization-centric you will not network, you will not support the movement," he says. "A lot of organizational theory is grounded in market competition. It takes a con-

"ONE OF THE JOBS OF LEADERSHIP IS TO UNDERSTAND THAT IF YOU BECOME OVERLY ORGANIZATION-CENTRIC YOU WILL NOT NETWORK, YOU WILL NOT SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT."

VINCENT PAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

scious effort to say that sometimes it is in support of our mission to not put our organization first."

This form of humility extends not just to the Pioneers as leaders, but also to their stance as organizations. "It's broader than leadership-it's also lack of ego as an organization," says Pioneer Hyeon-Ju Rho. When her organization joined forces with three other Asian and Pacific Islander advocacy groups under the umbrella name Asian Americans Advancing Justice (described further in Chapter 6), each organization had to let go of its ego almost entirely. "It was about investing in something bigger than our organization, investing in a broader movement," says Rho. "We invest so much that it touches on questions of organizational identity. But we have to be very agile about how we show up as organizations, as individuals, and as coalitions in order to get to that larger goal we're trying to achieve."

This kind of shift is rarely easy, though. Some staff and supporters of Rho's organization initially resisted the alliance because they thought it threatened the nonprofit's strong brand. "For some people within our inner circle, the organization represents a kind of an anchor for their values or hopes for what society should be," says Rho. "There was a fear that those values wouldn't survive if the organizational trapping changed. The process of investing more broadly in the movement can feel scary and destabilizing for people." Creating this network culture can also present challenges for how these nonprofits think about getting credit, or building their brand. While one organization within a network may do more work on an initiative, it's not unusual for it to give credit to other groups to benefit the larger cause. For example, the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California sometimes chooses to work behind the scenes with others on some projects, keeping its name out of the spotlight because "the minute we [highlight our role], it becomes a magnet for opposition," explains executive director Abdi Soltani. "Our brand is more controversial to some and invokes a level of opposition that's not always necessary."

Indeed, in social justice 2.0, activists often affiliate with social movements and causes, rather than the organizations that are helping to elevate the issues. In fact, sometimes activists aren't even fully aware of the organizations operating behind the scenes. Early in the PIJ program, ZeroDivide held a focus group with young immigrant activists who had been identified by the Pioneers as supporters of their organizations. Yet when ZeroDivide asked these activists which organizations they connected with on social media, not a single one mentioned the Pioneer organization that had submitted their name.

"We asked them the same question four or five different ways," says ZeroDivide's Laura Efurd. "There were people in Chinese for Affirmative



"THE Organizer"

A B D I S O L T A N I

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA (ACLU-NC)

BORN: June 1973

ALMA MATER: Stanford University

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Executive director, Californians for Justice, the Campaign for College Opportunity, and PARSA Community Foundation

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

If we define one of the qualities of 2.0 ways of working as distributing knowledge and expertise outward, rather than holding it in a center, one of the biggest challenges is how to do that in an organization that highly values expert knowledge and where there are great risks associated with failure to use that knowledge well. A second major challenge is how to take on new innovative projects, some of which will succeed and most of which will fail, and maintain a level of management attention on them while also addressing the dozens of existing core projects and activities that need our attention.

Action's network, for example, who couldn't name CAA. One of them said, 'Oh, there's this Asian group.' But they couldn't name them." This was true not just for CAA but for all the Pioneer organizations—and it points to an interesting tension for them: promoting their causes above their organizations can also inhibit people knowing who they are. As Pan says, it is all about finding the right balance between organizational identity and identifying around a cause, between getting public credit and knowing when to operate below the radar to advance an issue.

Bringing the Board Along

At their July 2013 forum, held at the Levi Strauss Foundation's headquarters, the Pioneers focused exclusively on their boards—a topic that had been on their minds for a while. How the executive director and his or her board share leadership is critical to how well an organization functions. If the board has too much power, or tries to micromanage, they can drive an executive director crazy; but if the executive director has all the power, and the board is just a "rubber stamp," that's not optimal either. Ultimately, leadership 2.0 is a team sport, and maintaining a balance of power is important. It's also particularly challenging when the board and executive director represent different generational cultures and leadership styles.

Pioneer Kimberly Thomas Rapp, executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (LCCR), says finding this balance can be tricky. "The executive director is hands on, all day, everyday, and has the frontline view of the organizational operations, and the responsibility to make sure the board is updated," she says. "But you've also got to have a board that understands that it is not the day-to-day manager and that its responsibility is to collaborate, and not just legislate. That's where the tension lies."

The Pioneers' board discussion was facilitated by Thomas Rapp, who has arguably had the most challenging task of all the Pioneers in bringing her all-lawyer board into a "2.0" way of working. She and the other Pioneers brought a number of questions to the table for their conversation: How do you create an organizational culture that supports social justice 2.0? How do you shape board leadership? How do you help the board grow as the organization changes?

Much of the session was closed, but in their opening remarks, two guest speakers encouraged the Pioneers to take a strong leadership role with their boards. "There's a lot of talk about board engagement but not a lot of understanding of what that means," says Jan Masaoka, executive director of the California Association of Nonprofits and board member of New America Media. "Most executives think that it's a lively conversation where the board agrees with the executive director in the end." Instead, she urged the Pioneers to think of the board as a team with whom they share leadership (akin to a department in the organization): you respect their ultimate authority, but you should also replace members who aren't working out.

Tessie Guillermo—CEO of ZeroDivide, cochair of the California Endowment, and a board member with a number of nonprofits—agrees. Executive directors need to set the tone for their board and ensure that its governance structure reflects the organization's definition of social justice, she says. At minimum, the executive director needs to align board members around a shared, defined goal. "There are times when you have to challenge the board and assert the leadership they brought you on to provide."

Guillermo notes that traditionally, board members of legacy social justice organizations have been populated with the "voices of the movement" and less with people who understand the business of running an organization. Historically, it was the executive director's job to straddle those worlds, acting as leader of both the movement and the organization.

In the weeks following the Pioneers' Rockwood retreat, described in the last chapter, Pioneer Kimberly Thomas Rapp and her board member Pamela Price continued their frank dialogue about the governance of their organization. LCCR has seen a lot of executive turnover—and the relationship between executive director and the board has not always been smooth. When the board hired Lateefah Simon in 2008, they were at a crossroads and seemed willing to let her take charge and initiate significant changes. "It was quite revolutionary for this board to make a decision to hire a non-lawyer," says Thomas Rapp. "I think it was a recognition by the board that something new and different was needed for the future of our work, and for the organization's survival."

When she came onboard, Simon set three goals for herself: to establish relevancy for LCCR in the 21st century by developing a new strategic plan; to forge new relationships with new allies in the field; and to "keep the lights on." She achieved all three. But after almost three years—the same length of tenure as the previous executive director—Simon felt that her politics and perspectives were not the best fit for LCCR. "I was fighting the board more than I was fighting for justice," she says.

Indeed, implementing such bold change required more support and adjustment than the board had realized. When Simon resigned, she was followed by six members of her management team. Price acknowledges that LCCR's board did not give Simon the support she needed to create a community-focused, movement-based organization. Simon, for her part, says that she was stuck trying to create a radical organizational shift in a more conservative nonprofit. (She has since joined the progressive Rosenberg Foundation as a program director.)

When Simon left, the board didn't have a succession plan in place—and didn't have a strong vision for what would come next. "That's not acceptable," says Price, who, along with Thomas Rapp, is now trying to introduce governance reforms. "The challenge for organizations like ours is you have to be prepared for an ongoing transition. Everything moves so fast." By the July 2013 meeting with Guillermo and Masaoka, Price and Thomas Rapp had established a governance committee on the board for the first time in the organization's history.

Nurturing Next-Gen Leaders and Staff

In addition to inspiring their boards to commit to organizational change, the Pioneers are also trying to reach out and engage their staff, many of whom are Millennials. "We're helping to bring new young people into the social justice movement," says Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus co-executive director Chris Punongbayan. "As a legacy organization, that's a responsibility we have, to nurture new leaders from our communities."

The American Civil Liberties Union-Northern California is also trying to infuse its ranks with new and young community-based leaders. The ACLU-NC has had a dedicated and passionate constituency for decades, but that constituency's profile no longer reflects California's changing demographics. Since he joined the ACLU-NC as executive director, Soltani has been trying to create space for new people to step into the organization and feel a sense of ownership-whether as staff or as highly engaged volunteers. "I want to open up the organization so it's a level playing field, so a person who's 70 years old and has been a steward of the organization for 30 to 40 years is working alongside the 22-year-old immigrant rights leader," Soltani says. "We need intergenerational and multiracial leadership."

Punongbayan agrees. "The experiences and strengths that Millennials bring to the workplace have to be balanced by the Gen Xers and Boomers in our organization," he says. Punongbayan recently led a staff retreat where he helped his organization's younger leaders develop their interpersonal skills and helped his staff work more effectively across their differences. During the retreat, he led an exercise with a Native American Medicine Wheel in which participants self-identified as buffaloes (north), who like to take charge; deer (south), who prioritize smooth working relationships; eagles (east), who are visionaries; and bears (west), who are analysts. Co-executive director Hyeon-Ju Rho identified as the visionary eagle, while Punongbayan considers himself an analytical bear, able to adapt to whatever a situation requires.

After the exercise, Punongbayan facilitated a conversation about the strengths and weaknesses of each group, as well as the challenges they can have in working with other animals/directions. "The goal was to understand group dynamics, and we arrived at a consensus that we should try to have all of these leadership styles present in our various subsequent working groups," says Punongbayan. By including the four leadership styles, all perspectives would be represented up front, and the team would be stronger due to its diversity.

Punongbayan is also trying to level the playing field with his staff—to create a sense of equality in the movement, if not exactly in title or position. "How I try to relate to younger members of staff is through soft levers of influence, building a relationship by following them on Instagram or interacting with them in a casual conversation," he says. "It's a small example of being able to break down hierarchy."

Punongbayan says that having Millennials on staff will help Advancing Justice to stay relevant in the 21st century. He also says that they're very collaborative and collegial in the way they

"I TRY TO RELATE TO YOUNGER MEMBERS OF STAFF THROUGH SOFT LEVERS OF INFLUENCE, BUILDING A RELATIONSHIP BY FOLLOWING THEM ON INSTAGRAM OR INTERACTING WITH THEM IN A CASUAL CONVERSATION. IT'S A SMALL EXAMPLE OF BEING ABLE TO BREAK DOWN HIERARCHY."

CHRIS PUNONGBAYAN, CO-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ADVANCING JUSTICE

approach the workplace and the world. "They view everyone as a peer; they don't view you as necessarily wiser. That's very different from what I learned from the Baby Boomers, which was about being more deferential to your elders."

LCCR's Kimberly Thomas Rapp agrees that younger staff members bring an important perspective to social justice 2.0 organizations—and also present diverse working styles that need to be negotiated. "We have a strong base of folks who are very comfortable and familiar with the traditional legal boxes of advocacy," she says of the Boomer lawyers on staff. "Then we have a new generation of folks joining the movement who realize that legal strategies can be very limited. So how do we remain true to our mission using the law as a tool for fairness, and accomplish the kinds of equal access to the opportunities that we're looking for across our communities? That's where the challenge is."

Sometimes younger generations are willing to take risks that older activists would not take. Pioneer Arcelia Hurtado says that when she started at Equal Right Advocates, she had predominantly older women on her board. But during her tenure, she actively recruited younger women. "They have a different perspective on a lot of things," Hurtado says. "The generation before us was very cautious, because they were often the first women in their corporation or setting. Younger women are more bold in some ways." This generational shift is also showing up in philanthropy, not just in legacy nonprofits. At a recent Emerging Practitioners in Philanthropy conference, Hurtado was excited to see a set of young funders seeking new, responsive approaches to philanthropy. "Traditional [strategic philanthropy] funders are very results-oriented and metrics focused, almost to the exclusivity of not seeing the forest for the trees," she says. "That's always been a frustration of people in the nonprofit world: funders want measurements to show their boards. But the new generation of people going into philanthropy are not so rigid in that way."

Dismantling Bureaucratic Structures

For some Pioneer organizations, part of the change agenda has involved helping affiliates or local chapters transition to a "2.0" way of working. Says the ACLU-NC's Abdi Soltani, "I've been visiting all of our chapters [in Northern California] as part of our change process focused on diversity and inclusion. At one chapter meetings, the previous chapter chair pulled out her *Roberts Rules of Order* while the new chair was trying to run the meeting. She starts waiving *Roberts Rules*, saying, 'You're breaking the rules.' It was unbelievable. We were there to talk to them about

the challenges they're facing, and they couldn't have given us a better example of why change was needed."

Like many social justice organization with affiliates, the ACLU-NC's chapter structure started in a different era. Soon after its founding in 1934, the ACLU-NC initiated chapters as a way of communicating with activists at the grassroots level throughout the region, and engaging them in the organization's work. A representative from each chapter would come to monthly board meetings in San Francisco for updates and then report back at their local chapter meeting.

In this era of online communication, Soltani sees this approach as outdated. Yet many chapters still follow the formats and processes started 80 years ago. "We went to a chapter meeting where the representative gave a report on meeting minutes that were three weeks old, talking about what support we needed on legislation that actually happened the week before," he recalls. "The absurdity of it was just so apparent. We can do a better job of engaging our constituents and giving our representatives better tools to engage their peers effectively."

In response to these outdated ways of communicating and working, Soltani and Shayna Gelender, the ACLU-NC's director of organizing and community engagement, recently began overhauling the organization's chapter system. They and their team visited all 15 Northern California chapters to talk about what changes were needed. "The biggest reason this change process needs to happen is diversity," Soltani says. "There is tremendous racial and cultural diversity in our region, and we need to make sure we're inclusive of everybody. The second big factor is the emergence of new technology that allows us to work differently." Soltani says the chapters were initially cautious about the prospect of major change, but he and Gelender are giving them lots of time to get comfortable with the idea.

Soltani's goal is to create multiracial, intergenerational, well-trained groups of ACLU volunteers and leaders who partner with staff to carry out effective advocacy and outreach. None of the changes he's suggested are particularly radical, and some of them are the kinds of procedures it's surprising to hear have not been implemented already:

- Providing comprehensive orientation and training—and making it mandatory. "Our previous model was very 2.0: it decentralized authority and gave local chapter leaders a lot of space to lead in the organization," says Soltani. "But there was very little training for volunteers assuming important roles in a legal organization that is otherwise very careful about everything it does."
- Streamlining and synchronizing chapter calendar and administrative functions, with all monthly chapter meetings occurring at the

same time on a given set of dates. The use of digital tools (webinars, conference calls) can bring everyone together for updates, training, etc., regardless of location.

- Aligning the organization's community engagement program by making all activities visible to all, and creating a pipeline of young leaders by offering fellowships that begin right after college graduation—then encouraging these young leaders to run in chapter elections.
- Changing the focus of chapter meetings to make them more engaging. "Currently, most chapter meetings focus on governance and process, which is not only boring for lots of people but also not necessary since chapters are not nonprofit corporations with those requirements," says Soltani. "Chapter meetings should instead focus on activism, advocacy, outreach, and impact for civil liberties. When people are engaged and inspired, they want to keep participating in the ACLU."
- Being more selective about chapter leaders and doing away with the roles of treasurer and secretary in favor of roles that are more outwardly focused on the community. The committee that worked on the above recommended changes voted unanimously

to begin implementing them. In December 2013, committee members met with the whole 45-member board and reached general consensus on the broad direction of these goals, with more discussion to come on the best way to achieve them. The process still feels agonizingly slow to Soltani—who wants change now—but he knows that he needs to take the time to build the will for these changes if they are to succeed.

Progress in these areas will be assessed again in 2017, in order to determine their impact on building a diverse, inclusive, and sustainable base of leaders; advancing civil liberties; and making the best use of staff and volunteer resources. "At each stage of this process, we are embarking on three-year phases of organizational change, each one with the board adopting the goals and direction and setting the markers for formal evaluation," Soltani says.

Managing the Pace of Change

Managing all of this change requires having one foot on the gas pedal and sometimes one foot on the brake. The Pioneers have had to intuit how far they can push their organizations to adapt, and how quickly. Sometimes they've had to learn to go slow to go fast, or to temper their own impatience. "I just hit the four-year mark and I feel so frustrated, like we haven't done that much," says Soltani. But then he talked to a mentor who said to him: "Are you kidding? The amount of change that this organization has gone through is dramatic."

So now Soltani is asking himself: How do you calibrate the pace of change, and how many variables do you act on at the same time? The same mentor advised him not to start anything new for a while. "All these things are very disruptive to the whole system, and they need their time to work through and coalesce," Soltani concedes. "I've shifted. Now I'm all about documentation and measuring the impact of what we've already started. When we're further along, then I can say what's next."

Pioneer Hyeon-Ju Rho says that her organization has also gone through an accelerated cycle of change, in part because of the Pioneers program. Just five years ago, she says, Advancing Justice had major financial challenges, was half its current size, and was facing real questions about relevance. "We've come so far from that place," she says now. "We've doubled in staff and budget—and I think we have answered that question of relevancy in many different ways."

• Key Takeaways

CHANGE IS THE ONLY CONSTANT.

If there's one theme that resonates throughout this report, it's that the social sector is going through a period of enormous change. Technology is changing how people connect, communicate, and organize. At the same time, the sector is experiencing intergenerational leadership transfer, with Baby Boomers beginning to retire and Gen Xers stepping into their roles. Meanwhile, Millennials, as digital natives, are learning how to organize without organizations and are accelerating this change. Lastly, economic stability is less guaranteed, and external forces can present unanticipated disruptions. The bottom line: all nonprofits are having to learn how to embrace change in order to stay both relevant and resilient.

2 Embrace a network Mindset and culture.

Perhaps the most fundamental shift these nonprofit organizations are making is the least visible on the surface: they are embracing a network mindset and culture, changing the way they and their organizations think and act. Older, more market-based or transactional paradigms are being replaced by a renewed emphasis on building strong relationships and adopting a more fluid approach to "structures" and "roles." This fluidity enables these nonprofits to distribute their work more broadly, breaking down hierarchies within their institutions and breaking down boundaries with the outside world.

3 Bring your Board Along.

The Pioneers are all Generation Xers who are now at the helm of legacy social justice organizations, trying to bring them into the 21st century and build on the successes of the past to embrace new ways of working. This is not an easy feat, and a critical success factor has been their ability to bring their predominantly Baby Boomer boards along with the proposed changes. This has meant cultivating strong and trusted relationships with their board chairs, making the case for change, and not being afraid to lead their organizations in a new direction.

G Cultivate Next Generation Staff and Volunteers.

At the same time that the Pioneers have to bridge to their older boards, they are also reaching out to their younger staff and volunteers. Many of the Pioneers see a core part of their social justice work as the ability to equalize the playing field within their organizations as well as in society, encouraging multi-generational partnerships and creating space for different and diverse players to bring all of their strengths to the table, whether it's seasoned social justice wisdom or prowess with Twitter.

5 DISMANTLE THE BUREAUCRACY.

Most legacy organizations have also inherited legacy structures and business processes designed for a different era. The Pioneers' nonprofits are no exception. Part of their change agenda has been tackling some of the bureaucracy that has crept in over time, and updating business systems and processes to reflect a more current reality. The ACLU-NC, which has chapters scattered across Northern California, has had to make changes in how its chapters communicate, how local volunteers are trained, and how they create greater alignment and adaptive capacity across their system.

6 Manage the pace of Internal change.

The Pioneers are in many ways "social entrepreneurs" in the social justice field—unafraid to innovate, change, and lead the way into the unknown. This is why their unique form of leadership is so needed at this moment in time. However, changing too quickly can also be very unsettling and disruptive to organizations. At times, the Pioneer have had to temper their own impatience and moderate the pace of change across their organizations-giving their board, staff, and key stakeholders time to catch up, and going slow to go fast.



Building Networks

Defending women's economic rights is core to the mission of Equal Rights Advocates (ERA), a member of the Pioneers in Justice cohort when it was headed by Pioneer Arcelia Hurtado.

CLOSE THE GAP! TRUCK DRIVER

WOMEN: 72C MEN: \$1

#ERAEQUALPAY ~ WWW.EQUALRIGHTS.ORG

COLLABORATION IS NOTHING NEW IN THE NONPROFIT SECTOR; ORGANIZATIONS HAVE LONG PARTNERED ON

mutually beneficial campaigns or created coalitions to boost their collective impact. But many of these alliances have proved short-lived—created at and for a certain moment in time—rather than deep, long-lasting, and adaptive. Moreover, the same organizations in these coalitions often found themselves competing against their "partners" for limited grantmaking dollars, which further inhibited true collaboration.

Social justice 2.0, by contrast, embraces a different kind of collaboration—one that promotes a networked way of working that is transformational instead of transactional, and that is built not on formal structures but on relationships with people in other like-minded organizations. Rather than coming together to achieve short-term goals and then disbanding, the goal of 2.0 networks is to form relationships with other organizations that are more fluid, supportive, and lasting—and that create shared value for all of their participants.

As we explored in the previous chapter, working in more collaborative ways requires first embracing a network mindset and cultivating a network culture—something all of the Pioneers have done in their nonprofits. Indeed, the Pioneers came into this program with a profound understanding of today's interconnected world and an equally profound readiness to act, says LSF president Bob Haas. "They expressed frustration about the historic inability of progressive groups to work together," says Haas. "They were open to new and more shared forms of leadership than their organizations had experienced in the past." This frustration with the past created an additional incentive to explore new ways of working.

To encourage the Pioneers to experiment with new forms of aligned action, LSF offered them annual grants designed to support "experimental collaborations that reached across sector, field, issue, and constituency, using networks of both trusted and 'unlikely' allies to power change." In the first three years of the PIJ program, LSF distributed \$580,000 in funding for three large and more formal collaboration projects, two of which are described in more detail below. But the design of the Pioneers program encouraged and supported the Pioneers to collaborate in many informal ways as well.

Through the process of working together on initiatives large and small, the Pioneers learned that trust is a necessary ingredient in any breakthrough collaboration or network. Unlike the fleeting connection and goal-orientation that characterized past coalitions, these new networks are established on a deeper foundation. While shared interest can be the impetus to come together, trust is the glue that makes these relationships stick. "There is no question that building trust is a precondition," says LSF's Bob Haas. "The connective tissue of network collaboration is trust." Through their experiments, the Pioneers have also learned that many of the issues that social justice organizations work on are not just interconnected but actually best tackled through collective action. By reaching across issue lines and embracing new partners, even seemingly non-related organizations can have an impact on spreading one another's messages. "It's important for there to be a blurring of the lines, a seeking and enlisting of allies," says Haas. "It can have a multiplier effect on impact."

In the stories below, we explore the various ways that the Pioneers have begun to expand their impact by building external networks and relationships. Whether through creating shared infrastructure to lower overhead costs, or working on intersectional issues, or even pursuing "collective impact" via the use of a shared brand, the Pioneers have all come to believe that networked action can dramatically increase their reach and effectiveness.

Founding a Network

In August 2012, more than 50 Bay Area social justice activists gathered at the Oakland Asian Cultural Center for the inaugural meeting of Asian Americans for Civil Rights and Equality (AACRE), a fledgling network launched by Pioneer Vincent Pan with LSF seed funding. AACRE's goal, as envisioned by Pan, was to support a wide range of local grassroots social justice groups working in Asian and Pacific Islander communities by **0** creating shared back-office capabilities for these organizations and **2** encouraging new kinds of collaboration—big and small—among them.

Most of the attendees at the meeting were "digital natives"—activists in their 20s and 30s whose social lives, at least, were already highly networked. While most were Asian American, an ice-breaker dubbed "human bingo" demonstrated to everyone just how much diversity was present in the room. Participants had to walk around asking one another questions about their backgrounds until they found someone who could surf, someone who had met President Obama, someone who had participated in a "flash mob," etc. Although ethnicity, religion, and sexual identity weren't explicitly highlighted in the game, participants included Christians, Muslims, LGBTQ activists, immigrants, and people who had served time in prison.

Next, as the activists filed into the meeting room, they were greeted by an unusual setup. There were no rows of chairs or long boardroomlike tables; instead, everyone sat on the floor in a large circle. "We wanted to negate the assumption that power is important when creating a new structure and movement," says Keith Kamisugi, who serves on the AACRE board. "The best coalitions and networks are ones that are aware of power issues but don't spend a lot of time on bureaucracy. One analogy for AACRE is that everyone sits at the table together."

AACRE was born from Pan's view that the Asian American social justice community was rich with advocacy organizations, but their small size and limited resources were constricting both their individual and collective impact. These "free agents" were at risk of burning out if they became swamped with administrative tasks. And because many of these activist groups were entirely volunteer-based, most didn't have the bandwidth to communicate or campaign to the degree they wanted. Pan realized these groups could be better sustained and have more impact if they shared administrative, campaign, fundraising, and communication resources—so he helped create AACRE as a "backbone organization" or hub that would enable that to happen.

"We're trying to offer a new model," explains Pan. "The old way is to think of what needs to be done, raise money, start an organization, and hire staff. But there are not enough resources to allow everyone to become professional activists—and that model turns away many who can contribute in other ways." AACRE makes it possible for these volunteers to be activists without also having to be managers, fundraisers, and administrators.

Shared Infrastructure in Action

Among the activists who showed up at the Oakland Asian Cultural Center at that first convening were representatives from *Hyphen* magazine, an edgy, progressive publication that explores various aspects of Asian American identity. The magazine had no paid staff or office—it was run by volunteers out of their homes—and had nowhere to store its old issues. So Pan offered up storage space in Chinese for Affirmative Action's San Francisco office, as a way to be supportive and to see whether it might lead to a stronger relationship between CAA and the magazine which it did. Now, *Hyphen* staff meetings are held at CAA headquarters late into the night.

Lack of back-office capacity—fiscal sponsorship, financial management, insurance, and facilities—is something that can kill any nonprofit, particularly one that is volunteer-led. By knitting these small activist groups together and creating a shared infrastructure based on shared values, Pan hoped that all of AACRE's members could become more effective and sustainable. But first, he had to overcome their suspicions about his motives.

"Initially there was some skepticism about [Pan's] offer," say *Hyphen*'s former executive

ASIAN AMERICANS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND EQUALITY (AACRE)

AACRE has eight organizations in its network: two with paid staff, and five that are all volunteer-led. Several more grassroots groups are currently exploring being part of the network.

Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA)

→ API Equality-Northern California, which works at the intersection of the Asian and Pacific Islander and LCBTQ communities

→ *Hyphen*, a magazine covering Asian American arts, culture, and politics

→ APEX Express, a weekly radio show featuring the stories of Asians and Pacific Islanders

→ Alliance of South Asians Taking Action (ASATA), which educates and empowers South Asian communities to end violence, oppression, racism, and exploitation

→ Asian Prisoner Support Committee (APSC), which provides support to and advocacy on behalf of incarcerated Asians and Pacific Islanders

→ The Network on Religion and Justice, which seeks inclusion for LCBTQ people in the Asian and Pacific Islander faith community

→ The Visibility Project, a national portrait and video project dedicated to the Queer Asian American Women, Trans, and Cender non-conforming communities director, now fundraising advisor, Irene Kao. The magazine's staff were worried that entering an alliance with CAA could lead to attempts on the part of the larger organization to sway their editorial direction. But Pan made it clear from the outset that he had no desire to influence *Hyphen*'s content. Rather, his goal was simply to unburden them of cumbersome processes such as bookkeeping and storage-seeking to allow staff to stay focused on producing the publication.

Creating shared back-office capabilities required a reorganization of CAA's staff, some of whom became dedicated members of the newly designated "AACRE capacity team." It also required a revamping of its technology and accounting systems. Both efforts were funded as part of Pan's PIJ collaboration grant. "The whole cultural philosophy is that this is a shared capacity team now," says CAA associate director John Fong. The team's five members went from working within one organization to adapting its systems to encompass the efforts of eight organizations.

Pan also leveraged the new team to help another AACRE member, API Equality-Northern California (which focuses on LGBTQ acceptance), with a fundraising initiative. In April 2013, API Equality ran a campaign to support its summer internship program, and AACRE's shared capacity team pitched in by producing acknowledgment letters to donors on API Equality's behalf.

"THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT BUILDING TRUST IS A PRECONDITION. THE CONNECTIVE TISSUE OF NETWORK COLLABORATION IS TRUST."

BOB HAAS, PRESIDENT, LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

The assistance, although relatively small, was enormously helpful, and the campaign brought in 100 new donors as a result. "If we had to do everything ourselves," says API Equality executive director Monna Wong, "it would have taken time away from meeting with our community members and planning our events." The AACRE capacity team now handles the administrative aspects of donor tracking and acknowledgment for all AACRE members. As a result, communitybased fundraising increased significantly in 2013.

From the mundane—office space and letter writing—to the more technical and financial, AACRE's shared back-office services have been a boon to many of its members. Ben Wang of Asian Prisoner Support Committee says that before AACRE existed, his organization's funds were kept in a personal bank account. "I was worried about liability on my part but I didn't know the best practice for this type of thing," Wang says. "It has been tremendously helpful to have a bank account with an actual 501c3." All AACRE members now have their funds managed by AACRE with strict bookkeeping by the capacity team, and no comingling of funds.

Thus the first of Pan's goals for the network—to let activists be activists by having AACRE deal with administrative work—has already been realized, which in and of itself is groundbreaking. "People had been thinking and talking about this idea for years," says Susan Hsieh, program manager at CAA. "There was excitement that these groups wouldn't be alone in doing their work, that they would have moral and capacity support. The more we're able to do that, the more the movement can be bigger than each of us alone."

Most recently, AACRE members have begun using the larger combined network to promote their own organizational events, and a shared website launched in March 2014. Several CAA staff have also begun advising all of the organizations on what they have learned about social media from ZeroDivide, which is creating additional ripple effects throughout the network. As a result, AACRE groups say that they have already become much more strategic about social media and their use of analytics.

Looking ahead, AACRE is exploring the idea of having different organizations lead various shared functions among the network, optimizing each group's assets in service of the whole. For example, media organizations *Hyphen* magazine and APEX Express may take on the lion's share of website management and communications, while API Equality would lead convening efforts. Looking across the assets of the network, it's clear that many new combinations are possible. In this way the notion of distributed leadership also intersects with the notion of building a resilient network and a more sustainable movement.

Collaboration Within the Network

At AACRE's inaugural meeting, Pan also set in motion another part of his vision for the network. In his brief remarks, he challenged members to find small ways to work together that might not seem immediately obvious—to look for how their work intersected with the work of others, perhaps even in surprising ways. Pan has come to believe that healthy networks are built on many "microcollaborations"—or small bets—between two or more groups that find ways to work together on overlapping areas, and he wanted to see if collaboration of this sort might spark more external action on behalf of the AACRE network.

API Equality-Northern California executive director Monna Wong, who joined the organization after it became part of AACRE, says that the promise of this type of collaboration made the job more attractive to her. "So much of the work that I've done has been about exploring intersections of different social justice networks," says Wong. "In the Asian and Pacific Islander LGBTQ community, you have to be looking at intersections, otherwise you're too small. Knowing that there are these different layers of support, and deeper relationships, is really important."

Belonging to the AACRE network has already

had an impact on API Equality's work: the organization is launching a storytelling project to share the personal experiences of LGBTQ Asians and Pacific Islanders with Asian American communities of faith. It's something that Wong says never would have happened without the help and shared contacts of fellow AACRE member organization Network on Religion and Justice. "Without the extra piece they brought into the space, and without their connections, I don't think we would have done it, because faith is such a touchy topic," Wong says.

API Equality is also exploring the idea of conducting education workshops with AACRE member organization Asian Prisoner Support Committee (APSC), a collaboration that Pan is particularly excited about because it evolved organically. While it might not seem obvious why the LGBTQ community should care about prisoners' rights, or why the incarcerated should care about LGBTQ issues, there is in fact a logical link. As Wong says, race and sexuality often impact people's prison experience, creating an intersection of these issues worth exploring. The two organizations are now discussing how they might educate their respective constituents on these overlapping issues, including introducing curriculum on LGBTQ issues into APSC's educational work within prison walls. "The beauty of being part of a network like this is the unplanned intersectional work," says Wong.

"WE'RE TRYING TO OFFER A NEW MODEL. THE OLD WAY IS TO THINK OF WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE, RAISE MONEY, START AN ORGANIZATION, AND HIRE STAFF. BUT THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH RESOURCES TO ALLOW EVERYONE TO BECOME PROFESSIONAL ACTIVISTS, "AND THAT MODEL TURNS AWAY MANY WHO CAN CONTRIBUTE IN OTHER WAYS."

VINCENT PAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Indeed, Pan's accomplishments with the AACRE network demonstrate that even an identity-based organization—which most social justice groups are—need not be constricted by a single identity. In fact, Pan bristles at the phrase "unlikely allies"; to him, the possibilities for alliance are far broader than the term suggests because, in truth, every organization has a multiplicity of identities. By breaking down the barriers between issue areas and trying out new combinations of collaboration and partnership, the Pioneers are changing what it means to do this kind of work—and widening the range of its potential impact exponentially.

"When the National Center for Lesbian Rights features the stories of undocumented people, when Advancing Justice, with its East Asian roots, focuses on South Asians and Muslims, it's part of normalizing connections that previously were seen as marginal," says Pan. "By the choices we make, we redefine what social justice looks like."

This, then, is perhaps the greatest benefit of AACRE—creating a larger platform for a variety of related social justice groups to explore points of intersection, all while connecting to a larger movement. The network "helps ground us in what's going on and not stay too swept up in our own particular issues," says *Hyphen*'s Kao. "When we're in the room together, it reminds us to keep this broader sense of movement."

Activism Under a Shared Brand

Yet another type of network is one built not on shared infrastructure and intersectional issues, but on a coming together of very similar organizations under a shared brand. This is exactly what happened in the case of Asian Americans Advancing Justice—a network of four Asian and Pacific Islander advocacy groups that decided to combine their efforts under a shared umbrella. The new network was put to the test when, six days before Halloween in 2013, they wrote a letter to Pottery Barn demanding that the chain immediately remove two Asian-themed Halloween costumes for children dubbed "Sushi Chef" and "Kimono."

"Our problem is not with the attire itself," wrote Ling Woo Liu, Advancing Justice's director of strategic communications. "It is with the fact that Pottery Barn is marketing these outfits as costumes. As a student-led campaign in 2011 put it, 'We're a culture, not a costume.' Like other minorities, Asians and Pacific Islanders are real people who cannot and should not be commodified. There is a history in this country of using caricatures to reinforce stereotypes of minorities as perpetual foreigners who are somehow less 'American' than white Americans." A media firestorm ensued, with coverage from the *Los Angeles Times, Time*, FOX News, the *New York Post*, Al Jazeera, and a slew of blogs. People tweeted and posted the story on Facebook. Within a week, Pottery Barn apologized and withdrew the costumes. Admittedly, the costumes were pulled on October 31, when sales were tapering off. But the issue had gained significant national attention—and the new network felt it had asserted itself as a credible, national progressive voice for Asians and Pacific Islanders.

The four organizations that together formed Asian Americans Advancing Justice—Asian Pacific American Legal Center in Los Angeles, Asian American Institute in Chicago, Asian American Justice Center in Washington, DC, and the Pioneer organization formerly named Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco—had already been working together in a loose alliance for 20 years. But in June 2013—five months before the Halloween protest—the four organizations formalized their affiliation.

"We knew we were doing good work in our separate ways, but in terms of building awareness in the community about Asians and Pacific Islanders supporting civil rights, that's where we wanted to make headway together," says Pioneer Chris Punongbayan. Asian and Pacific Islander voices often get lost in national discourse because of their internal diversity, both ethnically and socioeconomically, says Punongbayan. At times,

"THE STRATEGIST"

KIMBERLY Thomas Rapp

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS (LCCR)

BORN:

February 1976

ALMA MATER: UC Berkeley, Stanford Law School

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Lead deputy counsel, County of Santa Clara; legal counsel, Santa Clara County Office of Education; director of law and public policy, Equal Justice Society

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

The unavoidable tension to be managed between "tried and true" and 2.0 strategies. Our mission is to advance and defend civil rights for communities of color, low-income individuals, immigrants, and refugees. The drive to be leading edge in order to remain relevant in the movement and the practical need to be sensitive to funding tides for program support are very real challenges. At times, it can feel like there is a pull to migrate away from some strategies simply because they are the same strategies that have been employed for decades and there seems to be a demand for what's new. Yet our clients remain in need of some established legal services that aren't broken and get the job done to support their ability to live fulfilled lives.



Asian Americans are even pitted against other communities of color because of the "model minority" myth.

Despite their new shared "brand," each member organization continues to operate with separate boards, executive directors, staff, programs, and finances—though they do share a fundraising manager and a director of strategic communications. Rather than sharing infrastructure, the goal of the shared name is to aggregate and amplify their impact on the regional and national levels.

But getting to the point of this shared identity wasn't without its challenges. Of the four Advancing Justice affiliates, the Pioneer organization formerly known as Asian Law Caucus took the longest to ratify the formal affiliation. The process started in 2008 with a board vote, but progress was slowed by internal resistance. "It was clear that the other organizations wanted to move forward, but our organization was having a hard time," says former executive director and PIJ participant Titi Liu. "We had the longest history and the deepest set of alumni attachments to the name of the organization. But my point all along was that it was really important to build a national voice, to capture synergies among the organizations."

Although the four affiliates don't agree on every issue, all are committed to listening and responding on behalf of Asian and Pacific Islander communities—and all have come to realize that building a shared brand requires some give and take among them. "We've really had to figure out what our common theory of change is, our common vision for the kind of impact we have in the world, and our vision for civil rights in our community," says Rho. "We've had to work through things and ask, 'Where is it okay to let difference be difference, and where do we need to come together to have a more coherent vision?"" The four Asian Americans Advancing Justice organizations are now developing a multiyear campaign designed to mobilize Asians and Pacific Islanders to push for greater support for immigrant communities.

Connecting Grassroots and Treetops

Yet another aspect of working in more networked ways is the ability for nonprofit organizations to connect their advocacy efforts with the grassroots communities they seek to serve. Too often, nonprofit advocacy can become overly focused on influencing the establishment, which disconnects organizations from constituents and from their grassroots base. One effort to bridge this gap is exemplified by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (LCCR)—an organization with deep roots

"WHO GETS TO BRAND SOMETHING AS A CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE? IN THE 1.0 ERA IT WAS BIG ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAD OWNERSHIP IN DEFINING THE ISSUE. NOW, ANY ONE INDIVIDUAL AT ANY MOMENT CAN BEGIN A MOVEMENT."

KIMBERLY THOMAS RAPP, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

in the Bay Area's African American community.

When Lateefah Simon became executive director of LCCR, she insisted on creating more connections within the communities that the nonprofit serves. So instead of marching her staff into a meeting room to analyze constituents' issues from a distance, she sent them straight out into San Francisco neighborhoods, hosting meetings designed to surface the legal needs of the people who live there. The practice has since expanded under the leadership of Pioneer Kimberly Thomas Rapp.

One such meeting took place in September 2013 in Bayview-Hunter's Point, a low-income San Francisco neighborhood with a high crime rate. For several hours, LCCR lawyers met with community activists to discuss how the organization could help them address a particular problem: discrimination against children of color in the San Francisco public school system. Important issues at that meeting only surfaced because the lawyers tapped into the intelligence of local activists, and because they gathered in the community rather than asking the activists to pay the \$30 parking fee to visit LCCR's downtown office.

"We need ongoing dialogue between the real people on the ground who are impacted and the organizations that are really needed to support and advance that work," says Thomas Rapp. "Otherwise you have folks on the ground organizing with limited ability to create lasting systemic change." So far, the LCCR's community meetings have drawn a positive response. "Once you get out there and start saying, 'We're the Lawyers' Committee, here's the concern, and here are our resources to support the community,' people quickly come to you," says LCCR legal director Oren Sellstrom.

"Hitting the streets" is particularly important in the digital age, when grassroots activists can now organize without organizations. Sometimes the only way to find out what is happening is to plug into local social networks. "People come together around a particular issue, they work on it, then they move on to a different issue with different alliances," says Sellstrom. "Ideally, we want to be a constant in those shifting equations. When an issue bubbles up, we want someone already at the table to remember the work that we did on another issue, and come back to us to see how we can help on this one."

As Thomas Rapp asks, "Who gets to brand something as a civil rights issue? In the 1.0 era it was big organizations that had ownership in defining the issue. Now, any one individual at any moment can begin a movement." That's why she and her team believe that making time for the poundthe-pavement work of connecting treetops and grassroots is so important. "While it can be tempting to sit in the office and do things by email," says Sellstrom, "there is no substitute for getting out there and meeting people on the ground."



"THE Fearless Spirit"

LATEEFAH Simon

DIRECTOR, CALIFORNIA'S FUTURE PROGRAM, ROSENBERG FOUNDATION; FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS (LCCR)

BORN:

January 1977

ALMA MATER: Mills College

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Executive director, Center for Young Women's Development; head of the Reentry Services Division, San Francisco District Attorney's Office

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

The program supported, financially and spiritually, really important work, but I couldn't believe how hard it was to implement because we (LCCR) were hemorrhaging in all these other ways. We had amazing ideas for collaboration, but couldn't come up for air. My main goal had to be stabilizing an organization and developing new programs, and it was difficult to radically innovate.

Working at the Intersections: A National Campaign

While still the executive director of Equal Rights Advocates (ERA), Arcelia Hurtado knew that she wanted to experiment with ways to do better storytelling and with new ways to collaborate with like-minded allies. In early 2013, the perfect opportunity to do both presented itself. At the time, two pieces of groundbreaking legislation were winding their way through the California legislature: AB218, which would prevent employers from asking about criminal convictions on job applications; and AB651, which would set aside convictions for low-level, nonviolent crimes if the person who committed those crimes showed rehabilitation.

As a criminal defense lawyer, Hurtado knew that securing employment was critical to the successful reentry into society of people with prior convictions. Both pieces of legislation would make it easier for the formerly convicted to establish more stable lives after getting out of prison.

While criminal justice reform wasn't one of ERA's core areas (historically it focused on equal pay for equal work), a similar program had been incubated by the organization prior to Hurtado's arrival. Building on that felt like a natural next step for the nonprofit. "There's no women's rights organization out there championing formerly incarcerated women," says Hurtado. "That's the epitome of intersectional work."

After Hurtado moved to NCLR, the two organizations decided to work together to raise awareness of the issue and mobilize support for the bills. Leveraging a Pioneers in Justice collaboration grant, they created a series of videos called "Let Her Work," which focused on three women who had served time for low-level crimes and now needed to support their families. One of the videos featured a former convict named Cheauvon who had applied for many jobs after serving time, but was always turned down. "I'd tell the [employers], 'Yes, I've been convicted of a crime,' because I'm honest," she says. "They'd tell me, 'Well, we can't hire you.' My qualifications are there, I have excellent skills, but they don't want to hear it."

In an effort to increase the videos' reach, Hurtado tapped into her relationships with San Francisco's Sherriff's Department, Public Defender's Office, and District Attorney's Office, as well as other potential partners—with great success. The collaborative effort even inspired San Francisco District Attorney George Gascón to make an appearance in the video series. "Once you have been institutionalized, you carry the scars," he says. "We all want to get to an outcome that's good for the community and our people." Gascón also expressed hope that more collaborations of this kind will happen in the future.

Indeed, the unprecedented collaboration between ERA/NCLR and local law enforcement broadened the video's base of support. "We should be likely allies with law enforcement, but historically that's been challenging," says Hurtado. "It's almost as earth shattering as what's happening in the gay rights movement with marriage." The video spread rapidly through everyone's networks, getting posted to multiple websites and to YouTube. "The video had the ERA stamp on it, but we wanted it to be a community product," Hurtado explains. "Criminal justice organizations can use it how they want to support their advocacy efforts."

Partly as a result of that campaign—and the efforts of many others—both AB218 and AB51 bills were signed into law by California's Governor Jerry Brown in the fall of 2013. Meanwhile, the "Let Her Work" video series continues to spread the message, one click at a time. The program is also now a formal part of ERA. "As a leader, working on the reentry project has been transformative," says Hurtado. "It's great to theorize about networked ways of working, but this was actually doing it."

BUILDING NETWORKS Key Takeaways

1 "Networking" can Mean Many Things.

This chapter covers broad ground, looking at the many ways in which the Pioneer organizations are working in more "networked ways." This can mean a mindset and cultural shift, but also new ways of behaving, seeking trust over control, breaking down or bridging internal and external boundaries, and focusing on shared values more than ideological differences. By exploring what it means to become a "networked nonprofit," the Pioneers are showing the way for the rest of the sector.

2 REPLACE CONTROL With Trust, and Transaction with Transformation.

Networked work requires leaders to let go of control and hierarchy, focusing instead on building trusted relationships. As a result, interactions between organizations become less "transactional" (using one organization to fulfill your own agenda) and more transformational (working as partners to explore emerging opportunities for true collaboration).

3 Share infrastructure and build "backbone" organizations.

The emerging field of "collective impact" has begun to champion the notion of creating backbone organizations, or hubs for networks where common resources can be centralized and shared. Several of the Pioneers (most notable, CAA through AACRE) have experimented with creating shared platforms so that smaller nonprofits don't have to create duplicative services. In doing so, they are learning that by thinking outside the traditional organizational box-and

focusing instead on identifying needs and leveraging (or creating) shared assets—they can free up activists' time to focus on what is most important: the social justice work.

G Start with small Collaborations and Build on them.

As the Pioneers have sought to work in more networked and collaborative ways, they have also learned that sometimes the easiest way to get started is to try some "little bets." They've found smaller bilateral opportunities to collaborate with another organization or two, where the risks and complexity are relatively low. By starting small, and then learning together, the Pioneers are building their collective capacity to collaborate: creating trust, understanding, and a relational foundation on which to build. Many have then gone on to larger, more complex collaborations, piggybacking on these initial early bets.

5 Coordinate activities Under a shared brand.

In the case of Advancing Justice, four organizations found it advantageous to run campaigns and programs together under a shared brand. In so doing, they are leveraging all of their assets and relationships while consolidating their size and power and minimizing brand "noise" in the system—all to increase their impact. These nonprofits have pioneered a new approach that other organizations working on similar issues might want to emulate.

O Connect the Grassroots and The treetops.

The design thinking and innovation fields have increasingly brought attention to the importance of "human centered design." In a similar way, the Pioneers have realized that their work is most effective when they engage directly with constituents and connect them to broader advocacy campaigns, breaking down the barriers between grassroots communities and the political establishment. LCCR, for example, works especially hard to engage its constituents in identifying real community needs and to elevate these issues into larger policy agendas.

7 Break down silos And work in the Interstices.

All of the Pioneers share a willingness to break down silos in their fields. Rather than focusing on what separates or differentiates their work, they are looking instead for the intersections: the metaphorical Venn diagram between related but adjacent issues. In doing so, they have also found ways to engage "unlikely" allies-stakeholders who wouldn't normally be considered supporters or advocates of an issue who can be persuaded to support it because of its relationship to their own movements and causes.



Sparking Movements

A few of the many supporters who participated in the American Civil Liberty Union's traveling Estamos Unidos campaign, which stopped at cities across the country to advocate for immigrant rights.

estamos

the a manufacture foreither on Ariansia with other states.

STC: ANTI-IMMIGPAR

©miaclu >> miaclu.org

FOR THE PIONEERS, EXPANDING THEIR SOCIAL MEDIA CAPABILITIES, FINDING THEIR FOOTING AS

2.0 leaders, transforming their organizations, and forging new networks are part of the "how" of their work. But the "why"—the ultimate end goal—is about building movements to change larger systems and scale their impact. By definition, movements are large initiatives driven forward by many organizations and individuals who share a similar goal. They seek to change the rules—and to change the hearts, minds, and behaviors of people both directly and indirectly affected by an issue.

Ultimately, movements are what happen when networks activate, lighting up to change the world through collective organizing and action. Whether it's teaming up with others to promote a larger shared agenda, or reaching out to mobilize new constituents on the ground, all of the Pioneers—in different ways—are trying to spark national and regional movements through their work, building upon the foundations laid by their predecessors in earlier eras. And they are very cognizant of trying to create movements that reflect the reality of today's times.

While there are similarities between the social movements of the '60s and '70s and those of today, there are also some subtle differences. In the 1.0 world, movements tended to be identified with iconic individuals (think Martin Luther King or Gloria Steinem), even though many groups and leaders participated in them. The organizations spearheading these movements often worked in "command and control" ways that are now out of sync with today's more decentralized ways of working. In the 2.0 world, social movements are large, diffuse, and involve many actors who work in only loosely coordinated ways. They are also messy, with different networks and groups self-organizing around a cause, enabled and accelerated by technology.

In this chapter, we share how all of the Pioneers and their organizations came together to collectively work on the same issue: immigration reform. Through a larger statewide coalition, the Pioneers helped to pass the Trust Act, a California bill that prohibits local law enforcement from detaining people for deportation if they are arrested on minor charges and are otherwise eligible to be released from custody. The measure has already had an impact on how state and local government interact with federal immigration programs.

We also explore other ways in which each of the Pioneer nonprofits acts as part of larger national coalitions and movements. Much of the chapter focuses on a series of experiments launched by the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California (ACLU-NC) as part of the Pioneers program—experiments that yielded successes, setbacks, and important lessons. Specifically, we look at the ways in which the ACLU-NC has tried to recruit new allies to its cause—no matter their ethnicity or religion, whether they're documented or not, or whether they're already vocal activists or people who have yet to find their voice.

Pushing for Policy Change: The Trust Act

As mentioned in previous chapters, several of the Pioneers and their organizations had worked together on various issues before the launch of the PIJ program. Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus and Chinese for Affirmative Action have a decades-long relationship. The ACLU-NC had collaborated with all the other Pioneer organizations, including taking joint legal action on civil rights issues with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and the National Center for Lesbian Rights. The latter organization, NCLR, was actually born out of Equal Rights Advocates, and the two organizations have worked together for years.

But the formalization of the PIJ cohort took all of these alliances to a new level. The Pioneers' convenings expanded their awareness of how to increase their effectiveness, individually and collectively. As a result, it became natural for them to start seeking out opportunities to work together on intersectional issues in service of movement building. In fact, early in the program, the Pioneers identified two issues that all of them were working on—criminal justice reform and immigration reform—and began brainstorming ways to have shared impact on these issues. Ultimately, they chose to work on immigration reform first, to see what they might accomplish together.

Over the past few years, the Pioneers and their organizations have participated in a much larger statewide coalition—comprising more than 50 groups in the immigrant rights community—focused on passing local laws for the fair treatment of immigrants, while also pressing for comprehensive federal immigration reform.

In 2010, the coalition launched an unprecedented three-year campaign that culminated with the signing of the California Trust Act, which went into effect on January 1, 2014. Two of the Pioneer organizations—Advancing Justice and the ACLU of Northern California—played pivotal leadership roles in this larger coalition as co-sponsors of the bill, along with the California Immigrant Policy Center, National Day Laborer Organizing Network, and Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The Trust Act emerged as a local response to new federal programs that entangle state and local law enforcement with the enforcement of immigration laws. Under the ICE Agreements of Cooperation in Communities to Enhance Safety and Security (ICE ACCESS) initiative, Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE) is authorized to "enlist the participation of local law enforcement

¹ As an internal funder report produced by Advancing Justice further explains, ICE ACCESS programs include training and deputizing local police to carry out immigration enforcement; the Criminal Alien Program, which gives ICE agents access to jail information and to detainees for interviews; and the Secure Communities program, which automatically shares fingerprints taken by local police with ICE.

AN ADDICTION INSPIRES ACTIVISM

In 2011, an ACLU-NC representative made a presentation at Berkeley City College about the need for criminal justice reform. Afterward, a student approached the presenter and shared his own story. His name was David Moss. He was recovering from a cocaine addiction and had been in and out of jail 14 times for being under the influence of a narcotic, at an estimated cost to the state of \$150,000.

Moss said that he had never gotten violent and never sold drugs. But throughout his stints in jail, he'd also never been offered help. For a fraction of the cost of his multiple incarcerations, Moss could have been sentenced to a treatment center. Instead, he eventually found treatment himself. A year later, he enrolled at Berkeley City College, where so far he has gotten all A's. He also wrote a one-man play, which ran at the Marsh Theater in San Francisco. Moss wants to share his story with anyone who will listen, in the hopes that it will help change the state's practices around drug sentencing.

As it happened, the ACLU wanted to put a human face to its "Think Outside the Box" initiative on criminal justice reform and the need for alternatives to incarceration — and Moss was just the person they were looking for. With LSF funding, the ACLU-NC made a video capturing Moss's story. The organization also hired him to travel around Northern California campuses making presentations to students. He hit every CSU and UC campus in Northern California, presenting his story'and the

ACLU-NC's campaign'to more than 1,000 students. His talks helped engage students in the ACLU's criminal justice reform work, including advocating for bills that provide better reentry opportunities for people with felonies. to identify and detain immigrants suspected to be deportable."¹ This initiative has had devastating effects on immigrant communities in California and across the country. According to a report by Advancing Justice, "Deportations have increased by 100 percent over the last decade and, at an average of 400,000 deportations per year, are currently the highest they have ever been.... From 2010 to 2012, nearly 205,000 immigrant parents were separated from their U.S. citizen children."²

In addition to resulting in unfair deportations, these punitive local policies have eroded trust between immigrant communities and law enforcement and even compromised public safety, says Pioneer Hyeon-Ju Rho. A recent report found that 70 percent of undocumented Latinos are now less likely to contact the police if they are victims of a crime, out of fear that police officers will use this interaction as an opportunity to ask them about their immigration status.³

Clearly, the Pioneers had reason to protest ICE ACCESS programs as part of their larger efforts to address immigration reform. But passing the Trust Act—which bars local law enforcement agencies from detaining people for deportation if they are arrested for a minor crime and eligible to be released from custody—didn't come easily. The bill encountered significant pushback from ICE, other federal entities, and initially even California Governor Jerry Brown. But after several bill revisions and "a sit-in in Governor Brown's office and another in the California State Sheriff's Association office led by DREAMers and supported by the statewide coalition, we were able to gain the necessary traction in negotiations," says Rho. On October 5, 2013, Governor Brown signed the Trust Act along with several other pro-immigrant bills, proclaiming that "while Washington waffles on immigration, California's forging ahead ... I'm not waiting."⁴

CURRENTLY, THE STATEWIDE coalition is leading Trust Act implementation efforts. In December 2013, the coalition convened in Los Angeles to launch a mobilization campaign. Advancing Justice and the ACLU-NC, along with other Trust Act co-sponsors, have already begun providing technical assistance and support to community organizations and legal practitioners throughout California. If implemented effectively, the Trust Act will have significant impact in California, preventing tens of thousands of immigrants from being detained on behalf of ICE each year.

The Trust Act has also paved the way for similar local and state-level policy reforms throughout the country. "We've clarified that ICE holds are requests by the federal government, not mandates, and we've changed federal ICE enforcement practices around detention and deportation," explains Pioneer Abdi Soltani. "Ultimately, our local movement has had a national impact. Not bad for a 'hometown strategy."

² Ibid.

³ University of Illinois at Chicago, May 2013, available at http://www.uic.edu/cuppa/gci/documents/1213/Insecure_ Communities_Report_FINAL.pdf.

⁴ See "Governor Brown Signs Immigration Legislation," October 5, 2013, available at http://gov.ca.gov/news.php?id=18253.

"ULTIMATELY, OUR LOCAL MOVEMENT HAS HAD A NATIONAL Impact. Not bad for a 'hometown strategy.'"

ABDI SOLTANI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ACLU-NC

None of this impact would have happened without several of the Pioneers taking lead roles in the statewide coalition. "Part of what made this victory possible was that it really was a movement building strategy," says Rho. "It wasn't just about getting the Trust Act passed. It was also about building long-term networks and relationships among different communities impacted by these policies, and then mobilizing these networks. The Pioneers program, and the values it embodies, contributed to these types of victories."

While policy reform wasn't an explicit goal of the Pioneers in Justice program, it was an important outcome nonetheless. "When a foundation invests in longer-term capacity building, it can enhance organizational outcomes," says Soltani. "LSF didn't go in with an expectation that we would achieve immigration policy change. But as leaders of organizations going through a program like this, the ideas, tools, and thinking we've gained ultimately infuse everything we do."

Building Bridges Betweeen Funders and Activists

In September 2013, the Pioneers also took on a much smaller, time-bounded initiative to advance immigration reform: they brought local activists and funders together for a day of relationship building and conversation, seeking to build bridges across local divides. Dubbed "A Moment of Reflection in the Fight for Immigration Reform," the event was hosted by all five Pioneer organizations, the Levi Strauss Foundation, and the Bay Area Justice Funders Network (BAJFN). The goal of the event, which drew almost 90 California grantmakers and activists, was to bolster the immigration reform movement in the Bay Area by creating new connections between two groups—funders and activists—that rarely work in concert.

The event came at a challenging time in the national fight for immigration reform. The fate of S.744—a bipartisan Senate bill that would have provided a road to citizenship for millions of undocumented immigrants—was uncertain. With stiff opposition in the Republican-controlled House, it seemed unlikely to pass. Many grantmakers had invested heavily in supporting the bill, but some grassroots activists were against it, believing that it gave up too much in return for citizenship options. Instead, these activists advocated for what *The Atlantic* termed the "nuclear option"—where President Obama would bypass Congress entirely and issue deferred action for all undocumented immigrants.

Leading up to the event, the Pioneers discussed the possibility of friction in the room. "We were bringing together two sides of the movement that aren't in dialogue very often, and we knew it could be explosive," says Pioneer Chris Punongbayan, who organized the event with BAJFN. "We wanted to make sure that the people playing the game and the people trying to change the rules were given equal footing, even though some organizations had more financial resources than others."

The ACLU-NC's Abdi Soltani suggested breaking down the barriers between the two "sides" at the outset of the event, framing them as equally important parts of a larger movement. "The idea that some people are funders and others are advocates is a misnomer," he says, using a 2.0 frame. "Funding comes from people who give small donations, individual donors, and organized foundations. But it also comes from people who put in vast amounts of time and provide their own resources. And funders are also advocates. Everybody has a role in the resources that we marshal, the ideas we generate, and the relationships we have."

At the event, the tension between funders and activists was sometimes palpable. But participants seemed to appreciate hearing different perspectives that held the potential to inform their own work. "Philanthropy can seem directive, but just because we're stewards of resources doesn't mean we always know what needs to happen," says attendee Rouverol Callejo. "When we're not in relationship, we're isolated and siloed. What makes us powerful allies is our ability to be in relationship and to build those intersections."

Although no radical collaborations emerged

from the event, Pioneer Hyeon-Ju Rho noted that it helped different players in the movement understand the larger ecosystem of which they are a part, and brought greater authenticity to how they relate to one another. "This was not a means to an end, but an end in itself," says Rho. "The process is the product." Adds Pioneer Vincent Pan: "The event at least 'cracked the ice' in an otherwise very traditional funder-grantee environment, which I hope can be the basis for different 2.0 types of relationships in the future."

For Arcelia Hurtado, the immigration reform initiative—like the Pioneers program more generally—encouraged her to take a broader look at the field beyond any particular organizational focus. "It has strengthened my capacity to think strategically about building bridges for heightened impact," she says. "And it has elevated our voices and our organizations' voices in places where they have not previously been heard."

Engaging New and Diverse Audiences

Whether focused on immigration or other issues, a key component of movement building is engaging the public in your cause in order to build a larger base from which to influence economic, political, and social systems. Throughout the Pioneers in

A MOVEMENT'S CHAMPION CAN Come from anywhere

It's rare to see a heterosexual football player teaming up with a lesbian rights organization,' but sometimes an individual with no strong connection to a movement can become one of its most valuable champions.

In September 2012, Maryland State Delegate Emmett C. Burns Jr. heard that Baltimore Ravens linebacker Brendan Ayanbadejo was publicly supporting a gay marriage initiative on the state ballot. Burns, a Democrat, wrote a letter to the team owner, Steve Bisciotti, urging him to "inhibit such expressions from your employee."

Minnesota Vikings football player Chris Kluwe caught wind of the letter and quickly released one of his own. In it, he accused Burns of being a freedom-hating, oppressionist violator of the First Amendment. Kluwe, a heterosexual father of two, became an instant hero in LCBTO households all over the world. Kate Kendell, executive director of the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR), was among Kluwe's admirers. A year later, when she heard that Kluwe would be in the Bay Area, she picked up the phone and invited him to attend a fundraiser for NCLR. Kluwe accepted.

NCLR board member Stacey Camillo says she has no doubt that Kluwe's support of marriage equality broke down stereotypes, and that his presence at the NCLR event drew in many of its attendees. "I have a straight buddy who's a sportswriter with his own radio show, and he would never have come to one of our events otherwise,"' says Camillo. "Not that he's not supportive, but he came because he got to see Chris Kluwe."

When an issue like marriage equality is seen as just that — an issue of equality and social justice, rather than a "gay" issue — all kinds of new alliances and opportunities are born.

UNDOCUMENTED IMMICRANT YOUTH (AKA THE DREAMERS)

ADAPTED FROM THE IMMIGRATION POLICY CENTER WEBSITE

There are roughly 1.8 million immigrants in the United States who might be, or might become, eligible for the Obama Administration's deferred action initiative for unauthorized youth brought to this country as children. Taken as a whole, unauthorized immigrants who qualify for the deferred action initiative are commonly referred to as "DREAMers" because they comprise most of the individuals who meet the general requirements of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act.

This initiative, announced on June 15, 2012, offers a twoyear, renewable reprieve from deportation to unauthorized immigrants who are under the age of 31; entered the United States before age 16; have lived continuously in the country for at least five years; have not been convicted of a felony, a "significant" misdemeanor, or three other misdemeanors; and are currently in school, graduated from high school, earned a GED, or served in the military.

Most DREAMers are originally from Mexico and are found in big immigrant-receiving states with large unauthorized populations, such as California and Texas. Yet DREAMers are also found in virtually every state, and significant numbers are non-Mexicans who hail from all corners of the globe. Just under half of DREAMers are female. The majority of DREAMers are 15 or older and are eligible to apply for deferred action right now. However, nearly a quarter of DREAMers are 14 or younger and are not yet eligible to apply, but will be eligible at some point in the future if the deferred action initiative still exists. And close to another quarter of the DREAMer population could become eligible for deferred action if they earn a GED.

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

WWW.IMMIGRATIONPOLICY.ORG/JUST-FACTS/WHO-AND-WHERE-DREAMERS-ARE WWW.DREAMACTIVIST.ORG Justice program, the Pioneers have experimented with new ways to engage others in their work—by harnessing the power of social media, by tapping into networks, and through grassroots, on-theground organizing. But perhaps no Pioneer has taken these efforts further than Abdi Soltani, executive director of ACLU-NC. Indeed, Soltani's growing expertise with new ways of engaging activists and the broader public holds lessons for anyone trying to build stronger movements.

Soltani came to the executive directorship with big ideas on how to broaden the ACLU's constituency to include more young people and people of color-particularly Latinos. He was keenly aware that a core driver of change in California is the growth of the Latino population; half of all public school students in California are Latino, and a large part of the Latino community is primarily Spanish speaking. Yet the ACLU has historically not done much to engage Latinos in its work. "The ACLU had become a place for people to go who were not black, not Latino, not Asian," Soltani says. "It had become a home for people to work on civil rights issues if they didn't have an ethnic identity. And being a legal organization, there wasn't as much attention to constituency building."

Soltani began by translating the ACLU's basic "Know Your Rights" materials into Spanish. Out of that effort grew a larger vision for engagement—and soon Soltani was leading an organization-wide push to attract more Latinos as members and activists. His vision included creating a Spanish-language version of the ACLU website, dubbed miACLU; launching a national bus tour (called Estamos Unidos, or "we are united") to protest racial profiling; and increasing awareness of the ACLU among Spanish speakers, via both online and offline campaigns. Ultimately, he wanted to position the ACLU as a bilingual organization and a trusted source within the Latino community.

But creating the scaffolding to draw hundreds of thousands of people into a movement was not easy. The miACLU website, for example, got off to a slow start. Soltani's initial goal was to have 10,000 Facebook fans within one year; 18 months later, roughly 3,000 had "liked" the site. Part of the problem was the very issue Soltani was trying to address: the ACLU's name is not well known among Latinos. "It's not love, it's not hate, it's...nothing," says Miriam Gerace, director of strategic initiatives at the ACLU-NC and a Latina herself. "They don't know we exist."

Soltani hoped the Estamos Unidos national bus tour would help change that. Pegged to the Supreme Court's challenge to Arizona's Senate Bill 1070—which brought into high relief the sorts of racial profiling that many Latinos experience—the tour covered 17 states in three weeks, garnering plenty of media attention. Six of the states on the tour had legislation like Arizona's

"THE Innovator"

TITI LIU

DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC INTEREST INITIATIVES, STANFORD LAW SCHOOL'S LEVIN CENTER; FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-ASIAN LAW CAUCUS

BORN: July 1972

ALMA MATER:

Harvard Law School

PREVIOUS ROLES:

Executive director, Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus; law professor, University of Washington; program officer for law and rights, Beijing Office, Ford Foundation; consultant, U.S. State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

BIGGEST PIONEER CHALLENGE:

Overcoming resistance to change on the part of staff and other key stakeholders in order to transform the organization to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

on the books or pending. All along the way, ACLU staff collected signatures protesting the laws, held rallies, and conducted "Know Your Rights" trainings. They also made sure to gather stories from around the country to feature on miACLU.

Meanwhile, other ACLU affiliates saw the promise of miACLU and stepped up. A national working group was created. Staff from the national office and affiliates nationwide began to create Spanish-language content and media outreach. The working group also created a Listserv for all bilingual staff to share questions and resources in real-time, a Spanish-language immigration glossary, a directory of vetted translators and interpreters, a social media policy specific to Spanish-language efforts, and a Spanish-language primer on best practices and guidelines, used to conduct miACLU working group trainings with staff nationwide.

In August 2013, thanks in part to this larger effort, the ACLU was able to quickly mobilize when the DREAM 9—a group of U.S.-raised Mexican nationals protesting the continued deportation of undocumented workers—attempted to reenter the U.S. by seeking political asylum and were promptly thrown into solitary confinement. The miACLU team was ready with an op-ed in Spanish that was swiftly reprinted in three Spanish-language newspapers and re-tweeted multiple times. "Every re-tweet we got from other groups that are better known and have more credibility than us in



this space was exciting," says Gerace.

Without the strategy started by the ACLU-NC, they wouldn't even be that far, says Debra Sanchez, director of affiliate marketing and communications at ACLU headquarters in New York. "Usually national does what national does and the affiliates do their state-based work," she says. "I don't think there's been this level of collaboration before. The NorCal affiliate under Abdi is an innovator, for sure."

Leveraging Stories and Voices in a Movement

While the ACLU-NC's Estamos Unidos national bus tour was a success, it wasn't easy to pull off. Just days before the kickoff event, Soltani was still searching for the right images for the tour's poster, bus wrap, and marketing materials. He'd already rejected dozens of stock photos proposed by the graphic designers. Ideally, Soltani wanted two images—one of a group and one of an individual and he wanted each to have a real story behind it.

The group shot that Soltani eventually chose featured Alabama youth and families fighting that state's anti-immigrant law. But selecting the individual shot was much harder. Just five days before the tour launched, the designers emailed him a photo of a young Latina holding a microphone. The image captured exactly the sense of voice, passion, and empowerment that Soltani was looking for. He asked the graphic designers to find out who the woman in the photo was and put him in touch. It turned out her name was Dulce Juarez, a DREAMer student activist in Phoenix, Arizona, who had come to the U.S. at the age of five. In the photo, she was speaking out at a protest against racial profiling and immigrant detention practices.

If movement building is about connecting the formal with the informal, and the individual with the cause, then Soltani had even more reason for wanting Juarez to be the face of the tour. Soltani told her about Estamos Unidos and learned that, in an incredible coincidence, she would be MCing one of the Phoenix-based events where the tour was scheduled to make a stop. Juarez asked if she could join the tour after Phoenix, traveling with them to South Carolina—and Soltani agreed.

After the tour ended, the ACLU offered her one better: a job with the ACLU of Arizona's Immigrant Rights Project. "I'd spent three years after graduation doing side jobs because I was undocumented," says Juarez. "Then I got legal status, at the same time that Abdi reached out. Because he took the time to talk to me, I got hired by the ACLU." Juarez now manages a crisis hotline for reporting law enforcement abuses and contributes to miACLU. She also helped create a mobile app for reporting abuses that had 3,000

"AT ONE HOUSE WAS A MAN WHO HAD NOT VOTED for 20 years because he had a past felony. He thought he could never vote again."

PAM WHALEN, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION-Northern California organizer

downloads in the first week. "I feel like I am part of a bridge between the Spanish-speaking Latino community and a legal organization that defends their rights," says Juarez. "It's such a wonderful experience to feel like I'm contributing."

Juarez wasn't the only activist hoping to join forces with the ACLU via the tour. At an ACLU conference that took place before the tour's kickoff, Soltani sat down with a group of DREAMer activists who had gathered in the hotel lobby. One of those activists was 21-year-old Luis Nolasco, a community organizer with the Inland Empire Immigrant Youth Coalition. When he learned about Estamos Unidos, Nolasco asked if he could ride along.

There was only one catch: Nolasco was undocumented, and the bus would be driving through states where vehicles are regularly stopped by border patrol and local law enforcement to ask occupants about their citizenship status. When Soltani discussed this dilemma with ACLU attorneys, the organization was initially hesitant to let him participate. "I'm undocumented and unafraid," Nolasco said. "If there are consequences to me speaking out for my rights, I'm willing to accept that responsibility." Then he pointed out how ironic it was that an organization planning a tour to highlight the plight of undocumented immigrants was hesitant to take one of those immigrants on the trip.

Ultimately, Soltani extended the tour-at sig-

nificant additional cost—so that Nolasco could join in. Nolasco hopped on the bus in Illinois and stayed on through visits to the "friendlier" states of Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California, where he was less likely to be questioned or deported. The trip was Nolasco's first outside California, and an experience he says he will never forget. Speaking out on behalf of the ACLU to media and communities along the way made it even more meaningful.

For Soltani, Nolasco was a shining example of the many thousands of activists who operate with very little institutional support, yet are willing to accept tremendous risk for a larger cause. More and more, Soltani believes social justice 2.0 groups need to figure out how to engage these participants in their networks; often, these new informal allies offer something to a movement that the organizations alone cannot bring.

The ACLU's bus tour took place at the same time that a small group of DREAMers was literally walking across the country. Soltani met them in Salt Lake City, where both groups were passing through simultaneously. He still marvels at their resilience and their nimble action. "They walked across America and raised money as they went," he says. "If we tried to pull that off, it would have cost us half a million dollars and 14 forms of liability insurance. It's amazing what people can do when they have will. When the will is there, people will move mountains."

Pushing into New Geographical Markets

When Soltani became executive director of the ACLU-NC in 2009, he had another very specific goal: to build the presence of the ACLU in the Central Valley of California. Before the PIJ program, the nonprofit had limited presence in Fresno, CA—an area that *should* be a hotbed for social justice work. When The New York Times wanted to write about jail overcrowding in California, they headed straight for Fresno County. When Governor Jerry Brown signed legislation giving undocumented immigrants the right to apply for a driver's license, he did it in Fresno. Pick any social justice issue-racial equity, reproductive rights, immigrant rights, worker rights, voting access rights, LGBTQ rights, prison reform, prisoner rights-and you will find that it looms large in Fresno and the surrounding Central Valley.

The city of Fresno is in the sixth poorest Congressional District in the country, with a median household income of \$26,800 and one in four residents living below the poverty line.⁵ It is also extremely diverse: the population is 63 percent Latino,⁶ and more than 40 percent of Fresno residents speak a language other than English at home.⁷ The city also has the highest rate of vehicle theft in the country⁸ and ranks fourth in the country for DUI arrests.⁹ And yet despite its many needs, few large statewide or national social justice organizations have a permanent presence there.

After months spent establishing trust and meeting existing local grassroots organizations, the ACLU's Fresno office finally opened in December 2011. The first permanent hire was Fresno local Pam Whalen, a lifelong activist who had organized her first protest at the age of 10. "I've worked with a lot of activists over the years who have dedicated their lives to trying to make Fresno better, and basically it's almost entirely from personal self-sacrifice," says Whalen. "We don't get a lot of money for people to organize here."

Whalen became the only ACLU organizer in California to work exclusively on county-level criminal justice reform within three counties: Fresno, Tulare, and Merced. As part of that work, she has created new community coalitions; organized prisoners' families to write letters, speak at meetings, and protest; and held grassroots events to educate people about the criminal justice system. She has also walked around the community, knocking on doors and explaining to people their rights. "At one house was a man who had not voted for 20 years because he had a past felony," she says. "He thought he could never vote again."

Whalen's work was timely because of the passage of a statewide bill, AB109, which aimed to reduce prison overcrowding by shifting responsibility for low-level offenders from the state to

^{5 2010} U.S. Census.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

^{8 &}quot;Fresno Again Leads Nation in Vehicle-Theft Rate," The Fresno Bee, 2012.

⁹ Kathleen Pennepacker, "America's Drunkest Cities," Men's Health, 2010.

local jurisdictions. She began lobbying local governments and pushing publicly for alternatives to incarceration. Her efforts paid off. In Fresno's last budget cycle, more funds were put into mental health services for inmates and into programs offering alternatives to incarceration-victories that the ACLU credits to linking its legal expertise with local community leadership. In Fresno, AB109 offenders now spend part of their time in jail and part on probation, and there is now a transitional unit at the county jail that gives those in custody access to the same programs available to them upon release. "We don't feel like we've crossed the finish line, but we feel that we've definitely had an impact," says Whalen. "We've gotten people engaged, and we've gotten some results."

The Fresno ACLU office now has a second Spanish-speaking organizer, Stephanie Kamey, who focuses on immigrant rights and developing awareness of the ACLU within the Latino community. The office also just hired its first lawyer, who is taking on reproductive rights and law enforcement issues. "This is capacity that we just have not had before," says Shayna Gelender, the ACLU-NC's director of organizing and community engagement. "It's exciting for the community to see them doing this work."

Despite the many challenges in Fresno, Whalen notes that the Central Valley is the "easiest place in the world to organize." Most of the people she talks to and works with feel unprotected and powerless. That is, until Whalen and her crew come calling. "You knock on someone's door," says Whalen, "and they say, 'Where have you been all my life?""

As Soltani, Whalen, and others have learned, spreading and scaling a 2.0 movement becomes easier when organizations draw in new audiences—whether they are formal organizations, informal volunteer networks, or lone individuals determined to make a difference. These movements also have the potential to spread faster when the organizations trying to spark them literally push their presence into new areas, extending awareness of their organization and its message into places where it is most needed—like Fresno.

Continuing to Engage New Constituents

Throughout his tenure, Soltani has also continued to emphasize the need for the ACLU-NC to build a diverse, inter-generational base. In the past few years, in addition to the above initiatives, the organization has run a series of smaller, rapid-fire experiments designed to create ways for new constituents to engage with the ACLU on their own terms, rather than plugging into the existing structure of its chapters. A few of these efforts have been successes, and those that haven't have provided valuable learning.

Several of these smaller efforts have focused on engaging and supporting a new generation of student activists—specifically through the ACLU-NC's Campus Network Program. In the fall of 2011, ACLU-NC organizer Laila Fahimuddin and two interns set out from San Francisco in a Honda Civic to find Northern California university campuses with an activist culture. The goal was not to have the campus set up its own ACLU club, but to have their existing student groups work more closely with the organization's larger statewide network.

For example, in January 2012, 50 student activists identified through the Campus Network Program attended a convening in Monterey, CA, where they took workshops on key civil rights issues and received basic activist skills training. Two key issues—immigration reform and the affordability of higher education—garnered the most discussion. Soon after, dozens of University of California (UC) students began attending other ACLU-NC events. Ultimately, the UC statewide student leadership decided to take on criminal justice reform advocacy as a primary issue.

"We now have thousands of students who are sending action alerts and doing call-ins," says Fahimuddin. "They're partners on our sentencing reform bill and our school discipline reform bill and even wrote a resolution in support of comprehensive immigration reform." Soltani's willingness to help students to lead their own engagement in the ACLU's criminal justice reform work represents a huge shift for the organization. "Our past model was to form ACLU clubs on campuses, which tended to be small and lack diversity," Soltani says. "Our new model is to work in a more networked way with diverse student organizations."

Another campus-based initiative, Think Outside the Box, aimed to educate and mobilize an additional 10,000 college students to fight for criminal justice reform. Launched in 2011, the initiative kicked off with what the ACLU does best: in-person grassroots outreach using the power of storytelling. The organization hired David Moss, who was jailed 14 times while suffering from drug addiction, to travel the circuit of Northern California college campuses to share his story (see sidebar, "An Addiction Inspires Activism"). Ultimately, Moss's presentations reached 1,000 undergraduates—and left a strong impression.

The initiative's next goal is to mobilize another 9,000 students to get involved in criminal justice reform not through time-intensive in-person presentations but through online tools. After a few failed experiments, the ACLU is working with a new media strategy company to come up with a short, mobile-friendly "quiz" that makes learning the basic concepts around criminal justice reform quick and fun. The online quiz

"YOU WANT TO MEET PEOPLE WHERE THEY ALREADY Are and to make it easy for them to connect with Your organization and others."

TAYLOR DANKMYER, NEW MEDIA STRATEGIST, FISSION STRATEGY

will be marketed to students through Twitter and Facebook, as well as through events, email marketing, and direct outreach. "You want to meet people where they already are and to make it easy for them to connect with your organization and others," explains Taylor Dankmyer, a new media strategist at Fission Strategy, the firm helping to develop this next phase.¹⁰

The ACLU-NC has also experimented with new ways to bring grassroots organizations and activists working throughout Northern California into the organization's sphere—for example, through its Conference and Lobby Day, a weekend-long conference offers training on legislation, lobbying, and more.¹¹ The first event succeeded in expanding the ACLU-NC's regional base and putting important upcoming bills in the California legislature on everyone's radar—so much so that the ACLU's other two California affiliates have now begun collaborating with the ACLU-NC to make this a statewide program.

Of course, not all of the activists identified and served through these events became ACLU members—in fact, that wasn't the primary goal. But growing its paying membership is still critical to the organization, not least because membership dues help fund the lobbying work conducted under its C4. Traditionally, the ACLU has recruited membership in very "1.0" ways by exchanging mailing lists with like-minded organizations for direct mail (e.g., Planned Parenthood) and through paid canvassing in targeted cities. Not surprisingly, Soltani and Gelender are now experimenting with more "2.0" methods for recruiting new membership—although, so far, these strategies have been more hit and miss.

Recently, the organization tried out several recruitment strategies designed to encourage others to help draw in new members on the ACLU's behalf. The first, called "My ACLU," was an online system enabling members to invite friends to join the organization through just a few mouse clicks; if a member got 10 people to sign up, the ACLU would give a grant to an organization of their choice. They also tried a house party version of "My ACLU," where members invited friends to their homes to raise money in support of Proposition 34 (which, if passed, would have abolished the death penalty in California). Both events had mixed results.

Next, they tried hosting joint events with likeminded organizations, offering grants to these organizations if they were able to get attendees to sign up for ACLU membership at these events. Another recruitment strategy, the "Count Me In" campaign, offered new monthly sustaining members a chance to win a trip for two to Washington, DC. This "carrot" was not particularly effective, but the fact that the campaign was tied to two hot-button issues that people cared about—reproductive justice and marriage equality—proved powerful. The modest success of

¹⁰ Burger, D., "'Thinking Outside the Box' to Reform California Prisons," MSNBC, August 12, 2013.

¹¹ LSF funds were not used to support lobbying efforts.

these efforts was attributed in part to the ACLU-NC being much more direct with people about why they needed commitments from monthly sustaining members.

Thus far, these new strategies have not yielded a substantial number of dues-paying members. Whether they will—or can—remains an open question. Part of the challenge, says Soltani, is that most social media fundraising is focused on funding specific projects or generating one-time gifts. But the ACLU-NC is trying to use these tools to achieve something different. "It's still not clear for our sector whether these approaches can serve as a tool for acquiring a base of long-term supporters." In this way, he says, "we may still be trying to work in a 1.0 way using 2.0 tools."

SPARKING MOVEMENTS **Key Takeaways**

1 MOVEMENT BUILDING 2.0.

Social movements have been around for centuries, but what's new is the ability of individuals and organizations to use technology to both accelerate their activism and to find and connect to one another in more organic, decentralized ways. As a consequence, today's social movements are more emergent-and less dependent on charismatic personalities. Part of the work of the Pioneers has been exploring how to leverage social media and social networks to better understand the systems they operate within and to accelerate their impact.

2 EXPAND YOUR SUPPORTER BASE BY TARGETING NEW DEMOGRAPHICS AND NEW MARKETS.

A key component of movement building is the ability of organizations to engage and mobilize individual supporters on behalf of their cause. This is easier today than ever before, as new technologies make connecting and sharing information faster and less expensive. The Pioneers have also explored specific ways to engage particular demographic groups. The ACLU-NC, for example, has made engaging Latinos an important priority. The Pioneers have also expanded their reach by entering new geographical markets where they have historically been underrepresented, or by staying local and "going deep" in their hometown communities.

3 Activate New Movements Among Existing Allies.

Two of the Pioneer organizations-Advancing Justice and the ACLU-NC—helped lead an existing coalition of immigrants rights groups and their supporters in a statewide effort to pass the Trust Act, a California bill that has changed federal enforcement practices around immigrant detention and deportation. By co-sponsoring the bill-and mobilizing a strong network of allies to advocate in its favor—the Pioneers successfully sparked a movement that led to groundbreaking policy change.

G FIND UNLIKELY Allies and build Bridges.

To build larger movements, the Pioneers have had to simultaneously understand their place in a larger ecosystem of players and identify and reach out to likely and unlikely allies. In other cases, they have worked to build bridges across different players within a movement, such as the convening on immigration reform that brought together two groups—funders and activists—that rarely work together.

5 USE REAL STORIES TO LIGHT UP CAMPAIGNS.

The Pioneers have learned that telling stories can be a more effective tool for persuading others to support a cause or movement than mere statistics and abstract arguments alone. They now seek to lift up stories of individuals whose lives have been impacted by political or social changes—and are increasingly lifting up their own stories as immigrants and minority leaders in service of their movements.

6 The whole is Greater than The sum.

When all of these actions are taken together, the beauty of movement building is that the whole can be greater than the sum of the parts. The ACLU in particular has run a number of different experiments designed to help them engage new and diverse audiences. Together, the Pioneers have also collaborated on shared or intersecting issues such as immigrants rights, where combining forces has helped them all to have greater impact.



Looking Back, Looking Forward

Immigration reform was one of the intersectional issues that the Pioneers chose to tackle as a group, bringing all of their organizations together to support young Dreamers, like those pictured here, and to help pass the Trust Act legislation.

Build

C

DOI

ears

Lõôk

it Cuff Us,

WHEN THE LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION LAUNCHED THE PIONEERS IN JUSTICE PROGRAM THREE YEARS AGO, IT WAS

clear on its intent: to create a breakthrough hometown strategy that would exemplify the company's values, innovate new approaches to grantmaking, contribute significantly to local social justice nonprofits and next-generation leaders, and help pave a pathway for other philanthropists seeking new ways to leverage their assets in pursuit of greater impact. In short—and true to the program's title—LSF's approach was pioneering.

While the program is still ongoing, by all accounts it has already been a success. Even outside leaders in the field look to LSF and this program as an example of what could be possible for philanthropy. Aaron Dorfman, executive director of the National Center for Responsive Philanthropy, says that in 2013, his group recognized LSF as the top corporate foundation in the country because of the Pioneers in Justice program. "It's innovative, it trusts and invests in people in communities, it recognizes the importance of relationships across organizations, and it says to people, 'We're in this for the long haul with you," explains Dorfman. "That's just not the message that most funders are delivering to their grantees these days. But if we're really going to change power dynamics in society, it takes these longer-term, trusting relationships."

At the time of this report, the Levi Strauss Foundation's plan is not to extend or expand the current Pioneer cohort after the five-year grant ends, though it is exploring other ways it can continue to support these leaders in the future. Rather, LSF wants to deepen current efforts to transfer the lessons of this work to the larger social justice and philanthropy fields. It will also seek to apply what it has learned to other areas of its grantmaking. "We are extending this networked way of working to our HIV and AIDS portfolio, convening grantees doing that work and building a community for peer-to-peer learning and collaboration, both online and offline," says LSF president Bob Haas.

With three years down and two years to go, how has the program done against its aspirations? Measuring the achievements of an emergent "work in progress" is difficult; so is attributing causality in a dynamic system where many variables are constantly at play. "When an initiative like Pioneers invests in organizations to learn, absorb, and apply new concepts, where do you draw the line between what the impact of that program was and what would have happened anyway?" says Pioneer Abdi Soltani. "In a way, I feel the program has equipped me, and our organization, with resources and thinking that infuse the entirety of what we do."

Some aspects of the PIJ program, such as social media progress, can and have been measured more thoroughly. But other aspects have not been measured at all, or are difficult to quantify. In fact, leadership and capacity-building programs are notoriously difficult to evaluate because they are "soft" in nature, and don't always provide easily quantifiable outcomes. Linda Wood, senior director at the Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr. Fund and an expert on funding leadership development, says that foundations often have a hard time investing in leadership precisely because it is so difficult to evaluate. But, she adds, it's not impossible. "We studied our grantees and found that budgets had grown, and that those who had made the most progress on their leadership goals had also made the most gains in strategic goals. They're closely linked."

While this report is meant to share emerging lessons of this program, it is not intended to be an evaluation. In fact, the Pioneers in Justice program has not been evaluated by an external third party—though the individual Pioneers have had to write subjective grant reports documenting the program's impact on themselves and their organizations throughout. But we can point to "leading indicators" of success: tangible ways in which the program has produced significant outcomes at multiple levels, even if the ultimate "impact" of the program may not be known for years or even decades.

Here, then, is the evidence we have to share of the outputs

and outcomes of the Pioneers in Justice program to date. While more concrete details of each can be found throughout the narrative chapters, below we've attempted to summarize the program's impact and the "ripples" it continues to make in different layers of complex social systems.

EMERGING EVIDENCE OF OUTCOMES



This is the easiest aspect of the program to measure, both because it is the most concrete and because there are known metrics and methods for gauging success (e.g., number of followers, webpage visits, etc.). This is also the area of the program where LSF invested the most heavily in the first few years, so it is not surprising that this is where the Pioneers have shown the most progress to date. Additionally, because of LSF's partnership with ZeroDivide, the Pioneers have had external assessment in this area as well. (ZeroDivide completed a baseline assessment in 2010 and a midpoint assessment in 2013). Below is a quick summary of the program's documented outcomes in terms of technological capacity and the ability of the Pioneers to effectively leverage social media to meet their goals:

IT INFRASTRUCTURE: All of the Pioneers point to basic infrastructure upgrades—from investments in hardware or software to training staff on how to use technology more effectively. In an internal report to their board in October 2013, LSF staff wrote, "Technology infrastructure is the backbone of an organization and the group has undergone a transformative change in this area. They are also seeing the importance of mobile technology and accessibility for their stakeholders and taking steps to implement this."

SOCIAL MEDIA POLICIES: When the Pioneers program began, none of the Pioneer organizations had a social media policy in place. Now, they all do. Additionally, they have expanded and democratized the use of social media among staff and volunteers. "They look nothing like the 2010 Pioneers in this regard," noted ZeroDivide in its 2013 midpoint program assessment.

ONLINE PRESENCE: All of the organizations have amplified their use of social media and increased their Facebook and Twitter followers. They publish videos on YouTube and make use of other online tools such as Instagram. While they may not yet be best-in-class in terms of their social media use, each nonprofit has made real progress. "Their increased online presence uses compelling media, like infographics and video storytelling, on their websites, blogs, and social media sites," noted ZeroDivide in its midpoint assessment. "They have also recognized the power of data and invested in analyzing website and social media metrics to better inform strategic efforts."

STORYTELLING: The Pioneers have improved their ability to tell stories, and to be more

strategic in their narrative approach. They have harnessed the power of communicating their messages through individual stories and pictures rather than just data and facts. "Across the board, the leaders and their organizations have a...more strategic outlook on how social media can be used to build awareness and support the issues they care about," according to LSF staff.

CULTURAL SHIFT: Becoming a networked nonprofit that relies of social media as a core communications strategy means committing to increased transparency, shared ownership, working in real time, and rapidly prototyping to learn. Says Pioneer Vincent Pan, "I better understand and am more comfortable with social media now, how it is continuing to change, and the implications it raises for our work." As a result of this shift, "communications staff are not the sole arbiters of social media work, but rather they now leverage their content experts as

thought leaders and social networkers on behalf of the organization," according to LSF staff.

Leadership Development

Documenting the impact of the program on the Pioneers as leaders-and the development of leadership across their organizations-is less concrete and more challenging to measure. It's also hard to separate out how much "credit" the LSF program can take for the Pioneers' development, given the many other variables impacting their personal growth. Moreover, any assessment of personal development is inherently subjective and self-reported (the Foundation has not collected 360 feedback on the Pioneers, though that was done as part of the Rockwood leadership program for developmental purposes only-and not shared with LSF). However, the Pioneers do believe that the impact of the program on their own leadership has been significant. They point to the following outcomes:

TIME FOR REFLECTION AND

LEARNING: The Pioneers all say that the program has given them the time and space to step back from their day-to-day work in the trenches in order to reflect and learn. It has given them opportunities to consider what's working, what's not working, and what they might do differently-and hence to be more intentional, strategic, and effective leaders. "The Pioneers describe the program as a 'cherished' space for learning and strategizing," says former LSF senior manager Merle Lawrence.

PEER SUPPORT: One great benefit of a cohort model (or "community of practice") is the peer learning and peer support it enables. As leaders of legacy organizations undergoing transformation, the Pioneers were at risk of feeling isolated and alone in their work—particularly given the daunting challenges they were facing. But they have all said that being part of the PIJ cohort has given them both greater support and greater courage to do their work as leaders. "We helped create opportunities for collaboration so the Pioneers would not feel isolated, so they could share wins and feel like someone has their back when challenges do arise," says LSF trustee Jennifer Haas.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SKILLS **AND MINDSETS:** Most leadership development programs seek to help leaders develop new skills, mindsets, and behaviors, whether through peer learning, expert presentations, training, or on-the-job work. The Pioneers in Justice program is no exception. Pioneers point in particular to the new skills they have developed around networking and collaboration. Says Pioneer Vincent Pan, "I have improved my ability to think and lead collaboratively."

"WE HELPED CREATE OPPORTUNITIES FOR COLLABORATION SO THE PIONEERS WOULD NOT FEEL ISOLATED, SO THEY COULD SHARE WINS AND FEEL LIKE SOMEONE HAS THEIR BACK WHEN CHALLENGES DO ARISE."

JENNIFER HAAS, LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION TRUSTEE

VOICE AND IDENTITY: Part of the individual journey of each of Pioneer has been learning to place themselves within a larger network and movement and share their power—while simultaneously strengthening their own identity and learning to tell their own story. All of them are still working on this last point, but say they feel increasingly comfortable sharing their own personal experiences in service of the larger cause.

RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS:

As with any network, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, and this is particularly true given the deep bonds the Pioneers have formed with one another. Through the program, the Pioneers have expanded their professional and personal networks, both online and offline. Says Pan: "I now have stronger relationships with leaders of other social justice organizations that I deeply respect and admire."

Organizational Change

As with leadership, documenting the impact on the Pioneers' organizations is more abstract and challenging to measure than some other aspects of this program-and no formal assessment has been conducted of the program's ability to create organizational change or build organizational capacity (other than social media capacity). However, the Pioneers do believe that the program's impact on their organizations has been significant, particularly in the following five areas:

BOARD RELATIONSHIPS: Board development has not been a strong focus of the Pioneers program, although it is a topic the Pioneers chose to discuss as a cohort. In general, the Pioneers credit their bimonthly convenings and outside experts with helping them develop a deeper understanding of how to manage and work with their boards more effectively. Several Pioneers said that the Rockwood program in which they all participated had a positive impact on their relationships with specific board members who attended the retreat with them.

SHARED LEADERSHIP: Many of the Pioneers cultivated explicit "shared leadership" models during the program, by setting up a co-executive directorship (as Rho and Punongbayan did at Advancing Justice); sharing leadership more effectively with their board members and board chairs (Thomas Rapp at LCCR); or via networks such as Advancing Justice or AACRE, where the lines between organizations blur and issue leadership is more collectively shared.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT: As

"bridges" between one generation (Boomers) and the next (Millennials), the Gen X Pioneers have been very explicit about working to cultivate next-generation leaders among their staff and volunteers. No external evaluation has been conducted yet to assess or quantify the impact of this program on the Pioneers' staff.

WORK-LIFE BALANCE: This

generation of leaders explicitly seeks to model a different kind of work-life balance and find a more sustainable way of staying in the field without burning out. Again, no attempt has been made to assess the impact of this value on actual hours worked, or on staff morale and turnover, but anecdotal evidence suggests that these nonprofits are now more "balanced" and healthy places to work.

STRUCTURE [CHAPTERS]: Most of the Pioneer organizations either don't have complex structures or haven't yet tackled reforming them, but in the case of the ACLU-NC, this has been a big component of their organizational change agenda. Other Pioneer organizations have focused instead on creating more external networked structures for working and extending their organization's impact beyond its own four walls.

Network Weaving

Documenting the impact on the Pioneers' networks is somewhat easier to measure than leadership or organizational development, in that there are concrete examples of collaborations large and small that all of the Pioneers can point to as a result of this program. (While the Pioneers have learned about network mapping, they haven't used it as an evaluation tool in this program.) They highlight the following outcomes:

NETWORK MINDSET: It's hard to tell how much of a network mindset the Pioneers already had coming into the program (seemingly it was fairly strong), and how much of this shift can be attributed to the program itself. But it is clear that all of them are working in very networked ways, seeking to collaborate rather than compete with peers, leveraging new technologies, and pursuing other opportunities to become more "networked" nonprofits. This mindset has also extended throughout their organizations, becoming part of the culture of how they work.

SHARED INFRASTRUCTURE AND

RESOURCES: Not all of the Pioneers have pursued opportunities to team up and formally share back-office infrastructure and resources (i.e., to create a "backbone organization"). But there are at least two examples of nonprofits doing so during the course of the program: AACRE (led by CAA) and Advancing Justice, where some staff and other resources are shared across multiple organizations.

SPECIFIC ISSUE-BASED

COLLABORATIONS: In addition to examples of sharing infrastructure, there are all kinds of ways in which these Pioneers have teamed up with one another in bilateral or multilateral collaborations—small and large. Says Vincent Pan, "We have embraced a new organizational vision that is focused on anchoring a larger network of individuals and groups."

Movement Building

Documenting the impact of the Pioneers in Justice program on the building and spreading of movements is incredibly difficult. For one, movements by definition involve many players, hence it's nearly impossible to separate out the role of the Pioneer organizations vis-à-vis many other groups. Secondly, movement building takes a long time, and this program has only been going for three years, so long-term impact is not yet evident. Lastly, the success of movements is often a confluence of organized actions and complex external political, social, or economic forces beyond the control of any single organization or individual. However, there are some indicators that suggest the Pioneers are now much more conscious of their role in building and scaling movements:

SYSTEMS THINKING: All of the Pioneers say that the PIJ program helped them to think more deeply and strategically about the larger "system" around them, and to better understand where and how they fit into that system. In fact, they often talk about not seeing themselves at the "center" of anything (an organizational-centric view), but rather as actors within a complex web of relationships, where they are an important part of a larger whole.

IMMICRATION REFORM: One concrete example of joint-Pioneer movement building is around immigration reform. Through their participation as thought leaders in this field, through organizational actions, and through their use of social

media and larger networks, the Pioneers have helped pass the Trust Act and have formed a critical Bay Area "cluster" within the larger network and movement that has been sweeping the nation.

EXPANSION OF A MEMBERSHIP

BASE: All of the Pioneers have succeeded in reaching out to new constituents and expanding their base of supporters, whether as volunteers, activists, funders, or all of the above—in some cases reaching out to groups that historically have not been known supporters of their issue. The best example of this is the ACLU-NC, which has made a concerted effort to reach out to Latinos in California and to grow into new geographies such as Fresno.

INTERSECTIONAL ISSUES: Many of the Pioneers have sought out opportunities to work on intersectional issues (areas of overlap between different issue silos) with external partners,

sometimes even with "unlikely allies." Various examples of this were given in the narrative chapters. Says Pioneer Vincent Pan, "We have new experience addressing the interdependence of issues. We have implemented a new internal infrastructure that will allow us to better support movement building."

IMPACT ON THE LEVI STRAUSS Foundation

By its own account, the Pioneers in Justice program has been a runaway success for the Levi Strauss Foundation. The organization has learned a tremendous amount from this experiment, lessons it now wants to apply to other program areas within the foundation and to share more broadly with the field. "Breaking down silos is the way of the future," says Aaron Dorfman of the National Center for Responsive Philanthropy. "This is where the social justice field is and should be headed, and I wish [other] foundations would catch up."

The Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr. Fund's Linda Wood adds that investing in leaders can be a critical lever for social change. "In the private sector, longterm, intentional investment in leadership is just what you do. But in our sector, it hasn't been. Leaders don't give themselves permission to invest in themselves; it has traditionally been seen as a 'nice to have' and not something that is central to the work," she says.

Ironically, the Levi Strauss Foundation has been undergoing its own generational transition in parallel with the Pioneers it has been supporting—something that has made the learning all that more personal and profound. Executive director Daniel Lee is a Generation Xer, whereas Merle Lawrence, who just retired, is a Baby Boomer, and senior program associate Elizabeth Ramirez is a Millennial.

LSF's board is also becoming age diverse as the next generation of the descendants of Levi Strauss begins to take up leadership. "We are in the middle of a generational shift at the Levi Strauss Foundation," says trustee Jennifer Haas. "There have been tensions, just as there are in the social justice field. It's not about rejecting the past but bringing our own flavor to the work. Doing something differently is not an inherent criticism of past-it's about changing with the times."

Most importantly, LSF believes it has found a promising model for its grantmaking strategy going forward—and that networked grantmaking

"BREAKING DOWN SILOS IS THE WAY OF THE FUTURE. THIS IS WHERE THE SOCIAL JUSTICE FIELD IS AND SHOULD BE HEADED, AND I WISH [OTHER] FOUNDATIONS WOULD CATCH UP."

AARON DORFMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY

and "possibility grantmaking" are best practices for achieving greater social change. The foundation is just beginning to apply what it is learning to other areas of its work. For example, at a recent international HIV/ AIDS conference, LSF convened leading practitioners to share tools and experiences from the Pioneers program that everyone found valuable. LSF is also doing this in two other focus areas: improving the well-being of textile workers and helping lowincome people around the world build their savings.

Foundation trustees and staff credit not just the program but the Pioneers themselves for helping them learn and grow. Says Jennifer Haas, "The Pioneers have been very transparent and shared with us what the challenges have been and where there have been missteps. That critical eye they bring to their work has been very inspiring. I think that speaks to a different vision of leadership: the leader that is in control of all things has a hard time doing that kind of criticism of their own leadership or their own organization."

Next, LSF wants to spread the impact of this program outward—both in the social justice field and in the larger field of philanthropy. "By supporting homegrown social change leaders, we have the opportunity to extend the influence of the work we do—and the work they do to the statewide and national levels," says LSF president Bob Haas. His vision for 10 years from now is that the Bay Area is known as a leading place for social justice philanthropy, and that the nonprofits doing this work will become leaders of larger movements to create a more fair and inclusive society. He hopes that some of the Pioneers will be nationally recognized for their achievements (they have already been locally recognized), and that their work will help extend the impact and influence of the "San Francisco model of social justice."

LESSONS LEARNED FOR FUNDERS

For funders wanting to do the systems-level work of investing in leaders, networks, and movements, there are a few key summary lessons that the Levi Strauss Foundation would choose to share with the field:

USE ALL THE TOOLS AT YOUR DISPOSAL. Ultimately, Pioneers in Justice is much more than a "program"—and it took a lot more than mere grants to pull it off. The Levi Strauss Foundation acted as a convener of the group; provided space and created time for these leaders to build relationships; invested in building capacity by bringing in outside experts;

connected the Pioneers to other external opportunities; and documented and captured knowledge to share with the field. As the LSF staff observed early on in the program in a board report: "Organizations recognize the value of collaboration but are often stymied by logistical barriers. LSF can remove these obstacles by providing funding, dedicated time and space, guidance, and coordination. With those elements in place, these partners can emerge as far greater than the sum total of each part." In fact, five years ago, 85 percent of program managers' time was spent on grantmaking. It is now down to 50 percent, with the remainder being dedicated to supporting these kinds of capacity-building programs.

INVEST IN MANY LAYERS OF THE

SYSTEM." From the outset, LSF had a hypothesis about how investing simultaneously in social media, leadership development, organizational change, networking and collaboration, and movement building could help advance social justice 2.0 goals. This was a decidedly nonlinear approach that flew in the face of more structured and logical forms of grantmaking. But because they were thinking about multiple levels of the complex social systems these leaders work in, they were able to identify many different points of leverage where they could intervene and support the work. Ultimately, by rippling out from individuals to organizations, networks, movements, and fields, they have had far more impact than had they targeted one level of the system in isolation.

LET GO OF CONTROL AND EMBRACE

EMERGENCE. LSF stafflearned that this work is nothing if not messy. It is also constantly changing. For example, they didn't anticipate multiple executive leadership transitions at the Pioneer organizations but had to deal with them in real time

instead. Many aspects of the program's "design" were unknown in advance and were developed in conjunction with the Pioneers as the program evolved. All of this follows a process more akin to "design thinking" than traditional linear logic models: empathizing with the Pioneers, identifying current needs, brainstorming ideas, prototyping potential solutions, and then continuing the cycle. As former LSF senior manager Merle Lawrence says: "This work is messy, unpredictable, always changing, and also incredibly rewarding."

CO-CREATE WITH YOUR GRANTEES.

The foundation deliberately changed the power dynamic between itself and its grantees. Rather than claiming a higher status, or doing things "to" their grantees, LSF did things "with" grantees instead. By participating authentically in Pioneers' conversations, building trusted relationships with them as individuals independent of institutional identities,

"BY SUPPORTING HOMEGROWN SOCIAL CHANGE LEADERS, WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXTEND THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORK WE DO — AND THE WORK THEY DO —TO THE STATEWIDE AND NATIONAL LEVELS."

BOB HAAS, PRESIDENT, LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

asking them to help design sessions, and being transparent, LSF was able to develop a nearpeer relationship with the Pioneers. LSF's Lawrence summed it up this way: "Co-creation is a participatory process where shared values ground our work together; we agree on a common set of goals and outcomes and participants have both ownership of and accountability for success. We take responsibility for our own learning. Transparency and trust are critical, and everyone attends and is fully present and engaged."

INVOLVE PARTNERS IN YOUR WORK.

In addition to co-creating with the Pioneers, LSF also relied on several outside partners to provide different dimensions of the program. ZeroDivide was a trusted partner on the social media front, providing assessments, training, capacity building, and coaching for the Pioneers. In addition, LSF had a number of external facilitators and subject matter experts come in and share knowledge with the Pioneers. "It is more effective to partner with outside experts and thought leaders to develop convening agendas, facilitate sessions, and organize follow-up activities," wrote the LSF staff in a memo to the board. "In social justice philanthropy, longterm investment strategies to address seemingly intractable social problems force the issue of partnership for a foundation used to doing it alone. A foundation that practices social justice philanthropy 'walks the talk' by developing strategic partnerships with funders and encouraging grantees to do the same."

BUILD TRUSTED RELATIONSHIPS.

LSF learned, as many others have before, that trust—and authentic relationships—are the lifeblood of networks. "Over the past year, substantial trust has been built—both with and among the Pioneers cohort—and experts concur that this is a necessary ingredient to breakthrough forms of collaboration," Merle Lawrence reported to the LSF trustees. "They see their engagement with the foundation as 'refreshingly honest' and 'valueadding' to their organizations and movements." Additionally, creating structured time and space for relationship building was a critical component of the program. As Jennifer Haas puts it, "I think that having structured, scheduled collaboration time was important—versus saying, 'You need to collaborate' but then not creating the space, structure, or facilitation for it to happen."

SET REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS.

One important caveat that points to some of the more challenging lessons of this program: it's important to understand what social media can and can't do, and what its limitations are. "Despite all of our investment, nothing has gone viral," says Lawrence. "But we've learned this isn't the only measure of social media success. Make peace with these realities but don't limit yourself because of them." Adjusting your expectations is critical in this regard. When it became clear that the shared online platform that LSF had created for the Pioneers wasn't getting used—perhaps because the cohort was so small and people preferred to connect directly rather than via a "portal"—they scrapped it.

LEARN AS YOU GO. The gap between theory and practice is wide in this emerging space, and the use of social media for social justice goals has not yet been deeply explored. Success stories of legacy organizations working on long-term, complex policy change have, for the most part, not been well documented. This represents an opportunity for LSF to take a leadership position by codifying and transferring key lessons for nonprofits and foundations. "Driving a cycle of long-term

change demands regular reflection and strategy revision; this places learning at the center of a foundation's work. The resulting 'social justice laboratory' for board and staff helps them learn how to partner effectively for change and offers a platform for external sharing and crossfertilization of ideas," wrote Lawrence in a midpoint report. She adds that the foundation also built in a lot of documentation of this learning throughout, making it easier to capture lessons learned.

PROVIDE PATIENT CAPITAL. It

takes patience and time to realize impact. LSF took a five-year timeframe from the outset and provided "patient capital" to invest in the larger process of organizational and systems change. It's unclear if the work will be "done" by the end of the fifth year, or exactly how LSF will continue to support these leaders and their organizations and movements beyond that timeframe. LSF's final round of capacity-building funding was deliberately structured to support sustainability of gains made past the five-year timeline. But one thing is clear at the midway point: the impact is only just now being observed. It takes time to build these capacities and transform organizations, to build trusted relationships and networks, and to build strong movements. "Any meaningful change requires sustained commitment," says Bob Haas—not just among grantees but by the grantmaker as well. Adds Merle Lawrence: "There are no turnkey approaches to spur immediate results."



Behind the Book

THE PIONEERS



ARCELIA HURTADO

Policy Advisor National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR)

Arcelia Hurtado was raised in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas by Mexican immigrant parents who taught her the core values that guide her work: commitment to public service and working tirelessly for social change. She received her undergraduate and law degrees from the University of California at Berkeley in 1993 and 1997, respectively. Her legal career has been devoted to providing legal representation to those who would not otherwise have access to it.

Prior to joining NCLR, Hurtado served as executive director of Equal Rights Advocates, a national women's rights advocacy organization. She has also worked with numerous communitybased organizations to secure the rights of working class and indigent people in the fields of employment, housing, criminal defense, and immigration. As a trial lawyer, she has litigated more than a dozen jury trials representing juveniles and adults accused of misdemeanors and felonies. As an appellate lawyer, she has represented people on death row. She has argued cases before numerous courts, including the California Supreme Court. In 2012, San Francisco Board of Supervisors President David Chiu appointed her to the Board of Appeals, a voluntary quasi-judicial five-person

body that hears appeals relating to a wide range of city determinations.

Hurtado has also devoted a substantial portion of her time to community service, serving on the volunteer boards of various professional, nonprofit, and philanthropic organizations such as Women Defenders, San Francisco La Raza Lawyers Association, Our Family Coalition, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, the Tides Foundation Advocacy Fund, and Bay Area Lawyers for Individual Freedom. She is the founder of the Women Defenders Fellowship, which supports law students pursuing careers in indigent criminal defense. She has also taught constitutional law, criminal law, and criminal procedure at several Bay Area law schools. In 2011, the San Francisco Chronicle named her a "Bay Area Changemaker."

Hurtado is a frequent speaker at the national level on civil rights issues and women's rights in particular. She writes for *The Huffington Post* and has published several articles on race/ethnicity, education, and feminist theory.

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR LESBIAN RIGHTS (www.nclrights.org), founded in 1977, is a national legal organization committed to advancing the civil and human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people and their families through litigation, public policy advocacy, and public education.





VINCENT PAN

Executive Director Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA)

Vincent Pan is a progressive leader on issues of racial justice and social change. The requirements of leadership, in his view, demand not only running effective organizations and campaigns but also working across boundaries to make the whole of social justice efforts greater than the sum of their parts. Whether reforming immigration laws or fixing the criminal justice system, promoting language access or increasing civic participation, Pan believes campaigns must be aggressive and visible, while also connecting people with shared values such as compassion, inclusion, and equity. To create a world that works for everyone, he advocates a holistic approach that simultaneously changes laws as well as hearts and minds.

Prior to joining Chinese for Affirmative Action in 2006. Pan was a consultant to the William I. Clinton Foundation, where he helped start treatment programs for children living with HIV/ AIDS in China. Before that he co-founded and directed Heads Up, a nonprofit organization that runs after-school and summer programs for low-income children in Washington, DC. Vincent's work with Heads Up was profiled by The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post,

and other publications. He is a former winner of the Do Something Brick Award for community leadership and has been a fellow with the Center for Social Innovation at Stanford University, the Echoing Green Foundation, and the Stride Rite Foundation.

CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION (WWW. caasf.org) was founded in 1969 to protect the civil and political rights of Chinese Americans and to advance multiracial democracy in the United States. CAA is a progressive voice in and on behalf of the broader Asian and Pacific American community, advocating for systemic change that protects immigrant rights, promotes language diversity, and remedies racial injustice.

CHRIS PUNONGBAYAN

Co-Executive Director Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus

Chris Punongbayan doesn't want to be your mentor. He wants to be your comrade.

It's a leadership style he learned shortly after college from the executive director of the Audre Lorde Project, Joo-Hyun Kang, who invited him to sit on her board. When Punongbayan expressed his gratitude using the "m" word, Joo-Hyun re-





plied, "I'm not your mentor. We are comrades."

Those simple words made Punongbayan feel that despite his youth, his contributions were highly and equally valued. Now, more than a decade later, he believes that it is his responsibility to bring new voices into the social justice movement, learn from them, and build ownership with them.

His collaborative style over four years as deputy director of Advancing Justice led executive director Hyeon-Ju Rho to invite him to share leadership of the organization in 2013. Their cooperative approach has increased their organization's reach and visibility with external stakeholders, and also allowed a healthy family life for both co-executive directors.

Chris oversees Advancing Justice's programs and is responsible for managing relationships with local, state, and national civil rights organizations. He has been involved in grassroots activism in the Asian American, immigrant worker, and LGBTQ communities on both coasts of the country for more than a decade, and his vision of social justice is grounded in the realities of those communities.

After graduating from Brown University and UCLA Law School, Chris worked as a Ford Foundation New Voices Fellow with Filipino Advocates for Justice in Oakland, before joining the Positive Resource Center in San Francisco as a staff attorney, representing clients living with disabilities. From 2006 to 2008, he also served as vice-chair of the San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission.

ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-ASIAN LAW CAUCUS (www.advancingjustice-alc. org) based in San Francisco, is the nation's oldest organization advocating for the civil and legal rights of Asians and Pacific Islanders. Its mission is to promote, advance, and represent the legal and civil rights of these communities, with a focus on addressing the needs of low-income, immigrant, and underserved individuals. In addition to supporting clients with legal expertise, Advancing Justice seeks to bring together elements of policy advocacy and community organizing so that through one person's individual struggle it is able to achieve broader results for the community.

HYEON-JU RHO

Co-Executive Director Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus)

In her sophomore year of college, Hyeon-Ju Rho got her political awakening.

Not only did she discover that her class on race, ethnicity, and public policy contained nothing about Asian Americans, but the professor declined her offer to help source appropriate materials, saying that Asian Americans were not "statistically significant enough" to be included.

Rho disagreed, and negotiated with other students to develop their own, credit-granting class. She has fought for inclusion, equality, and justice ever since.

After graduating from New York University Law School, Rho was a trial attorney in the civil rights division of the U.S. Department of Justice, as part of the Attorney General's Honors Program. She then practiced poverty law as a staff attorney at the Urban Justice Center in New York City before spending six years in China consulting for the Ford Foundation and heading up the American Bar Association's Rule of Law initiative.

When she took the position of executive director of Advancing Justice in 2011, Rho returned to the organization where she had spent her first summer internship as a law student. In 2013, she presided over an organizational name change and affiliation with three other organizations, in effect quadrupling the reach of her team's work and ensuring a strong, national Asian American voice in the civil rights movement. "A movement can't be dependent on a single organization, and an organization can't be dependent on a single individual," she says. Her commitment to the latter principle came to fruition in June of 2013, when she and former deputy director Chris Punongbayan assumed co-leadership of Advancing Justice. AS THIS BOOK WENT TO PRESS, Hyeon-Ju Rho announced that she was stepping down as Advancing Justice's co-executive director and moving to Los Angeles with her family. Beginning in June 2014. Chris Punongbayan will become the organization's sole executive director. For more on Punongbayan and Advancing Justice, see previous page.

ABDI SOLTANI

Executive Director

American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California (ACLU-NC)

Abdi Soltani represents a new generation of public interest leaders in California. Having worked his entire career in Northern California, he understands its diverse communities, geographic idiosyncrasies, political dynamics, and key players. A card-carrying member of the ACLU for many years, he became executive director of the Northern California affiliate in 2009. Previously, he served as executive director at Californians for Justice, the Campaign for College Opportunity, and PARSA Community Foundation.

Soltani's passion for freedom of speech and constitutional protections is intensely personal as well as political. As a child in Iran, his early experiences were shaped by government abuse



of power before and after the Iranian Revolution. He has extensive experience leading social justice campaigns related to statewide policy and ballot initiatives. As a leader in the "No on 54" campaign in 2003, he helped defeat a proposition that would have weakened racial equality by barring state and local government agencies from collecting vital data on Californians' race, ethnicity, color, or national origin.

Soltani was awarded the John Gardner Public Service Fellowship in 1995 and the Gerbode Foundation Fellowship in 2002. He serves on the board of Public Advocates, a legal advocacy organization, and is a graduate of Stanford University.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA (www.aclunc.org) is the country's largest ACLU affiliate. In 2009, it celebrated its 75th anniversary as a leader in defending and advancing the civil rights and civil liberties of all Californians.

KIMBERLY THOMAS RAPP

Executive Director, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (LCCR)

Kimberly Thomas Rapp is working to build an organization and a movement that never sits on its laurels. The key to success, she believes, is agil-

ity and constant self-improvement.

In collaboration with LCCR staff, board members, and constituent communities, she has worked to continue to broaden the scope and relevance of her organization's triple-barreled work as direct service providers, impact litigators, and advocates in the areas of racial, economic, and immigrant justice.

Thomas Rapp considers herself uniquely positioned to "hold the tension" between LCCR's nonprofit staff, constituents, and corporate pro bono attorneys because of her experience in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors. Before joining LCCR, she served as lead deputy counsel for the County of Santa Clara and as legal counsel to the Santa Clara County Office of Education and various school districts. Before her public service, she was the director of law and public policy for the Equal Justice Society. Before and after law school, she worked in the private sector, conducting investigations and trainings on workplace discrimination on the basis of race, gender, sexual harassment, and issues of hours and wages.

Throughout her career, Thomas Rapp has been motivated by her grandparents, who grew up picking cotton in Texas and encouraged her to take advantage of every opportunity that came her way, from undergraduate studies at Berkeley to Stanford Law School. "To this day, it almost brings me to tears to think of my grandmother signing her name," she says. "It was a concentrated, laborious effort. The barriers that existed for her, they still exist to varying degrees today."

THE LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS (www.lccr.com), founded in 1968, works to advance, protect, and promote the legal rights of communities of color, low-income persons, immigrants, and refugees. Assisted by hundreds of pro bono attorneys, the Lawyers' Committee provides free legal assistance and representation to individuals on civil legal matters through direct services, impact litigation, and policy advocacy.

LATEEFAH SIMON

Director, California's Future Program, Rosenberg Foundation; Former Executive Director, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (LCCR)

Born and raised by a single mother in San Francisco's Western Addition neighborhood, Lateefah Simon has advocated tirelessly on behalf of communities of color, youth, and women since her teenage years. She discovered her life passion early, when at 15 she joined the Center for Young Women's Development, working to provide homeless, low-income, and incarcerated young women with the tools they need to transform and rebuild their lives. By the age of 19, she was executive director. Under her 11-year tenure, the center grew into an organization with a \$1.2 million budget, serving 3,500 women per year.

In 2009, Simon became executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (LCCR), leading the organization through its first strategic planning process in more than 10 years and refocusing its place- and communitybased efforts to advance racial and immigrant justice. In her role as a non-lawyer running a legal organization, Simon saw her job as "making the silos disappear between the folks who speak the language of the law and the folks on the outside, needing and wanting the change to happen."

Prior to LCCR, she served as head of the Reentry Services Division of the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, helping to launch and lead programs designed to prevent former offenders from returning to a life of crime. Since 2011, Simon has served as director of the California's Future Program at the Rosenberg Foundation, a strategic effort to change the odds for women and children in the state.

A nationally recognized advocate for juvenile and criminal justice reform, Simon is the recipient of numerous honors, including a MacArthur "Genius" Fellowship, the Jefferson Award for extraordinary public service, and the State Assembly's "California Woman of the Year."





TITI LIU

Director of International Public Interest Initiatives, Stanford Law School's Levin Center; Former Executive Director, Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Asian Law Caucus

The week that Titi Liu graduated from high school, pro-democracy protesters descended on Tiananmen Square. Several hundred people possibly thousands—died, but some were granted asylum in the United States. Liu met them, just a few months later, when she started college. The experience influenced her entire career working to advance domestic and international social justice issues.

Liu sees leadership as having the courage to stand up and say that what's happening is unacceptable—not only because it is impacting oneself but also because it is impacting other individuals and other communities. In her work with Advancing Justice, she sought to bring different communities together to build understanding of what they have at stake and in common and to build durable alliances that promote multiracial democracy.

In 2011, Liu left Advancing Justice to become the director of international public interest initiatives at Stanford Law School's Levin Center, where she develops and implements programs that support students who are pursuing a career path in international public interest lawyering and serves as a resource for leading practitioners in the field, with a focus on transitional societies.

Prior to joining Advancing Justice, Liu was the Garvey Schubert Barer Visiting Professor of Law at the University of Washington in Seattle, where she studied the role of public interest litigation in social movements in Asia. A graduate of Harvard Law School, she worked for seven years in the Ford Foundation's Beijing office supporting the development of nongovernmental organizations and leading human rights initiatives in China. She also consulted to the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development and has published extensively in the U.S. and China on the relationship between litigation and social change.

LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION CORE TEAM





Merle Lawrence

Former Senior Manager, U.S.

Merle Lawrence joined Levi Strauss & Co. in December 1991, bringing more than 15 years of experience in strategic planning, program management, and research and evaluation in local, statewide, and national nonprofit organizations. Until her retirement in 2013, she was a senior manager with the Levi Strauss Foundation, responsible for developing and managing strategic grantmaking and special initiatives in the United States. During her tenure with Levi Strauss & Co., Lawrence managed numerous programs, including Community Affairs, Employee Volunteerism, Cause Branding, and Corporate Social Responsibility Initiatives. She holds a BA in liberal studies from the University of Connecticut and an MSW from San Francisco State University.

Daniel Jae-Won Lee

Executive Director

Daniel Lee joined Levi Strauss in 2003 as community affairs manager for the Asia Pacific Division in Singapore, and subsequently relocated to San Francisco to assume the role of director of global grantmaking programs. Lee has extensive experience with international nongovernmental organizations in the fields of human rights, HIV/ AIDS, and social justice. He served as senior program officer for Asia and Pacific at the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC) and on the founding board of the Massachusetts Asian AIDS Prevention Project. Currently, he serves on the boards of Funders Concerned about AIDS (FCAA), the Council on Foundations, and the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy. Lee is also an advisory board member of the Astraea Foundation and a member of the Asia-Oceania Advisory Council of the Global Fund for Women. He holds an AB (magna cum laude) in religion and history from Princeton University and an MA in divinity from Harvard University.

Elizabeth Ramirez

Senior Program Associate

Elizabeth Ramirez joined LSF in September 2010. She began her career at the United Nations Foundation as board relations intern, progressing to executive office senior associate. At the UN Foundation, she worked directly with senior staff and the board of directors to address some of the world's most pressing issues, including global public health policy, climate change, and sustainable development. Ramirez then moved on to the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization

AUTHORS & CONTRIBUTORS

Fund (GAVI Fund) as special giving and operations associate, where she built relationships with untapped constituencies to broaden awareness of GAVI and developed new fundraising mechanisms in partnership with for-profit corporations. Ramirez currently serves as treasurer of Emerging Practitioners in Philanthropy's Bay Area chapter and as inaugural co-chair of the Full Circle Fund Rising Leaders. She graduated magna cum laude from George Washington University-Elliott School of International Affairs with concentrations in conflict and security and Latin American studies.

Heather McLeod Grant Lead Author

Heather McLeod Grant is founder and CEO of McLeod-Grant Advisors and a published author, speaker, and consultant with more than 20 years of experience in the social sector. Her current work focuses on creating transformative leadership and networks for social change. She is the managing director of the Irvine New Leadership Network in the San Joaquin Valley and works with foundation and nonprofit clients throughout California. She is co-author of the bestselling book Forces for Good: The Six Practices of High-Impact Nonprofits, named a "top 10" book by The Economist (2nd edition 2012), and numerous articles, including "Working Wikily: Social Change with a Network Mindset" and "Transformer: How to Build a Network to Change a System." Most recently, she worked at Monitor Institute for nearly five years, where she helped lead their nonprofit practice area. McLeod Grant currently serves on the boards of Fuse Corp and Jacaranda Health and chairs the Woodside Elementary School Bond Campaign. She is a member of SV2, the Women's Information Network at Stanford GSB, and was previously an advisor to the Stanford Social Innovation Review and the National Civic League. Originally from Fresno, California, she holds an MBA from Stanford and an AB from Harvard, and resides in the Bay Area with her husband and daughter.







Amanda Bower

Researcher & Writer

Amanda Bower has been a writer long enough to remember typewriters and compositors, and nowhere near long enough to be bored by meeting new people and learning new things. As a journalist, she filed stories from datelines in Australia. North America, Asia, Latin America, and Europe, and interviewed a broad spectrum of people, from the Dalai Lama and Bill Gates to hypnobirthers and wounded soldiers. Bower started out as a local reporter for a weekly newspaper in Perth, Australia, before winning a Fulbright and moving to New York City to get her MA in journalism from Columbia University. She graduated first in her class and won a Pulitzer traveling fellowship, which she used to spend time in Vietnam and Cambodia writing about public health efforts around HIV/ AIDS, as well as human sexual trafficking. She also served as the New York correspondent for Time.

In 2012, she shifted from newspaper and magazine journalism to advocacy storytelling: writing and producing multimedia content exclusively for nonprofit and social impact organizations. Her current work includes heading up communications for the Equality + Opportunity Foundation's new startup housing initiative in India and Bangladesh, DomoGeo. Bower lives in the San Francisco Bay Area with her husband and two young sons.

Jenny Johnston

Writer & Editor

Jenny Johnson is a writer and editor based in San Francisco. Part journalist, part anthropologist, she is an expert in helping organizations and individuals find innovative and "sticky" ways to communicate their visions and their stories. Her recent projects include writing provocative scenarios for a leading U.S. art museum to help determine its future direction; helping the San Francisco Unified School District articulate its vision for the future of public education; and serving as developmental editor on the books *Moments of Impact: How to Design Strategic Conversations That Accelerate Change* (Simon & Schuster, February 2014) and *Rejection Proof* (Crown Books, May 2015).

Previously, Johnston served as senior editor at Global Business Network, a Bay Area-based scenario planning consultancy and futurist think tank, where she shepherded an ever-changing range of publications and presentations from concept to completion and ran modules on "strategic storytelling" for clients and coworkers. Also a freelance journalist, her articles have appeared in numerous national publications. She holds an AB (magna cum laude) in cultural anthropology from Princeton University, an MA in the same from UC Boulder, and an MS in journalism from Boston University.

Patrick Mitchell

Designer

Patrick Mitchell is founder and creative director of Modus Operandi Design/US (www.ModusOp.net), a firm specializing in editorial branding and design.

Mitchell was the founding creative director at *Fast Company*, where he was a two-time winner of the National Magazine Award (and four-time finalist), as well as winner of the Society of Publication Designers Magazine of the Year award (and a 4-time finalist). He is also a former creative director of Hearst's O: *The Oprah Magazine*, *Boston Magazine*, and *Nylon*, where he was again named a finalist for the National Magazine Award for design.

Mitchell was awarded Launch Creative Director of the Year by Media Industry News for his work on *Success Magazine*, and while at *Fast Company* was named to the Folio: 40, which recognizes "the magazine industry's most influential leaders and innovators." His work has been recognized by the AIGA, The Art Directors' Club of New York, *Graphis, Communication Arts, Folio,* and *Print Magazine*.

He currently resides on Cape Ann (www. TheOtherCape.com), just north of Boston, with his wife and sons.



"Our sense of purpose was to be the first movers in helping take these (social justice) organizations to a 2.0 level. We wanted to fire on every cylinder and try everything we could."

DANIEL LEE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LEVI STRAUSS FOUNDATION

{ABOUT Pioneers in Justice}

¶ The social justice sector is at a critical inflection point—a moment when many of its fundamental assumptions and old ways of operating are being challenged. The leadership of legacy social justice organizations is transferring from Baby Boomers to a new cadre of ethnically diverse Gen Xers with deep connections to their communities and new perspectives on how to lead the field to greater impact. There is also a growing recognition that new tactics, tools, and strategies are needed to strengthen a sector that is still largely invested in "analog" and "siloed" ways of working—especially at a time when loosely organized groups of individuals can wield just as much influence as established nonprofits.

In 2010, recognizing this shift and eager to experiment with new strategies for supporting the sector, the San Francisco-based Levi Strauss Foundation (LSF) launched a first-of-its-kind grantmaking program designed to help local social justice organizations amplify both their reach and their impact. Through its Pioneers in Justice program, LSF set out to support a cohort of Bay Area leaders, all of them Gen Xers, who had recently taken the helm of legacy social justice organizations and were charged with helping their nonprofits adapt to a rapidly changing world.

¶ This book shares many of the rich stories and lessons that emerged from the Pioneers in Justice program during its first three years, as these young leaders worked to scale their impact and build social movements through the power of social media and networked action. What they learned—and how they learned it—is something that everyone in the larger social sector should be curious to find out.